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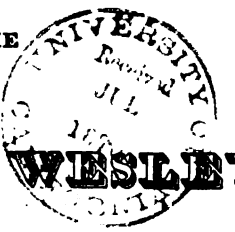

REV. JOHN WESLEY.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOLUME VIII.

CONTAINING,

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION; THE APPEALS TO MEN OF REASON AND RELIGION; PRINCIPLES OF THE METHODISTS, &c.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION;

As believed and taught by John Wesley, A. M. from the year 1725, *to the year* 1777.

1. WHAT I purpose in the following pages is, to give a plain and distinct account of the steps, by which I was led, during a course of many years, to embrace the doctrine of Christian Perfection. This I owe to the serious part of mankind; those who desire to know all the truth as it is in Jesus. And these are only concerned in questions of this kind. To these I would nakedly declare the thing as it is, endeavouring all along to show, from one period to another, both what I thought, and why I thought so.

2. In the year 1725, being in the 23d year of my age, I met with Bishop Taylor's *Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying*. In reading several parts of this book, I was exceedingly affected: that part in particular, which relates to purity of intention. Instantly I resolved to dedicate all my life to God; all my thoughts, and words, and actions; being thoroughly convinced, there was no medium, but that every part of my life, (not some part only) must either be a sacrifice to God, or to myself; that is, in effect, to the Devil.

Can any serious person doubt of this, or find a medium between serving God, and serving the Devil?

3. In the year 1729, I met with *Kempis's Christian Pattern*. The nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me in a stronger light than ever it had done before. I saw that giving even all my life to God, (supposing it possible to do this, and go no farther,) would profit me nothing, unless I gave my heart; yea, all my heart, to him. I saw, that "simplicity of intention, and purity of affection," one design in all we speak or do, and one desire ruling all our tempers, are indeed "the wings of the soul," without which she can never ascend the mount of God.

4. A year or two after, Mr. Law's *Christian Perfection, and*

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Serious Call, were put into my hands. These convinced me more than ever, of the absolute impossibility of being half a Christian. And I determined, through his Grace, (the absolute necessity of which I was deeply sensible of,) to be all-devoted to God, to give him all my soul, my body, and my substance.

Will any considerate man say that this is carrying matters too far? Or that any thing less is due to him, who has given himself for us, than to give him ourselves; all we have, and all we are?

5. In the year 1729, I began not only to read, but to study the Bible, as the one, the only standard of truth, and the only model of pure religion. Hence I saw, in a clearer and clearer light, the indispensable necessity of having the mind which was in Christ, and of walking as Christ also walked; even of having, not some part only, but all the mind which was in him; and of walking as he walked, not only in many or most respects, but in all things. And this was the light, wherein at this time I generally considered religion, as an uniform following of Christ, an entire inward and outward conformity to our Master. Nor was I afraid of any thing more, than of bending this rule to the experience of myself, or of other men; of allowing myself in any the least disconformity to our grand Exemplar.

6. On January 1, 1733, I preached before the University, in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, on "The circumcision of the heart;" an account of which I gave in these words, 'It is that habitual disposition of soul, which in the sacred Writings is termed holiness, and which directly implies, the being cleansed from sin; from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit, and by consequence, the being endued with those virtues, which were in Christ Jesus; the being so "renewed in the image of our mind," as to be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect.'

In the same sermon I observed, "Love is the fulfilling of the law, the end of the commandment." It is not only the first and great command, but all the commandments in one; "Whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise," they are all comprised in this one word, Love. In this is perfection, and glory, and happiness. The royal law of heaven and earth is this, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." The one perfect good shall be your one ultimate end. One thing shall ye desire for its own sake, the fruition of him who is all in all. One happiness shall ye propose to your souls, even an union with him that made them; the having "fellowship with the Father and the Son;" the being "joined to the Lord in one spirit." One design ye are to pursue to the end of time, the enjoyment of God in time and in eternity. Desire other things so far as they tend to this: Love the creature, as it leads to the Creator. But in every step you take, be this the glorious point that terminates your view. Let every affection and thought, and word, and action, be subordinate to this. Whatever ye desire or fear:

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whatever ye seek or shun; whatever ye think, speak, or do, be it in order to your happiness in God, the sole end, as well as source of your being."

I concluded in these words, "Here is the sum of the perfect law, the circumcision of the heart. Let the spirit return to God that gave it, with the whole train of its affections.—Other sacrifices from us he would not; but the living sacrifice of the heart hath he chosen. Let it be continually offered up to God, through Christ, in flames of holy love. And let no creature be suffered to share with him: for he is a jealous God. His throne will he not divide with another; he will reign without a rival. Be no design, no desire, admitted there, but what has him for its ultimate object. This is the way wherein those children of God once walked, who being dead, still speak to us; "Desire not to live, but to praise his name; let all your thoughts, words, and works, tend to his glory. Let your soul be filled with so entire a love to him, that you may love nothing but for his sake." "Have a pure intention of heart, a steadfast regard to his glory in all your actions." For then, and not till then, is that mind in us, which was also in Christ Jesus, when in every motion of our heart, in every word of our tongue, in every work of our hands, we pursue nothing but in relation to him, and in subordination to his pleasure; when we too neither think, nor speak, nor act, to fulfil our own will, but the will of him that sent us: When, "whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we do it all to the glory of God."

It may be observed, this sermon was composed the first of all my writings which have been published. This was the view of religion I then had, which even then I scrupled not to term perfection. This is the view I have of it now, without any material addition or diminution. And what is there here, which any man of understanding, who believes the Bible, can object to? What can he deny, without flatly contradicting the Scripture? What retrench, without taking from the Word of God?

7. In the same sentiment did my brother and I remain, (with all those young gentlemen in derision termed Methodists,) till we embarked for America, in the latter end of 1735. It was the next year, while I was at Savannah, that I wrote the following lines:

Is there a thing beneath the sun,
That strives with thee my heart to share?
Ah, tear it thence, and reign alone!
The Lord of every motion there!

In the beginning of the year 1738, I was returning from thence, the cry of my heart was,

O grant that nothing in my soul
May dwell, but thy pure love alone!
O may thy love possess me whole,
My joy, my treasure, and my crown!
Strange fires far from my heart remove:
My every act, word, thought, be love!

I never heard that any one objected to this. And indeed, who can

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object? Is not this the language not only of every believer, but of every one that is truly awakened? But what have I written, to this day, which is either stronger or plainer?

8. In August following I had a long conversation with Arvin Gradin, in Germany. After he had given me an account of his experience, I desired him to give me in writing a definition of the full assurance of faith, which he did in the following words:

"Requies in sanguine Christi: firma fiducia in Deum et persuasio de gratia divina: tranquillita mentis summa, atque serenitas et pax, cum absentia omnis desiderii carnalis, et cessatione peccatorum etiam internorum."

"Repose in the blood of Christ: a firm confidence in God and persuasion of his favour: the highest tranquillity, serenity, and peace of mind, with a deliverance from every fleshly desire, and a cessation of all, even inward sins."

This was the first account I ever heard from any living man, of what I had before learned myself from the Oracles of God, and had been praying for, (with the little company of my friends,) and expecting for several years.

9. In 1739, my brother and I published a volume of hymns and sacred poems. In many of these we declared our sentiments strongly and explicitly. See page 24.

Turn the full stream of nature's tide:
Let all our actions tend
To thee, their source; thy love the guide,
Thy glory be the end.
Earth then a scale to heaven shall be:
Sense shall point out the road:
The creatures all shall lead to thee,
And all we taste be God.

Again.

Lord, arm me with thy Spirit's might,
Since I am call'd by thy great name:
In thee my wand'ring thoughts unite,
Of all my works be thou the aim;
Thy love attend me all my days,
And my sole business be thy praise. p. 122.

Again.

Eager for thee I ask and pant,
So strong the principle divine
Carries me out with sweet constraint,
Till all my hallow'd soul be thine;
Plung'd in the Godhead's deepest sea,
And lost in thine immensity! p. 125.

Once more.

Heavenly Adam, life divine,
Change my nature into thine,
Move and spread throughout my soul,
Actuate and fill the whole. p. 153.

It would be easy to cite many more passages to the same effect. But these are sufficient to show, beyond contradiction, what our sentiments then were.

10. The first tract I ever wrote expressly on this subject was

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published in the latter end of this year. That none might be prejudiced before they read it, I gave it the indifferent title of "*The Character of a Methodist.*" In this I described a perfect Christian, placing in the front, "Not as though I had already attained." Part of it I subjoin without any alteration.

'A Methodist is one who loves the LORD his GOD with all his heart, with all his soul, with all his mind, and with all his strength. God is the joy of his heart, and the desire of his soul, which is continually crying, "Whom have I in heaven but thee; and there is none upon earth whom I desire but thee. My God and my All! Thou art the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever." He is therefore happy in God; yea, always happy, as having in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life, and overflowing his soul with peace and joy. Perfect love having now cast out fear, he rejoices evermore. Yea, his joy is full, and all his bones cry out, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten me again unto a living hope of an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, reserved in heaven for me."

'And he, who hath this hope, thus full of immortality, in every thing giveth thanks, as knowing that this (whatsoever it is,) is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning him. From him, therefore, he cheerfully receives all, saying, "Good is the will of the Lord;" and whether he giveth or taketh away, equally blessing the name of the Lord. Whether in ease or pain, whether in sickness or health, whether in life or death, he giveth thanks from the ground of the heart, to him who orders it for good; into whose hands he hath wholly committed his body and soul, as into the hands of a faithful Creator. He is, therefore, anxiously careful for nothing, as having cast all his care on Him that careth for him, and in all things resting on Him, after making his request known to Him with thanksgiving.

'For indeed he prays without ceasing; at all times the language of his heart is this, "Unto thee is my mouth, though without a voice, and my silence speaketh unto thee." His heart is lifted up to God at all times, and in all places. In this he is never hindered, much less interrupted by any person or thing. In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down or rise up, God is in all his thoughts: he walks with God continually, having the loving eye of his soul fixed on him, and every where seeing him that is invisible.

'And loving God, he loves his neighbour as himself: he loves every man as his own soul. He loves his enemies; yea, and the enemies of God. And if it be not in his power to do good to them that hate him, yet he ceases not to pray for them, though they spurn his love, and still despitefully use him, and persecute him.

'For he is pure in heart. Love has purified his heart from envy, malice, wrath, and every unkind temper. It has cleansed him from pride, whereof only cometh contention: and he hath now "put on

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bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering." And indeed, all possible ground for contention, on his part, is cut off. For none can take from him what he desires, seeing he "loves not the world, nor any of the things of the world:" But "all his desire is unto God, and unto the remembrance of his name."

'Agreeable to this, his one desire, is the one design of his life, namely, "To do not his own will, but the will of him that sent him." His one intention at all times and in all places is, not to please himself, but him whom his soul loveth. He hath a single eye; and because his "eye is single, his whole body is full of light!" The whole is light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth enlighten a house. God reigns alone: all that is in the soul is Holiness to the Lord. There is not a motion in his heart but is according to his Will. Every thought that arises points to him, and is in obedience to the law of Christ.

'And the tree is known by its fruits. For as he loves God, so he keeps his commandments; not only some, or most of them, but all, from the least to the greatest. He is not content to keep the whole law, and offend in one point, but has, in all points "a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man." Whatever God has forbidden, he avoids; whatever God has enjoined, he does. "He runs the way of God's commandments," now He hath set his heart at liberty. It is his glory and joy so to do: it is his daily crown of rejoicing, to do the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven.

'All the commandments of God he accordingly keeps, and that with all his might. For his obedience is in proportion to his love, the source from whence it flows. And therefore, loving God with all his heart, he serves him with all his strength. He continually presents his soul and body "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God;" entirely, and without reserve, devoting himself, all he has, all he is, to his glory. All the talents he has, he constantly employs according to his Master's will: every power and faculty of his soul, every member of his body.

'By consequence, "Whatsoever he doth, it is all to the glory of God." In all his employments of every kind, he not only aims at this, (which is implied in having a single eye,) but actually attains it. His business and his refreshments, as well as his prayers, all serve to this great end. Whether he sit in the house or walk by the way: whether he lie down, or rise up, he is promoting, in all he speaks or does, the one business of his life. Whether he put on his apparel, or labour, or eat and drink, or divert himself from too wasting labour, it all tends to advance the glory of God, by peace and good-will among men. His own invariable rule is this: "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God, even the Father, through him."

'Nor do the customs of the world at all hinder his "running the race which is set before him." He cannot, therefore, lay up treasures on earth, no more than he can take fire into his bosom. He cannot speak evil of his neighbour, any more than he can either lie

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for God or man. He cannot utter an unkind word of any one; for love keeps the door of his lips. He cannot speak idle words: no corrupt conversation ever comes out of his mouth; as is all that is not good to the use of edifying, not fit to minister grace to the hearers. But "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are just or of good report," he thinks, speaks, and acts, adorning the gospel of God our Saviour in all things.'

These are the very words in which I largely declared, for the first time, my sentiments on Christian Perfection. And is it not easy to see, 1. That this is the very point at which I aimed all along from the year 1725? And more determinately from the year 1730, when I began to be, *homo unius libri;* a man of one Book, regarding none (comparatively) but the Bible? Is it not easy to see, 2. That this is the very same doctrine which I believe and teach at this day; not adding one point, either to that inward or outward holiness, which I maintained eight and thirty years ago? And it is the same, which, by the grace of God, I have continued to teach from that time till now: as will appear to every impartial person, from the extracts subjoined below.

11. I do not know, that any writer has made any objection against that tract to this day. And for some time, I did not find much opposition upon that head; at least, not from serious persons. But after a time, a cry arose, and (what a little surprised me,) among religious men, who affirmed, not that I stated Perfection wrong, but that "there is no perfection on earth;" nay, and fell vehemently on my Brother and me, for affirming the contrary. We scarce expected so rough an attack from these: especially, as we are clear on Justification by Faith, and careful to ascribe the whole of salvation to the mere grace of God. But what most surprised us was, that we are said to "dishonour Christ," by asserting that he saveth to the uttermost; by maintaining he will reign in our hearts alone, and subdue all things to himself!

12. I think it was in the latter end of the year 1740, that I had a conversation with Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of London, at Whitehall. He asked me what I meant by perfection. I told him without any disguise or reserve. When I ceased speaking, he said, "Mr. Wesley, if this be all you mean, publish it to all the world. If any one then can confute what you say, he may have free leave." I answered, "My Lord, I will:" and accordingly wrote and published the Sermon on Christian Perfection.

In this I endeavoured to show, "1. In what sense Christians are not: 2. In what sense they are perfect.

1. In what sense they are not. They are not perfect in knowledge. They are not free from ignorance, no nor from mistake. We are no more to expect any living man to be infallible, than to be omniscient. They are not free from infirmities, such as weakness or slowness of understanding, irregular quickness or heaviness of imagination. Such in another kind are, impropriety of language,

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ungracefulness of pronunciation: to which one might add a thousand nameless defects, either in conversation or behaviour. From such infirmities as these none are perfectly freed, till their spirits return to God. Neither can we expect, till then, to be wholly freed from temptation: 'For the servant is not above his master.' But neither in this sense is there any absolute perfection on earth. There is no perfection of degrees, none which does not admit of a continual increase.

II. In what sense then are they *perfect?* Observe, we are not now to speak of babes in Christ, but adult Christians. But even babes in Christ, are so far perfect as not to commit sin. This St. John affirms expressly; and it cannot be disproved by the examples of the Old Testament. For what if the holiest of the ancient Jews, did sometimes commit sin? We cannot infer from hence, that "all Christians do and must commit sin as long as they live."

"But does not the Scripture say, 'a just man sinneth seven times a day?' It does not. Indeed it says, 'a just man falleth seven times.' But this is quite another thing. For, first, the words, *a day*, are not in the text. Secondly, here is no mention of falling into sin at all. What is here mentioned, is falling into temporal affliction.

"But elsewhere Solomon says, 'There is no man that sinneth not.'" Doubtless thus it was in the days of Solomon; yea, and from Solomon to Christ there was then no man that sinned not. But whatever was the case of those under the law, we may safely affirm with St. John, that since the Gospel was given, 'he that is born of God sinneth not.'

The privileges of Christians are in nowise to be measured by what the Old Testament records concerning those who were under the Jewish dispensation; seeing the fulness of time is now come; the Holy Ghost is now given; the great salvation of God is now brought to men by the revelation of Jesus Christ. The kingdom of heaven is now set up on earth, concerning which the Spirit of God declared of old time, (so far is David from being the pattern or standard of Christian Perfection,) 'He that is feeble among them at that day, shall be as David, and the house of David shall be as the angel of the Lord before them.' Zech. xii. 8.

"But the Apostles themselves committed sin. Peter by dissembling, Paul by his sharp contention with Barnabas." Suppose they did, will you argue thus: "If two of the Apostles once committed sin, then all other Christians in all ages, do and must commit sin as long as they live?" Nay, God forbid we should thus speak. No necessity of sin was laid upon them: the grace of God was surely sufficient for them. And it is sufficient far us at this day.

"But St. James says, 'In many things we offend all.'" True; but who are the persons here spoken of? Why, those *many masters* (or teachers) whom God hath not sent. Not the Apostle himself nor any real Christian. That, in the word *we*, (used by a figure of speech common in all other, as well as the inspired writings,) the Apostle could not possibly include himself, or any other true believer,

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appears, first from the ninth verse, "Therewith bless *we* God, and therewith curse *we* men." Surely not *we Apostles!* Not *we believers!* Secondly, from the words preceding the text: "My brethren, be not many masters, (or teachers,) knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation; for in many things we offend all." We! who? Not the Apostles nor true believers, but they who were to receive the greater condemnation, because of these many offences. Nay, thirdly, the verse itself proves, that the words, *we offend all*, cannot be spoken either of all men, or all Christians. For in it immediately follows the mention of a man *who offends not*, as the *we* first mentioned did: from whom therefore he is professedly contradistinguished, and pronounced a *perfect man*.

"But St. John himself says, 'If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves. And if we say we have not sinned, we make Him a liar, and his word is not in us.'"

I answer, 1. The tenth verse fixes the sense of the eighth. 'If we say we have no sin,' in the former, being explained by, 'If we say we have not sinned,' in the latter verse. 2. The point under consideration is not, whether we have or have not sinned heretofore, and neither of these verses asserts that we do sin, or commit sin now. 3. The ninth verse explains both the eighth and tenth. 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' As if he had said, I have before affirmed, 'The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.' And no man can say, I need it not; I have no sin to be cleansed from. 'If we say we have no sin, that we have not sinned, we deceive ourselves,' and make God a liar. But 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just,' not only 'to forgive us our sins, but also to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,' that we may 'go and sin no more.' In conformity, therefore, both to the doctrine of St. John, and the whole tenor of the New Testament, we fix this conclusion, A Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin.

This is the glorious privilege of every Christian, yea, though he be but a babe in Christ. But it is only of grown Christians it can be affirmed, they are in such a sense perfect, as, secondly, to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers. First, from evil or sinful thoughts. Indeed whence should they spring? 'Out of the heart of man,' if at all, 'proceed evil thoughts.' If therefore, the heart be no longer evil, then evil thoughts no longer proceed out of it. For 'a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.'

And as they are freed from evil thoughts, so likewise from evil tempers. Every one of these can say with St. Paul, 'I am crucified with Christ: Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me:' Words that manifestly describe a deliverance from inward, as well as from outward sin. This is expressed both negatively, 'I live not;' my evil nature, the body of sin is destroyed; and positively, 'Christ liveth in me,' and therefore all that is holy, and just, and good. Indeed both these, 'Christ liveth in me,' and 'I live not,' are inseparably connected. For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?

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He, therefore, who liveth in these Christians, hath purified their hearts by faith; insomuch that every one, who has Christ in him, the hope of glory, purifieth himself even as he is pure. He is purified from pride; for Christ was lowly in heart. He is pure from evil-desire and self-will; for Christ desired only to do the will of his Father. And he is pure from anger, in the common sense of the word; for Christ was meek and gentle. I say in the common sense of the word; for he is angry at sin, while he is grieved for the sinner. He feels a displacency at every offence against God, but only tender compassion to the offender.

Thus doth Jesus save his people from their sins, not only from outward sins, but from the sins of their hearts. "True," say some, "but not till death; not in this world." Nay, St. John says, 'Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment, because as he was, so are we in this world.' The Apostle here, beyond all contradiction, speaks of himself and other living Christians, of whom he flatly affirms, that not only at or after death, but in this world, they are as their Master.

Exactly agreeable to this are his words in the first chapter: 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.' And again: 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Now it is evident, the Apostle here speaks of a deliverance wrought in this world. For he saith not, The blood of Christ will cleanse, (at the hour of death, or in the day of judgment,) but it cleanseth at the time present, us living Christians, from all sin. And it is equally evident, that if any sin remain, we are not cleansed from all sin. If any unrighteousness remain in the soul, it is not cleansed from all unrighteousness. Neither let any say, that this relates to justification only, or cleansing us from the guilt of sin: First, because this is confounding together what the Apostle clearly distinguishes, who mentions first, 'to forgive us our sins,' and then, 'to cleanse us from all unrighteousness:' Secondly, because this is asserting justification by works in the strongest sense possible. It is making all inward as well as all outward holiness, necessarily previous to justification. For if the cleansing here spoken of be no more than cleansing us from the guilt of sin, then we are not cleansed from guilt; that is, not justified, unless on condition of walking in the light as he is in the light. It remains then, that Christians are saved in this world from all sin, from all unrighteousness; that they are now in such a sense perfect as not to commit sin, and to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers."

It could not be but that a discourse of this kind, which directly contradicted the favourite opinion of many, who were esteemed by others, and possibly esteemed themselves, some of the best Christians, (whereas, if these things were so, they were not Christians at all,) should give no small offence. Many answers or animadversions therefore were expected; but I was agreeably disappointed. I do not know that any appeared: so I went quietly on my way.

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13. Not long after, I think in the spring, 1741, we published a second volume of Hymns. As the doctrine was still much misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, I judged it needful to explain yet farther upon the head, which was done in the preface to it as follows:

"This great gift of God, the salvation of our souls, is no other than the image of God fresh stamped on our hearts. It is 'a renewal in the spirit of our minds, after the likeness of him that created them.' God hath now laid the axe unto the root of the tree, purifying their hearts by faith, and 'cleansing all the thoughts of their hearts by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit.' Having this hope, that they shall see God as he is, they purify themselves even as he is pure; and are holy, as he that hath called them is holy, in all manner of conversation. Not that they have already attained all that they shall attain, either are already (in this sense) perfect. But they daily 'go on from strength to strength;' 'beholding now, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, they are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord.'

"And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, such liberty, from the law of sin and death, as the children of this world will not believe, though a man declare it unto them. The Son hath made them free who are thus born of God, from that great root of sin and bitterness, Pride. They feel that all their sufficiency is of God; that it is he alone who is in all their thoughts, and worketh in them both to will and to do of his good pleasure. They feel, that it is not they that speak, but the Spirit of their Father who speaketh in them, and that whatsoever is done by their hands, the Father who is in them, he doeth the works. So that God is to them all in all, and they are nothing in his sight. They are freed from self-will, as desiring nothing but the holy and perfect will of God: not supplies in want, not ease* in pain, nor life, or death, or any creature, but continually crying in their inmost soul, 'Father, thy Will be done.' They are freed from evil thoughts, so that they cannot enter into them; no, not for a moment. Aforetime, when an evil thought came in, they looked up, and it vanished away. But now it does not come in, there being no room for this, in a soul which is full of God. They are free from wanderings in prayer. Whensoever they pour out their hearts in a more immediate manner before God, they have† no thought of any thing past, or absent, or to come, but of God alone. In times past they had wandering thoughts darted in, which yet fled away like smoke: but now that smoke does not rise at all. They have no fear or doubt, either as to their state in general, or as to any‡ particular action. The unction from the Holy One teacheth§ them every hour, what they shall do, and what they shall speak. Nor,

* This is too strong. Our Lord himself desired ease in pain. He asked for it, only with resignation; *Not as I will*, I desire, *but as thou wilt.*

† This is far too strong. See the Sermon on *Wandering Thoughts.*

‡ Frequently this is the case; but only *for a time.*

§ For a time it may be so; but not always.

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therefore, have they* any need to reason concerning it. They are, in one sense, freed from temptations: for though numberless temptations fly about them, yet they† trouble them not. At all times their souls are even and calm, their hearts are steadfast and unmoveable: their peace, flowing as a river, passeth all understanding, and they rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. For‡ they are sealed by the Spirit unto the day of redemption, having the witness in themselves, that there is laid up for them a crown of righteousness, which the Lord will give them in that day.

"Not that every one is a child of the Devil, till he is thus renewed in love. On the contrary, whoever has 'a sure confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven,' he is a child of God; and if he abide in him, an heir of all the promises. Neither ought he in any wise cast away his confidence, or to deny the faith he has received, because it is weak, or because it is tried with fire, so that his soul is in heaviness, through manifold temptations.

"Neither dare we affirm, as some have done, that all this salvation is given at once. There is indeed an instantaneous, (as well as gradual,) work of God in his children: and there wants not, we know, a cloud of witnesses, who have received in one moment, either a clear sense of the forgiveness of their sins, or the abiding witness of the Holy Spirit. But we do not know a single instance, in any place, of a person's receiving, in one and the same moment, remission of sins, the abiding witness of the Spirit, and a new, a clean heart.

"Indeed, how God may work, we cannot tell: but the general manner wherein he does work, is this: those, who once trusted in themselves, that they were righteous; that they were rich, and increased in goods, and had need of nothing, are, by the Spirit of God applying his word, convinced that they are poor and naked. All the things that they have done, are brought to their remembrance, and set in array before them, so that they see the wrath of God hanging over their heads, and feel that they deserve the damnation of hell. In their trouble they cry unto the Lord, and he shows them, that he hath taken away their sins, and opens the kingdom of heaven in their hearts, righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Sorrow and pain are fled away, and sin hath no more dominion over them. Knowing they are justified freely through faith in his blood, they 'have peace with God through Jesus Christ; they rejoice in hope of the glory of God, and the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts.'

"In this peace they remain for days, or weeks, or months, and commonly suppose, that they shall know not war any more; till some of their old enemies, their bosom sins, or the sin which did most

* Sometimes they have no need: at other times they have.
† Sometimes they do not: at other times they do, and that grievously.
‡ Not all who are saved from sin: many of them have not attained it yet.

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easily beset them, (perhaps anger or desire,) assault them again, and thrust sore at them that they may fall. Then arises fear, that they should not endure to the end, and often doubt whether God has not forgotten them, or whether they did not deceive themselves, in thinking their sins were forgiven. Under these clouds, especially if they reason with the Devil, they go mourning all the day long. But it is seldom long before their Lord answers for himself, sending them the Holy Spirit to comfort them, to bear witness continually with their spirits, that they are the children of God. Then they are, indeed, meek, and gentle, and teachable, even as a little child. And now* first do they see the ground of their heart, which God before would not disclose unto them, lest the soul should fail before him, and the spirit which he had made. Now they see all the hidden abominations there, the depths of pride, self-will, and hell; yet having the witness in themselves: 'Thou art an heir of God, a joint heir with Christ, even in the midst of this fiery trial;' which continually heightens both the strong sense they then have, of their inability to help themselves, and the inexpressible hunger they feel after a full renewal in his image, in righteousness and true holiness. Then God is mindful of the desire of them that fear him, and gives them a single eye, and a pure heart; he stamps upon them his own image and superscription; he creates them anew in Christ Jesus; he cometh unto them with his Son and blessed Spirit, and fixing his abode in their souls, bringeth them into the rest which remaineth for the people of God."

Here I cannot but remark, 1. That this is the strongest account we ever gave of Christian Perfection: indeed too strong in more than one particular, as is observed in the notes annexed: 2. That there is nothing which we have since advanced upon the subject, either in verse or prose, which is not either directly or indirectly contained in this preface. So that whether our present doctrine be right or wrong, it is however the same which we taught from the beginning.

14. I need not give additional proofs of this, by multiplying quotations from the volume itself. It may suffice, to cite part of one hymn only, the last of that volume.

Lord, I believe a rest remains,
To all thy people known,
A rest, where pure enjoyment reigns,
And thou art lov'd alone:

A rest, where all our souls' desire
Is fix'd on things above:
Where doubt, and pain, and fear expire,
Cast out by perfect Love.

* Is it not astonishing, that while this book is extant, which was published four and twenty years ago, any one should face me down, that this is a new doctrine, and what I never taught?

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From every evil motion freed,
(The Son hath made us free,)
On all the powers of hell we tread,
In glorious liberty.

Safe in the way of life, above
Death, earth, and hell we rise;
We find, when perfected in love,
Our long-sought paradise.

O that I now the rest may know,
Believe and enter in!
Now, Saviour, now, the power bestow,
And let me cease from sin!

Remove this hardness from my heart,
This unbelief remove:
To me the rest of faith impart,
The Sabbath of thy Love.

Come, O my Saviour, come away!
Into my soul descend!
No longer from thy creature stay,
My Author and my End.

The bliss thou hast for me prepar'd,
No longer be delay'd:
Come, my exceeding great reward,
For whom I first was made.

Come, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
And seal me thine abode!
Let all I am in thee be lost:
Let all be lost in God.

Can any thing be more clear, than, 1. That here also is as full and high a salvation as we have ever spoken of? 2. That this is spoken of as receivable by mere faith, and as hindered only by unbelief? 3. That this faith, and consequently the salvation which it brings, is spoken of as given in an instant? 4. That it is supposed that instant may be now: That we need not stay another moment: That now, the very now, is the accepted time? Now is the day of this full salvation? And, lastly, that, if any speak otherwise, he is the person that brings new doctrines among us?

15. About a year after, namely, in the year 1742, we published another volume of hymns. The dispute being now at the height, we spoke upon the head more largely than ever before. Accordingly, abundance of the hymns in this volume treat expressly on this subject. And so does the preface, which, as it is short, it may not be amiss to insert entire.

"1. Perhaps the general prejudice against Christian Perfection, may chiefly arise from a misapprehension of the nature of it. We willingly allow and continually declare, there is no such perfection in this life, as implies either a dispensation from doing good, and attending all the ordinances of God, or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood.

"2. First, we not only allow, but earnestly contend, that there is

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no perfection in this life, which implies any dispensation from attending all the ordinances of God, or from doing good unto all men while we have time, though especially unto the household of faith. We believe, that not only the babes in Christ, who have newly found redemption in his blood, but those also who are grown up into perfect men, are indispensably obliged, as often as they have opportunity, to eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of Him, and to search the Scriptures: by fasting, as well as temperance, to keep their bodies under, and bring them into subjection: and above all, to pour out their souls in prayer, both secretly and in the great congregation.

"3. We, secondly, believe, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies an entire deliverance, either from ignorance or mistake, in things not essential to salvation, or from manifold temptations, or from numberless infirmities, wherewith the corruptible body, more or less, presses down the soul. We cannot find any ground in Scripture to suppose, that any inhabitant of a house of clay, is wholly exempt, either from bodily infirmities, or from ignorance of many things; or to imagine any is incapable of mistake, or falling into divers temptations.

"4. But what then do you mean by one that is *perfect?*" We mean one in whom is the mind which was in Christ, and who so walketh as Christ also walked: a man that hath clean hands and a pure heart, or that is cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit; one in whom is no occasion of stumbling, and who accordingly does not commit sin. To declare this a little more particularly; we understand by that Scriptural expression, a perfect man, one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, "From all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you: I will also save you from all your uncleannesses." We understand hereby, one whom God "hath sanctified throughout, in body, soul, and spirit; one who walketh in the light, as He is in the light; in whom is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, having cleansed him from all sin."

"5. This man can now testify to all mankind, 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live: yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' He is holy, as God who calleth him is holy, both in heart and in all manner of conversation. He loveth the Lord his God with all his heart, and serveth him with all his strength. He loveth his neighbour, every man, as himself; yea, as Christ loveth us; them in particular, that 'despitefully use him, and persecute him,' 'because they know not the Son, neither the Father.' Indeed his soul is all love, filled with 'bowels of mercies, kindness, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering.' And his life agreeth thereto, full of the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. And whatsoever he doth, either in word or deed, he doth it all in the name, in the love, and power of the Lord Jesus. In a word, he doth 'the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven.'

"6. This *is* to be a perfect man, to be sanctified throughout; even 'to have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God, (to use Arch-

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bishop Usher's words,) as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God, through Christ.' In every thought of our hearts, in every word of our tongues, in every work of our hands, to 'show forth his praise, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light.' O that we, and all who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity, may thus be made perfect in one!"

This is the doctrine we preached from the beginning, and which we preach this day. Indeed, in viewing it in every point of light, and comparing it again and again, with the word of God on the one hand, and the experience of the children of God on the other, we saw farther into the nature and properties of Christian Perfection. But still there is no contrariety at all, between our first and our last sentiments. Our first conception of it was, It is to have the mind which was in Christ, and to walk as he walked. To have all the mind that was in him, and always to walk as he walked. In other words, to be inwardly and outwardly devoted to God: all devoted in heart and life. And we have the same conception of it now, without either addition or diminution.

16. The hymns concerning it in this volume are too numerous to transcribe. I shall only cite a part of three.

Saviour, from sin, I wait to prove,
  That JESUS is thy healing name;
To lose, when perfected in love,
  Whate'er I have, or can, or am:
I stay me on thy faithful word,
"The servant shall be as his Lord."

Answer that gracious end in me,
  For which thy precious life was given;
Redeem from ALL iniquity,
  Restore, and make me meet for heaven:
Unless thou purge my every stain,
Thy suffering, and my faith are vain.

Didst thou not die, that I might live
  No longer to myself, but thee?
Might body, soul, and spirit give
  To him, who gave himself for me?
Come then, my Master, and my God,
Take the dear purchase of thy Blood.

Thy own peculiar servant claim,
  For thy own truth and mercy's sake;
Hallow in me thy glorious Name;
  Me for thine own this moment take,
And change, and throughly purify:
Thine only may I live and die.

Chose from the world, if now I stand,
  Adorn'd with righteousness divine;
If brought into the promis'd land,
  I justly call the Saviour mine:
Thy sanctifying Spirit pour,
  To quench my thirst, and wash me clean;
Now, Saviour, let the Spirit shower:
  Descend, and make me pure from sin.

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Purge me from every sinful blot;
My idols all be cast aside:
Cleanse me from every evil thought,
From all the filth of self and pride.
The hatred of the carnal mind,
Out of my flesh at once remove:
Give me a tender heart resign'd,
And pure, and full of faithful love.

O that I now from sin releas'd,
Thy word might to the utmost prove,
Enter into the promis'd Rest,
The Canaan of thy perfect love.
Now let me gain perfection's height!
Now let me into nothing fall;
Be less than nothing in my sight,
And feel that Christ is all in all. Page 253.

Lord, I believe thy work of grace
Is perfect in the soul;
His heart is pure, who sees thy face,
His spirit is made whole.
From every sickness by thy word,
From every sore disease
Sav'd, and to perfect health restor'd,
To perfect holiness.

He walks in glorious liberty,
To sin entirely dead;
The Truth, the Son hath made him free,
And he is free indeed.
Throughout his soul thy glories shine,
His soul is all renew'd,
And deck'd in righteousness divine,
And cloth'd, and fill'd with God.

This is the rest, the life, the peace,
Which all thy people prove;
Love is the bond of perfectness,
And all their soul is love.
O joyful sound of gospel-grace!
Christ shall in me appear;
I, even I, shall see his Face,
I shall be holy here.

He visits now the house of clay,
He shakes his future home;
O would'st thou, Lord, on this glad day
Into thy temple come!
Come, O my God, thyself reveal,
Fill all this mighty void;
Thou only canst my spirit fill:
Come, O my God, my God!
Fulfil, fulfil my large desires,
Large as infinity!
Give, give me all my soul requires,
All, all that is in thee! Page 293.

17. On Monday, June 25, 1744, our first Conference began, six clergymen, and all our preachers being present. The next morning we seriously considered the doctrine of Sanctification or Perfection. The questions asked concerning it, and the substance of the answers given, were as follows:—

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Q. What is it to be *sanctified?*

A. To be renewed in the image of God, *in righteousness and true holiness.*

Q. What is implied in being a *perfect Christian?*

A. The loving God with all our heart, and mind, and soul. Deut. vi. 5.

Q. Does this imply, that *all inward sin* is taken away?

A. Undoubtedly: or how can we be said to be *cleansed from all uncleanness?* Ezek. xxxvi.

Our second Conference began Aug. 1, 1745. The next morning we spoke of Sanctification as follows:—

Q. When does inward Sanctification begin?

A. In a moment a man is justified. Yet sin remains in him; yea, the seed of sin, till he is *sanctified throughout.* From that time a believer gradually dies in sin, and grows in grace.

Q. Is this ordinarily not given till a little before death?

A. It is not to those, who expect it no sooner.

Q. But may we expect it sooner?

A. Why not? For although we grant, 1. That the generality of believers, whom we have hitherto known, were not sanctified till near death: 2. That few of those, to whom St. Paul wrote his Epistles, were so at that time: Nor, 3. He himself at the time of writing his former Epistles: yet all this does not prove, that we may not be so *to-day.*

Q. In what manner should we preach sanctification?

A. Scarcely at all to those who are not pressing forward: to those who are, always by way of promise; always *drawing*, rather than *driving.*

Our third Conference began Tuesday, May 26, 1746.

In this we carefully read over the Minutes of the two preceding Conferences, to observe whether any thing contained therein might be retrenched or altered upon more mature consideration. But we did not see cause to alter in any respect, what we had agreed upon before.

Our fourth Conference began on Tuesday, June 16, 1747. As several persons were present who did not believe the doctrine of Perfection, we agreed to examine it from the foundation.

In order to this, it was asked,

Q. "How much is allowed by our brethren, who differ from us, with regard to entire sanctification?"

A. They grant, 1. That every one must be entirely sanctified in the article of death: 2. That, till then, a believer daily grows in grace, comes nearer and nearer to perfection: 3. That we ought to be continually pressing after it, and to exhort all others so to do.

Q. What do we allow them?

A. We grant, 1. That many of those who have died in the faith, yea, the greater part of those we have known, were not *perfected in love*, till a little before their death: 2. That the term *sanctified*, is continually applied by St. Paul, to all that were justified: 3. That

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by this term alone, he rarely, if ever, means "Saved from all sin:" 4. That consequently it is not proper to use it in that sense, without adding the word *wholly, entirely*, or the like: 5. That the inspired writers almost continually speak of or to those who are justified, but very rarely of or to those who were totally sanctified:* 6. That consequently it behooves us to speak almost continually of the state of justification; but more rarely, at least† in full and explicit terms, concerning entire sanctification.

Q. What then is the point where we divide?

A. It is this: Should we expect to be saved from *all sin* before the article of death?

Q. Is there any clear Scripture *promise* of this: That God will save us from *all sin?*

A. There is, Psalm cxxx. 8: "He shall redeem Israel from all his sins."

This is more largely expressed in the prophecy of Ezekiel: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you.—I will also save you from all your uncleannesses." chap. xxxvi. ver. 25. 29. No promise can be more clear. And to this the Apostle plainly refers in that exhortation: "Having these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." 2 Cor. vii. 1. Equally clear and express is that ancient promise: "The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul." Deut. xxx. 6.

Q. But does any *assertion* answerable to this, occur in the New Testament?

A. There does, and that laid down in the plainest terms. So, 1 John iii. 8, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil:" the works of the Devil, without any limitation or restriction; but all sin is the work of the Devil. Parallel to which is the assertion of St. Paul: Eph. v. 25. 27: "Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it,—that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it might be holy and without blemish."

And to the same effect is his assertion in the eighth of the Romans, ver. 3, 4: "God sent his son—that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit."

Q. Does the New Testament afford any farther ground for expecting to be saved from *all sin?*

A. Undoubtedly it does, both in those *prayers* and *commands*, which are equivalent to the strongest assertions.

* That is, unto those alone, exclusive of others: but they speak to them, jointly with others, almost continually.

† More rarely I allow; but yet in some places very frequently, strongly, and explicitly.

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Q. What *prayers* do you mean?

A. Prayers for entire sanctification, which, were there no such thing, would be mere mockery of God. Such in particular are, 1. "Deliver us from all evil." Now when this is done, when we are delivered from all evil, there can be no sin remaining. 2. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." John xvii. 20, 21. 23. 3. "I bow my knees unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus—that he would grant you—that ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. That ye may be filled with all the fulness of God." Eph. iii. 14, &c. 4. "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God, your whole spirit, soul, and body, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Thess. v. 23.

Q. What *command* is there to the same effect?

A. 1. "Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven, is perfect." Matt. v. 48. 2. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." Matt. xxii. 37. But if the love of God fill *all thy heart*, there can be no sin there.

Q. But how does it appear, that this is to be done before the article of death?

A. 1. From the very nature of a command, which is not given to the dead, but to the living. Therefore, "Thou shalt love God with all thy heart," cannot mean, thou shalt do this when thou diest, but while thou livest.

2. From express texts of Scripture. 1. "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching, that having renounced ungodly and worldly lusts, we should *live* soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Tit. ii. 11—14. 2. "He hath raised up a horn of salvation for us; to perform the mercy promised to our fathers; the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, should serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness, before him, all the days of our life." Luke i. 62, &c.

Q. Is there any example in Scripture of persons who have attained to this?

A. Yes, St. John, and all those of whom he says, "Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment, because as he is, so are we in this world." 1 John iv. 17.

Q. Can you show one such example now? Where is he that is thus perfect?

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A. To some that make this inquiry one might answer, If I knew one here, I would not tell *you*: for you do not inquire out of love. You are like Herod: you only seek the young child to slay it.

But more directly we answer. There are many reasons, why there should be few, if any, *indisputable* examples. What inconveniences would this bring on the person himself, set as a mark for all to shoot at! And how unprofitable would it be to gainsayers! "For if they hear not Moses and the Prophets," Christ and his Apostles, "neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

Q. Are we not apt to have a secret distaste to any who say they are saved from all sin?

A. It is very possible we may, and that upon several grounds: partly from a concern for the good of souls, who may be hurt, if these are not what they profess; partly from a kind of implicit envy at those who speak of higher attainments than our own; and partly from our natural slowness and unreadiness of heart, to believe the works of God.

Q. Why may we not continue in the joy of faith till we are *perfected in love?*

A. Why indeed! Since even holy grief does not quench this joy: since even while we are under the cross, while we deeply partake of the sufferings of Christ we may rejoice with joy unspeakable.

From these extracts it undeniably appears not only what was mine and my brother's judgment, but what was the judgment of all the preachers in connexion with us, in the years 44, 45, 46, and 47. Nor do I remember, that in any of these Conferences we had one dissenting voice: but whatever doubts any one had when we met, they were all removed before we parted.

18. In the year 1749, my brother printed two volumes of *Hymns and Sacred Poems.* As I did not see these before they were published, there were some things in them which I did not approve of. But I quite approved of the main of the hymns on this head; a few verses of which are subjoined:

Come, Lord, be manifested here,
And *all the Devil's works* destroy;
Now, without sin, in me appear,
And fill with everlasting joy:
Thy beatific face display:
Thy presence is the perfect day. Vol. I. p. 202.

Swift to my rescue come,
Thy own *this moment* seize!
Gather my wandering spirit home,
And keep in perfect peace.
Suffer'd no more to rove
O'er all the earth abroad,
Arrest the prisoner of thy love,
And shut me up in God! p. 247.

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Thy pris'ners release, vouchsafe us thy peace:
And our sorrows and sins *in a moment* shall cease.
That moment be now! our petition allow,
Our *present* Redeemer and Comforter thou! Vol. II. p. 124.

From this inbred sin deliver,
Let the yoke *now* be broke;
Make me thine for ever.
Partner of thy perfect nature,
Let me be *now* in thee
A new sinless creature. p. 156.

Turn me, Lord, and turn me now,
To thy yoke my spirit bow:
Grant me now the pearl to find
Of a meek and quiet mind.
Calm, O calm my troubled breast;
Let me gain that second rest:
From my works for ever cease,
Perfected in holiness. p. 161.

Come in this accepted hour,
Bring thy heavenly kingdom in;
Fill us with thy glorious power,
Rooting out the seeds of sin. p. 163.

Come, thou dear Lamb, for sinners slain,
Bring in the cleansing flood;
Apply to wash out *every stain*,
Thine efficacious blood.
O let it sink into our soul,
Deep as the inbred sin;
Make every wounded spirit whole,
And every leper clean! p. 171.

Pris'ners of hope, arise;
And see your Lord appear,
Lo! on the wings of love he flies,
And brings redemption near.
Redemption through his blood
He calls you to receive:
"Come unto me, the pard'ning God:
"Believe," he cries, "believe!"
Jesus, to thee we look,
'Till sav'd from sin's remains,
Reject the inbred tyrant's yoke,
And cast away his chains.
Our nature shall no more
O'er us dominion have:
By faith we apprehend the power
Which shall for ever save. p. 188.

Jesu, our Life, in us appear,
Who daily die thy death:
Reveal thyself the Finisher:
Thy quick'ning Spirit breathe:
Unfold the hidden mystery,
The second gift impart;
Reveal thy glorious self in me;
In every waiting heart. p. 194.

In Him we have peace, In Him we have power:
Preserv'd by his grace, Throughout the dark hour;
In all our temptation He keeps us to prove
His utmost salvation, His fulness of love.
Pronounce the glad word, And bid us be free;
Ah, hast thou not, Lord, A blessing for me?
The peace thou hast given, *This moment* impart,
And open thy heaven, O Love, in my heart. p. 323.

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A second edition of these hymns was published in the year 1755: and that without any other alteration than that of a few literal mistakes.

I have been the more large in these extracts, because hence it appears, beyond all possibility of exception, that to this day, both my brother and I maintained, 1, That Christian Perfection is that love of God and our neighbour, which implies deliverance from *all sin*: 2, That this is received merely *by faith*: 3, That it is given *instantaneously*, in one moment: 4, That we are to expect it not at death, but *every moment*: that *now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of this salvation.

19. At the Conference in the year 1759, perceiving some danger, that a diversity of sentiments should insensibly steal in among us, we again largely considered this doctrine. And soon after, I published *Thoughts on Christian Perfection*, prefaced with the following advertisement:

"The following Tract is by no means designed to gratify the curiosity of any man. It is not intended to prove the doctrine at large, in opposition to those, who explode and ridicule it: no, nor to answer the numerous objections against it, which may be raised even by serious men. All I intend here is, simply to declare, what are my sentiments on this head; what Christian Perfection does, according to my apprehension, include, and what it does not; and to add a few practical observations and directions, relative to the subject.

"As these thoughts were at first thrown together by way of question and answer, I let them continue in the same form.—They are just the same that I have entertained for above twenty years."

Q. What is Christian Perfection?

A. The loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies, that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words, and actions, are governed by pure love.

Q. Do you affirm, that this perfection excludes all infirmities, ignorance, and mistake?

A. I continually affirm quite the contrary, and always have done so.

Q. But how can every thought, word, and work, be governed by pure love, and the man be subject at the same time to ignorance and mistake?

A. I see no contradiction here. "A man may be filled with pure love, and still be liable to mistake." Indeed I do not expect to be freed from actual mistakes, till this mortal put on immortality. I believe this to be a natural consequence of the soul's dwelling in flesh and blood. For we cannot now *think* at all, but by the mediation of those bodily organs, which have suffered equally with the rest of our frame. And hence we cannot avoid sometimes *thinking wrong*, till this corruptible shall have put on incorruption.

But we may carry this thought farther yet. A mistake in judgment may possibly occasion a mistake in practice. For instance:

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Mr. De Renty's mistake touching the nature of mortification, arising from prejudice of education, occasioned that practical mistake, his wearing an iron girdle. And a thousand such instances there may be, even in those who are in the highest state of grace. Yet, where every word and action springs from love, such a mistake is not properly *a sin*. However, it cannot bear the rigour of God's justice, but needs the atoning blood.

Q. What was the judgment of all our brethren, who met at Bristol in August, 1758, on this head?

A. It was expressed in these words: 1. Every one may mistake as long as he lives. 2. A mistake in *opinion* may occasion a *mistake* in practice. 3. Every such mistake is a transgression of the perfect law. Therefore, 4. Every such mistake, were it not for the blood of atonement, would expose to eternal damnation. 5. It follows, that the most perfect have continual need of the merits of Christ, even for their actual transgressions, and may say for themselves, as well as for their brethren, "Forgive us our trespasses."

This easily accounts for what might otherwise seem to be utterly unaccountable: namely, that those who are not offended, when we speak of the highest degree of love, yet will not hear of living *without sin*. The reason is, they know all men are liable to mistake, and that in practice as well as in judgment. But they do not know, or do not observe, that this is not sin, if love is the sole principle of action.

Q. But still, if they live without sin, does not this exclude the necessity of a Mediator? At least, is it not plain, that they stand no longer in need of Christ in his priestly office?

A. Far from it. None feel their need of Christ like these; none so entirely depend upon him. For Christ does not give life to the soul separate from, but in and with himself. Hence his words are equally true of all men, in whatsoever state of grace they are: "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me: without (or separate from) me, ye can do nothing."

In every state we need Christ in the following respects: 1. Whatever grace we receive, it is a free gift from him. 2. We receive it as his purchase, merely in consideration of the price he paid. 3. We have this grace not merely from Christ, but in him. For our perfection is not like that of a tree, which flourishes by the sap, derived from its own root, but, as was said before, like that of a branch, which, united to the vine, bears fruit, but severed from it, is dried up and withered. 4. All our blessings, temporal, spiritual, and eternal, depend on his intercession for us, which is one branch of his priestly office, whereof, therefore, we have always equal need. 5. The best of men still need Christ in his priestly office to atone for their omissions, their short-comings, (as some not improperly speak,) their mistakes in judgment and practice, and their defects of various kinds. For these are all deviations from the perfect law, and consequently need an atonement. Yet that they are not properly sins, we appre-

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hend may appear from the words of St. Paul, "He that loveth hath fulfilled the law, for love is the fulfilling of the law." Rom. xiii. 10, 12. Now, mistakes, and whatever infirmities naturally flow from the corruptible state of the body, are no way contrary to love, nor therefore in the Scripture sense, *sin*.

To explain myself a little farther on this head. 1. Not only *sin, properly so called*, that is, voluntary transgression of a known law, but sin improperly, so called, that is, an involuntary transgression of a divine law, known or unknown, needs the atoning blood. 2. I believe there is no such perfection in this life, as excludes these involuntary transgressions, which, I apprehend, to be naturally consequent on the ignorance and mistakes inseparable from mortality. 3. Therefore *sinless perfection* is a phrase I never use, lest I should *seem* to contradict myself. 4. I believe a person filled with the love of God, is still liable to these involuntary transgressions. 5. Such transgressions you may call *sins*, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned.

Q. What advice would you give to those that do, and to those that do not, call them so?

A. Let those who do not call them *sins*, never think that themselves, or any other persons, are in such a state, as that they can stand before infinite Justice without a Mediator. This must argue either the deepest ignorance, or the highest arrogance and presumption.

Let those who do call them so, beware how they confound these *defects* with *sins*, properly so called.

But how will they avoid it? How will these be distinguished from those, if they are all promiscuously called *sins?* I am much afraid, if we should allow any *sins* to be consistent with perfection, few would confine the idea to those *defects*, concerning which only the assertion could be true.

Q. But how can a liableness to mistake consist with perfect love? Is not a person, who is perfected in love, every moment under its influence? And can any mistake flow from pure love?

A. I answer, 1. Many mistakes may *consist* with pure love. 2. Some may accidentally flow from it. I mean, love itself may incline us to mistake. The pure love of our neighbour, springing from the love of God, thinketh no evil, believeth and hopeth all things. Now this very temper, unsuspicious, ready to believe and hope the best of all men, may occasion our thinking some men better than they really are. Here then is a manifest mistake, accidentally flowing from pure love.

Q. How shall we avoid setting perfection too high or too low?

A. By keeping to the Bible, and setting it just as high as the Scripture does. It is nothing higher and nothing lower than this: the pure love of God and man; the loving God with all our heart and soul, and our neighbour as ourselves. It is love governing the heart and life, running through all our tempers, words, and actions.

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Q. Suppose one had attained to this, would you advise him to speak of it?

A. At first perhaps he would scarcely be able to refrain, the fire would be so hot within him; his desire to declare the loving kindness of the Lord, carrying him away like a torrent. But afterward he might; and then it would be advisable, not to speak of it to them that know not God. It is most likely, it would only provoke them to contradict and blaspheme: nor to others without some particular reason, without some good in view. And then he should have especial care to avoid all appearance of boasting, to speak with the deepest humility and reverence, giving all the glory to God.

Q. But would it not be better to be entirely silent; not to speak of it at all?

A. By silence he might avoid many crosses, which will naturally and necessarily ensue, if he simply declare, even among believers, what God has wrought in his soul. If therefore such an one were to confer with flesh and blood, he would be entirely silent. But this could not be done with a clear conscience; for undoubtedly he ought to speak. Men do not light a candle to put it under a bushel; much less does the all-wise God. He does not raise such a monument of his power and love, to hide it from all mankind. Rather he intends it as a general blessing, to those who are simple of heart. He designs thereby not barely the happiness of that individual person, but the animating and encouraging others, to follow after the same blessing. His will is, "That many shall see it, and rejoice, and put their trust in the Lord." Nor does any thing under heaven more quicken the desires of those who are justified, than to converse with those whom they believe to have experienced a still higher salvation. This places that salvation full in their view, and increases their hunger and thirst after it: an advantage which must have been entirely lost, had the person so saved buried himself in silence.

Q. But is there no way to prevent those crosses, which usually fall on those who speak of being thus saved?

A. It seems they cannot be prevented altogether, while so much of nature remains even in believers. But something might be done, if the Preacher in every place would, 1. Talk freely with all who speak thus: and, 2. Labour to prevent the unjust or unkind treatment of those, in favour of whom there is reasonable proof.

Q. What is reasonable proof? How may we certainly know one that is saved from all sin?

A. We cannot *infallibly* know one that is thus saved, (no, nor even one that is justified,) unless it should please God to endow us with the miraculous discernment of spirits. But we apprehend these would be sufficient proofs to any reasonable man, and such as would leave little room to doubt, either the truth or the depth of the work: 1. If we had clear evidence of his exemplary behaviour, for some time before this supposed change. This would give us reason to believe he would not *lie for God;* but speak neither more nor less than he felt: 2. If he gave a distinct account of the time and manner

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wherein the change was wrought, with sound speech which could not be reproved: and, 3. If it appeared that all his subsequent words and actions were holy and unblamable.

The short of the matter is this: 1. I have abundant reason to believe this person will not lie: 2. He testifies before God, "I feel no sin, but all love: I pray, rejoice, and give thanks without ceasing: and I have as clear an inward witness, that I am fully renewed, as that I am justified." Now if I have nothing to oppose to this plain testimony, I ought in reason to believe it.

It avails nothing to object, "But I know several things wherein he is quite mistaken." For it has been allowed, that all who are in the body are liable to mistake: and that a mistake in judgment may sometimes occasion a mistake in practice: (though great care is to be taken that no ill use be made of this concession,) For instance: even one that is perfected in love may mistake with regard to another person, and may think him, in a particular case, to be more or less faulty than he really is. And hence he may speak to him with more or less severity than the truth requires. And in this sense, (though that be not the primary meaning of St. James,) "in many things we offend all." This therefore is no proof at all, that the person so speaking is not perfect in love.

Q. But is it not a proof, if he is *surprised* or *fluttered* by a noise, a fall, or some sudden danger?

A. It is not: for one may start, tremble, change colour, or be otherwise disordered in body, while the soul is calmly stayed on God, and remains in perfect peace. Nay, the mind itself may be deeply distressed, may be exceedingly sorrowful, may be perplexed and pressed down by heaviness and anguish, even to agony, while the heart cleaves to God by perfect love, and the will is wholly resigned to him. Was it not so with the Son of God himself? Does any child of man endure the distress, the anguish, the agony, which he sustained? And yet he *knew no sin.*

Q. But can any one who has a pure heart, prefer pleasing to unpleasing food? Or use any pleasure of sense which is not strictly necessary? If so, how do they differ from others?

A. The difference between these and others, in taking pleasant food is, 1. They need none of these things to make them happy; for they have a spring of happiness within. They see and love God: hence they rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks. 2. They may use them, but they do not seek them. 3. They use them sparingly, and not for the sake of the thing itself. This being premised, we answer directly: such an one may use pleasing food, without the danger which attends those who are not saved from sin. He may prefer it to unpleasing, though equally wholesome food, as a mean of increasing thankfulness, with a single eye to God, who giveth us all things richly to enjoy: on the same principle, he may smell to a flower, or eat a bunch of grapes, or take any other pleasure which does not lessen, but increase his delight in God. Therefore neither can we say, that one perfected in love would be incapable of

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marriage, and of worldly business: if he were called thereto, he would be more capable than ever; as being able to do all things without hurry or carelessness, without any distraction of spirit.

Q. But what does the perfect Christian do more than others? More than the common believers?

A. Perhaps nothing; at least externally: so may the providence of God have hedged him in by outward circumstances. Perhaps not so much; though he desires and longs to spend and be spent for God; he neither speaks so many words, nor does so many works. As neither did our Lord himself speak so many words, or do so many, no, nor so great works, as some of his Apostles. (John xiv. 12.) But what then? This is no proof that he has not more grace: and by this God measures the outward work. Hear ye him: "Verily I say unto you, this poor widow has cast in more than them all." Verily this poor man, with his few broken words, has spoke more than them all. Verily this poor woman, that hath given a cup of cold water, hath done more than them all! O cease to *judge according to appearance*, and learn to *judge righteous judgment*.

Q. But is not this a proof against him? I feel no power either in his words or prayer?

A. It is not: for perhaps that is your own fault. You are not likely to feel any power therein, if any of these hinderances lie in the way: 1. Your own *deadness* of soul. The dead Pharisees felt *no power* even in his words, who "spake as never man spake:" 2. The guilt of some unrepented sin, lying upon the conscience: 3. *Prejudice* toward him of any kind. 4. Your *not believing* that state to be attainable, wherein he professes to be. 5. *Unwillingness* to think or own he has attained it. 6. Over-valuing or idolizing him. 7. Over-valuing yourself and your own judgment. If any of these be the case, what wonder is it that you feel no power in any thing he says? But do not others feel it? If they do, your argument falls to the ground. And if they do not, do none of these hinderances lie in their way too? Ye must be certain of this before you can build any argument thereon. And even then your argument will prove no more, than that grace and gifts do not always go together.

"But he does not come up to my idea of a perfect Christian." And perhaps no one ever did, or ever will. For your idea may go beyond, or at least beside the scriptural account. It may include more than the Bible includes therein, or, however, something which that does not include. Scripture perfection is, pure love filling the heart and governing all the words and actions. If your idea includes any thing more or any thing else, it is not scriptural; and then no wonder, that a scripturally-perfect Christian does not come up to it.

I fear many stumble on this stumbling-block. They include as many ingredients as they please, not according to Scripture, but their own imagination, in their idea of one that is perfect; and then readily deny any one to be such, who does not answer that imaginary idea.

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The more care should we take, to keep the simple, scriptural account continually in our eye. Pure love reigning alone in the heart and life, this is the whole of scriptural perfection.

Q. When may a person judge himself to have attained this?

A. When after having been fully convinced of inbred sin, by a far deeper and clearer conviction, than he experienced before justification, and after having experienced a gradual mortification of it, he experiences a total death to sin, and an entire renewal in the love and image of God, so as to rejoice evermore, to pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks. Not that "to feel all love and no sin," is sufficient proof; several have experienced this for a time, before their souls were fully renewed. None therefore ought to believe, that the work is done till there is added the testimony of the Spirit, witnessing his entire sanctification as clearly as his justification.

Q. But whence is it that some imagine they are thus sanctified, when in reality they are not?

A. It is hence: they do not judge by all the preceding marks, but either by part of them, or by others that are ambiguous. But I know no instance of a person attending to them all, and yet deceived in this matter. I believe there can be none in the world. If a man be deeply and fully convinced, after justification, of inbred sin; if he then experience a gradual mortification of sin, and afterwards an entire renewal in the image of God: if to this change immensely greater than that wrought when he was justified, be added a clear, direct witness of the renewal: I judge it as impossible this man should be deceived herein, as that God should lie. And if one whom I knew to be a man of veracity, testify these things to me, I ought not, without some sufficient reason, to reject his testimony.

Q. Is this death to sin, and renewal in love, gradual or instantaneous?

A. A man may be dying for some time; yet he does not, properly speaking, die till the instant the soul is separated from the body: and in that instant he lives the life of eternity. In like manner, he may be dying to sin for some time; yet he is not dead to sin, till sin is separated from his soul. And in that instant he lives the full life of love. And as the change undergone when the body dies, is of a different kind, and infinitely greater than any we had known before, yea, such as till then it is impossible to conceive; so the change wrought when he dies to sin, is of a different kind, and infinitely greater than any conceive till he experiences it. Yet he still grows in grace, in the knowledge of Christ, in the love and image of God: and will do so, not only till death, but to all eternity.

Q. How are we to wait for this change?

A. Not in careless indifference, or indolent inactivity; but in vigorous, universal obedience, in a zealous keeping of all the commandments, in watchfulness and painfulness, in denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily; as well as in earnest prayer and fasting, and a close attendance on all the ordinances of God. And

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if any man dream of attaining it in any other way, (yea, or of keeping it when it is attained, when he has received it even in the largest measure,) he deceiveth his own soul. It is true we receive it by simple faith. But God does not, will not give that faith, unless we seek it with all diligence, in the way which he hath ordained.

This consideration may satisfy those who inquire, Why so few have received this blessing! Inquire, how many are seeking it in this way? And you have a sufficient answer.

Prayer especially is wanting. Who continues instant therein; Who wrestles with God for this very thing? So ye have not because ye ask not; or because ye ask amiss, namely, "That you may be renewed before you die." Before you die! Will that content you? Nay, but ask that it may be done now! To-day! While it is called to-day! Do not call this, "setting God a time." Certainly to-day is his time as well as to-morrow. Make haste, man, make haste! Let

Thy soul break out in strong desire
The perfect bliss to prove!
Thy longing heart be all on fire
To be dissolv'd in love!

Q. But may we continue in peace and joy, till we are perfected in love?

A. Certainly we may, for the kingdom of God is not divided against itself. Therefore let not believers be discouraged from "rejoicing in the Lord always." And yet we may be sensibly pained at the sinful nature that still remains in us. It is good for us to have a piercing sense of this, and a vehement desire to be delivered from it. But this should only incite us, the more zealously to fly every moment to our strong Helper, the more earnestly to "press forward to the mark, the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus." And when the sense of our sin most abounds, the sense of his love should much more abound.

Q. How should we treat those who think they have attained?

A. Examine them candidly, and exhort them to pray fervently, that God would show them all that is in their hearts. The most earnest exhortations to abound in every grace, and the strongest cautions to avoid all evil, are given throughout the New Testament, to those who are in the highest state of grace. But this should be done with the utmost tenderness, and without any harshness, sternness, or sourness. We should carefully avoid the very appearance of anger, unkindness, or contempt. Leave it to Satan thus to tempt, and to his children to cry out, "Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience." If they are faithful to the grace given, they are in no danger of perishing thereby: No, not if they remain in that mistake, till their spirit is returning to God.

Q. But what hurt can it do to deal harshly with them?

A. Either they are mistaken or they are not. If they are, it may destroy their souls. This is nothing impossible, no, nor improbable. It may so enrage, or so discourage them, that they may sink

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and rise no more. If they are not mistaken, it may grieve those whom God has not grieved, and do much hurt unto our own souls. For undoubtedly, he that toucheth them, toucheth, as it were, the apple of God's eye. If they are indeed full of his Spirit, to behave unkindly or contemptuously to them, is doing no little despite to the Spirit of Grace. Hereby likewise we feed and increase in ourselves evil-surmising, and many wrong tempers. To instance only one. What self-sufficiency is this, to set ourselves up for inquisitors general, for peremptory judges in the deep things of God! Are we qualified for the office? Can we pronounce in all cases, How far infirmity reaches? What may and what may not be resolved into it. What may in all circumstances, and what may not consist with perfect love? Can we precisely determine, how it will influence the look, the gesture, the tone of voice? If we can, doubtless, "we are the men, and wisdom shall die with us!"

Q. But if they are displeased at our not believing them, is not this a full proof against them?

A. According as that displeasure is: if they are angry, it is a proof against them; if they are grieved, it is not. They ought to be grieved, if we disbelieve a real work of God, and thereby deprive ourselves of the advantage we might have received from it. And we may easily mistake this grief for anger, as the outward expressions of both are much alike.

Q. But is it not well to find out those, who fancy they have attained, when they have not?

A. It is well to do it by mild, loving examination. But it is not well to triumph even over these. It is extremely wrong, if we find such an instance, to rejoice, as if we had found great spoils. Ought we not rather to grieve, to be deeply concerned, to let our eyes run down with tears? Here is one who seemed to be a living proof of God's power to save to the uttermost, but, alas! it is not as we hoped! He is weighed in the balance, and found wanting! And is this matter of joy? Ought we not to rejoice a thousand times more, if we can find nothing but pure love?

"But he is deceived." What then? It is a harmless mistake, while he feels nothing but love in his heart. It is a mistake which generally argues great grace, and a high degree both of holiness and happiness. This should be a matter of real joy to all that are simple of heart: not the mistake itself, but the height of grace, which, for a time, occasions it. I rejoice that that soul is always happy in Christ, always full of prayer and thanksgiving. I rejoice that he feels no unholy temper, but the pure love of God continually. And I will rejoice, if sin be suspended, till it is totally destroyed.

Q. Is there no danger then in a man's being thus deceived?

A. Not at the time that he feels no sin. There was danger before, and there will be again, when he comes into fresh trials. But so long as he feels nothing but love, animating all his thoughts, and words, and actions, he is in no danger: he is not only happy, but safe, under the shadow of the Almighty. And, for God's sake, let

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him continue in that love as long as he can: meantime, you may do well to warn him of the danger that *will be*, if his love grow cold and sin revive, even the danger of casting away hope, and supposing, that because he hath not attained yet, therefore he never shall.

Q. But what if none have attained it yet? What if all who think so are deceived?

A. Convince me of this, and I will preach it no more. But understand me right: I do not build any doctrine on this or that person. This or any other man may be deceived, and I am not moved. But if there are none made perfect yet, God has not sent *me* to preach perfection.

Put a parallel case. For many years I have preached, "There is a peace of God which passeth all understanding." Convince me, that this word has fallen to the ground, that in all these years none have attained this peace, that there is no living witness of it at this day, and I will preach it no more.

"O, but several persons have died in that peace." Perhaps so: but I want living witnesses. I cannot indeed be infallibly certain, that this or that person is a witness. But if I were certain there were none such, I must have done with this doctrine.

"You misunderstand me. I believe some who died in his love, enjoyed it long before their death. But I was not certain, that their former testimony was true, till some hours before they died."

You had not an infallible certainty then. And a reasonable certainty you might have had before; such a certainty as might have quickened and comforted your own soul, and answered all other Christian purposes. Such a certainty as this any candid person may have, suppose there be any living witness, by talking one hour with that person in the love and fear of God.

Q. But what does it signify, whether any have attained it or not, seeing so many scriptures witness for it?

A. If I were convinced, that none in England had attained what has been so clearly and strongly preached by such a number of preachers, in so many places, and for so long a time; I should be clearly convinced, that we had all mistaken the meaning of those scriptures, and therefore, for the time to come, I too must teach, that "sin will remain till death."

20. In the year 1762, there was a great increase of the work of God in London. Many, who had hitherto cared for none of these things, were deeply convinced of their lost estate. Many found redemption in the blood of Christ: not a few backsliders were healed. And a considerable number of persons believed, that God had saved them from *all sin*. Easily foreseeing, that Satan would be endeavouring to sow tares among the wheat, I took much pains to apprize them of the danger, particularly with regard to *pride* and *enthusiasm*. And while I stayed in town, I had reason to hope they continued both humble and sober-minded. But almost as soon as I was gone, enthusiasm broke in. Two or three began to take their own imaginations for impressions from God, and thence to suppose that they

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should *never die.* And these labouring to bring others into the same opinion, occasioned much noise and confusion. Soon after, the same persons, with a few more, ran into other extravagancies, fancying they could not be tempted, that they should feel no more pain, and that they had the gift of prophecy, and of discerning of spirits. At my return to London in Autumn, some of them stood reproved: but others were got above instruction. Meantime a flood of reproach came upon *me* almost from every quarter; from themselves, because I was checking them on all occasions; and from others, "because," they said, "I did not check them." However, the hand of the Lord was not stayed, but more and more sinners were convinced; while others were almost daily converted to God: and others enabled to love him *with all their heart.*

21. About this time, a friend at some distance from London, wrote to me as follows:—

"Be not over alarmed, that Satan sows tares among the wheat of Christ. It has ever been so, especially on any remarkable outpouring of the Spirit; and ever will be so, till he is chained up for a thousand years. Till then he will always *ape*, and endeavour to *counteract* the work of the Spirit of Christ.

"One melancholy effect of this has been, that a world, who is always asleep in the arms of the evil one, has ridiculed every work of the Holy Spirit.

"But what can real Christians do? Why, if they would act worthy of themselves, they should, 1. Pray that every deluded soul be delivered. 2. Endeavour to reclaim them in the spirit of meekness. And, Lastly, Take the utmost care, both by prayer and watchfulness, that the delusion of others may not lessen their zeal in seeking after that *universal holiness* of soul, body, and spirit, 'without which no man shall see the Lord.'

"Indeed, this *complete new creature* is mere madness to a mad world. But it is, notwithstanding, the *will* and *wisdom* of God. May we all seek after it!

"But some who maintain this doctrine in its full extent, are too often guilty of limiting the Almighty. He dispenses his gifts just as he pleases; therefore it is neither *wise* nor *modest* to affirm, That a person must be a believer for a length of time, before he is capable of receiving a *high degree* of the *Spirit of holiness.*

"God's *usual method* is one thing, but his *sovereign pleasure* is another. He has wise reasons both for hastening and retarding his work; sometimes he comes suddenly and unexpectedly; sometimes not till we have *long* looked for him.

"Indeed, it has been my opinion for many years, that one great cause why men make so little improvement in the divine life, is their own *coldness, negligence,* and *unbelief.* And yet I here speak of *believers.*

"May the Spirit of Christ give us a right judgment in all things, 'and fill us with all the fulness of God,' that so we may be 'perfect and entire, wanting nothing.'"

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About the same time, five or six honest enthusiasts foretold the world was to end on the 28th of February. I immediately withstood them by every possible means, both in public and private. I preached expressly upon the subject, both at West-street and Spitalfields. I warned the Society again and again, and spoke severally to as many as I could: and I saw the fruit of my labour. They made exceedingly few converts: I believe scarcely thirty in our whole Society. Nevertheless they made abundance of noise, gave huge occasion of offence to those who take care to improve to the uttermost every occasion against *me*, and greatly increased, both in number and courage, those who opposed Christian Perfection.

22. Some questions, now published by one of these, induced a plain man to write the following *Queries*, humbly proposed to those who deny perfection to be attainable in this life:—

1. Has there not been a larger measure of the Holy Spirit given under the Gospel, than under the Jewish dispensation? If not, in what sense was *the Spirit not given* before Christ was *glorified?* John vii. 39.

2. Was that *glory which followed the sufferings of Christ*, 1 Pet. i. 11, an external glory, or an internal, viz. the glory of holiness?

3. Has God any where in Scripture commanded us more than he has promised to us?

4. Are the promises of God respecting holiness to be fulfilled in this life, or only in the next?

5. Is a Christian under any other laws than those which God promises to *write in our hearts?* Jer. xxxi. 31; Heb. viii. 10.

6. In what sense is "the righteousness of the law fulfilled in those who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit?" Rom. viii. 4.

7. Is it impossible for any one in this life, to "love God with all his heart, and mind, and soul, and strength?" And is the Christian under any law which is not fulfilled in this love?

8. Does the soul's going out of the body effect its purification from indwelling sin?

9. If so, is it not something else,—not "the blood of Christ, which cleanseth it from all sin?"

10. If his blood cleanseth us from all sin, while soul and body are united, is it not *in this life?*

11. If when that union ceases, is it not *in the next?* And is not this too late?

12. If in the article of death; what situation is the soul in, when it is neither *in the body*, nor *out of it?*

13. Has Christ any where taught us to pray for what he never designs to give?

14. Has he not taught us to pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven?" And is it not done perfectly in heaven?

15. If so, has he not taught us to pray for *Perfection on earth?* Does he not then design to give it?

16. Did not St. Paul pray according to the will of God, when he prayed that the Thessalonians might be "sanctified wholly and pre-

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served" in this world, not the next, (unless he was praying for the dead,) "blameless in body, soul, and spirit, unto the coming of Jesus Christ?

17. Do you sincerely desire to be freed from indwelling sin in this life?

18. If you do, did not God give you that desire?

19. If so, did he not give it you to mock you, since it is impossible it should ever be fulfilled?

20. If you have not sincerity enough even to desire it, are you not disputing about matters too high for you?

21. Do you ever pray God 'to cleanse the thoughts of your heart, that you may perfectly love him?'

22. If you neither desire what you ask, nor believe it attainable, pray you not as a fool prayeth?

God help thee to consider these questions calmly and impartially!

In the latter end of this year, God called to himself that burning and shining light, Jane Cooper. As she was both a living and dying witness of Christian Perfection, it will not be at all foreign to the subject to add a short account of her death, with one of her own letters, containing a plain and artless relation of the manner wherein it pleased God to work that great change in her soul.

"*May* 2, 1761.

"I believe, while memory remains in me, gratitude will continue. From the time you preached on Gal. v. 5, I saw clearly the true state of my soul. That sermon described my heart and what it wanted, to be truly happy. You read Mr. M****'s letter, and it described the religion which I desired. From that time the prize appeared in view, and I was enabled to follow hard after it. I was kept watching unto prayer, sometimes in much distress, at other times in patient expectation of the blessing. For some days before you left London, my soul was stayed on a promise I had applied to me in prayer, 'The Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple.' I believed he would, and that he would sit there as a refiner's fire. The Tuesday after you went, I thought I could not sleep, unless he fulfilled his word that night. I never knew as I did then the force of these words, 'Be still and know that I am God.' I became nothing before him, and enjoyed perfect calmness in my soul. I knew not, whether he had destroyed my sin; but I desired to know that I might praise him. Yet I soon found the return of unbelief, and groaned being burdened. On Wednesday I went to London, and sought the Lord without ceasing. I promised, if he would save me from sin I would praise him. I could part with all things so I might win Christ. But I found all these pleas to be nothing worth, and that if he saved *me*, it must be freely, for his own Name's sake. On Thursday I was so much tempted, that I thought of destroying myself, or never conversing more with the people of God. And yet I had no doubt of his pardoning love: but ''Twas worse than death my God to love, and not my God alone.' On Friday my distress

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was deepened. I endeavoured to pray, and could not. I went to Mrs. D., who prayed for me, and told me it was the death of nature. I opened the Bible on, 'The fearful and unbelieving shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone.' I could not bear it; I opened again on Mark xvi. 6, 7, 'Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth;—Go your way; tell his disciples he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him.' I was encouraged and enabled to pray, believing I should see Jesus at home. I returned that night, and found Mrs. G. She prayed for me; and the Predestinarian had no other plea, but "Lord, thou art no respecter of persons.' He proved he was not, by blessing *me*. I was in a moment enabled to lay hold on Jesus, and found salvation by simple faith. He assured me, the Lord, the King, was in the midst of me, and that I should see evil no more. I now blessed him who had visited and redeemed me, and was become my 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' I saw Jesus altogether lovely, and knew that he was mine in all his offices. And, glory be to him! He now reigns in my heart without a rival. I find no will but his. I feel no pride; nor any affection but what is placed on him. I know it is by faith I stand, and that watching unto prayer must be the guard of faith. I am happy in God this moment, and I believe for the next. I have often read the chapter you mention, (1 Cor. xiii.) and compared my heart and life with it. In so doing, I feel my short-comings, and the need I have of the atoning blood. Yet I dare not say, I do not feel a measure of the love there described, though I am not all I shall be. I desire to be lost in that love which passeth knowledge. I see the just shall live by faith; and unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given. If I were an archangel, I should veil myself before him, and let silence speak his praise!"

The following account is given by one who was an eye and ear witness of what she relates.

1. "In the beginning of November, she seemed to have a foresight of what was coming upon her, and used frequently to sing these words:

'When pain o'er this weak flesh prevails,
With lamb-like patience arm my breast.'

And when she sent to me, to let me know she was ill, she wrote in her note, I suffer the will of Jesus. All he sends is sweetened by his love. I am as happy as if I heard a voice say,

'For me my elder brethren stay,
And angels beckon me away,
And *Jesus* bids me come.'

2. "Upon my telling her, I cannot choose life or death for you, she said, 'I asked the Lord, that if it were his will, I might die first. And he told me you should survive me, and that you should close my eyes.' When we perceived that it was the small-pox, I said to her, My dear, you will not be frighted if I tell you what is your distemper. She said, 'I *cannot* be *frighted* at *his* will.'

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3. "The distemper was soon very heavy upon her. But so much the more was her faith strengthened. Tuesday, Nov. 19, she said to me, 'I have been worshipping before the throne in a glorious manner, my soul was so let into God.' I said, Did the Lord give you any particular promise? 'No,' replied she, 'it was all

'The sacred awe that dares not move,
And all the silent heaven of love.'

4. "On Thursday, upon my asking, What have you to say to me? She said, 'Nay, nothing but what you know already: God is love.' I asked, Have you any particular promise? She replied, 'I do not seem to want any, I can live without. I shall die a lump of deformity, but shall meet you all glorious. And meantime I shall still have fellowship with your spirit.'

5. "Mr. M. asked, what she thought the most excellent *way* to walk in, and what were its chief *hinderances?* She answered, 'The greatest hinderance generally is from the natural constitution. It was mine, to be reserved, to be very quiet, to suffer much, and to say little. Some may think one *way* more excellent, and some another. But the thing is, to live in the will of God. For some months past, when I have been particularly devoted to this, I have felt such a guidance of the Spirit, and the unction which I have received from the Holy One, has so taught me all things, that I needed not any man should teach me, save as this anointing teacheth.'

6. "On Friday morning she said, 'I believe I shall die.' She then sat up in bed, and said, 'Lord, I bless thee that thou art ever with me, and all thou hast is mine. Thy love is greater than my weakness, greater than my helplessness, greater than my unworthiness. And glory be to thee, O Jesus, thou art my brother. Let me comprehend with all saints, the length, and breadth, and depth, and height of thy love. Bless these, (some that were present:) let them be every moment exercised in all things, as thou wouldest have them to be.'

7. "Some hours after, it seemed as if the agonies of death were just coming upon her. But her face was full of smiles of triumph, and she clapped her hands for joy. Mrs. C. said, 'My dear, you are more than conqueror, through the blood of the Lamb.' She answered, 'Yes, O yes: sweet Jesus! O death, where is thy sting?' She then lay as in a dose for some time. Afterwards she strove to speak, but could not. However, she testified her love by shaking hands with all in the room.

8. "Mr. W. then came. She said, 'Sir, I did not know that I should live to see you. But I am glad the Lord has given me this opportunity, and likewise power to speak to you. I love you. You have always preached the strictest doctrine; and I loved to follow it. Do so still, whoever is pleased or displeased.' He asked, 'Do you *now* believe you are saved from sin?' She said, 'Yes; I have had no doubt of it for many months. That I ever had, was because I did not abide in the faith. I now feel, I have kept the faith; and

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perfect love casteth out all fear. As to you, the Lord promised *me*, your latter works should exceed your former, though I do not live to see it.—I have been a great *enthusiast* as they term it, these six months; but never lived so near the heart of Christ in my life. You, Sir, desire to comfort the hearts of hundreds, by following that simplicity your soul loves.'

9. "'To one who had received the love of God under her prayer, she said, 'I feel I have not followed a cunningly devised fable; for I am as happy as I can live. Do you press on, and stop not short of the mark.' To Miss M—s she said, 'Love Christ; he loves you. I believe I shall see you at the right hand of God.' But 'as one star differs from another star in glory, so shall it be in the resurrection.' I charge you in the presence of God, meet me in that day all glorious within. Avoid all conformity to the world. You are robbed of many of your privileges. I know I shall be found blameless. Do you labour to be found of him in peace, without spot.'

10. "Saturday morning she prayed nearly as follows: 'I know, my Lord, my life is prolonged, only to do thy will. And though I should never eat or drink more, (she had not swallowed any thing for near eight and twenty hours,) thy will be done. I am willing to be kept so a twelvemonth. 'Man liveth not by bread alone.' I praise thee that there is not a shadow of complaining in our streets. In that sense we know not what sickness means. Indeed, Lord, 'neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, no, nor any creature shall separate us from thy love one moment.' Bless these, that there may be no lack in their souls. I believe there shall not. I pray in faith.'

"On Sunday and Monday she was light-headed, but sensible at times. It then plainly appeared her heart was still in heaven. One said to her, 'Jesus is our mark.' She replied, 'I have but one mark, I am all spiritual.' Miss M. said to her, 'You dwell in God.' She answered, 'Altogether.' A person asked her, 'Do you love me?' She said, 'O, I love Christ: I love my Christ.' To another she said, 'I shall not long be here; Jesus is precious, very precious indeed.' She said to Miss M. 'The Lord is very good. He keeps my soul above all.' For fifteen hours before she died, she was in strong convulsions; her sufferings were extreme. One said, 'You are made perfect through sufferings.' She said, 'More and more so.' After lying quiet some time, she said, 'Lord, thou art strong!' Then pausing a considerable space, she uttered her last words, 'My Jesus is all in all to me: glory be to him, through time and eternity.' After this she lay still for about half an hour, and then expired without a sigh or groan."

25. The next year the number of those who believed they were saved from sin, still increasing, I judged it needful to publish, chiefly for their use, *Farther Thoughts on Christian Perfection.*

Q. 1. How is "Christ the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth?" Rom. x. 4.

A. In order to understand this, you must understand what law is

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here spoken of. And this I apprehend, is, 1. The Mosaic Dispensation; which St. Paul continually speaks of as one, though containing three parts, the political, moral, and ceremonial. 2. The Adamic law; that given to Adam in innocence, properly called, "the law of works." This is in substance the same with the Angelic law, being common to angels and men. It required that man should use to the glory of God, all the powers with which he was created. Now he was created free from any defect, either in his understanding or his affections. His body was then no clog to the mind; it did not hinder his apprehending all things clearly, judging truly concerning them, and reasoning justly; if he reasoned at all. I say, "If he reasoned:" for possibly he did not. Perhaps he had no need of reasoning, till his corruptible body pressed down the mind, and impaired its native faculties. Perhaps, till then, the mind saw every truth that offered, as directly as the eye now sees the light.

Consequently this law, proportioned to his original powers, required that he should always think, always speak, and always act precisely right, in every point whatever. He was well able so to do. And God could not but require the service he was able to pay.

But Adam fell: and his incorruptible body became corruptible: and ever since it is a clog to the soul, and hinders its operations. Hence, at present no child of man can at all times apprehend clearly, or judge truly. And where either the judgment or apprehension is wrong, it is impossible to reason justly. Therefore it is as natural for a man to mistake as to breathe; and he can no more live without the one than without the other. Consequently no man is able to perform the service which the Adamic law requires.

And no man is obliged to perform it: God does not require it of any man. "For Christ is the end of the Adamic, as well as the Mosaic law." By his death he hath put an end to both; he hath abolished both the one and the other with regard to man; and the obligation to observe either the one or the other is vanished away. Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic, more than the Mosaic law.

In the room of this, Christ hath established another, namely, the law of Faith. Not every one that doeth, but every one that believeth, now receiveth righteousness, in the full sense of the word; that is, he is justified, sanctified, and glorified.

Q. 2. Are we then dead *to the law?*

A. We "are dead to the law, by the body of Christ, given for us." Rom. vii. 4; to the Adamic, as well as the Mosaic law. We are wholly freed therefrom by his death: that law expiring with him.

Q. 3. How then are we "not without law to God, but under the law to Christ?" 1 Cor. ix. 21.

A. We are without that law. But it does not follow that we are without any law. For God has established another law in its place, even the law of faith. And we are all under the law to God and to Christ. Both our Creator and our Redeemer require us to observe it.

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Q. 4. Is love the fulfilling of this law?

A. Unquestionably it is. "The whole law under which we now are, is fulfilled by love." Rom. xiii. 9, 10. Faith working or animating by love, is all that God now requires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity, but) love, in the room of Angelic perfection.

Q. 5. How is "love the end of the commandment?" 1 Tim. i. 4.

A. It is the end of every commandment of God. It is the point aimed at by the whole, and every part of the Christian institution. The foundation is faith, purifying the heart; the end love, preserving a good conscience.

Q. 6. What love is this?

A. The loving the Lord our God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength: and the loving our neighbour, every man, as ourselves, as our own souls.

Q. 7. What are the fruits or properties of this love?

A. St. Paul informs us at large, Love is long-suffering. It suffers all the wickedness of the children of the world. And that not for a little time only, but as long as God pleases. In all, it sees the hand of God, and willingly submits thereto. Meantime it is kind; in all, and after all it suffers, it is soft, mild, tender, benign. *Love envieth not:* it excludes every kind and degree of envy out of the heart. *Love acteth not rashly,* in a violent headstrong manner, nor passes any rash or severe judgment. It *doth not behave itself indecently,* is not rude, does not act out of character; *seeketh not her own* ease, pleasure, honour, or profit; *is not provoked;* expels all anger from the heart; *thinketh no evil;* casteth out all jealousy, suspiciousness, readiness to believe evil; *rejoiceth not in iniquity,* yea, weeps at the sin or folly of its bitterest enemies; *but rejoiceth in the truth,* in the holiness and happiness of every child of man. *Love covereth all things,* speaks evil of no man; *believeth all things,* that tend to the advantage of another's character. *It hopeth all things,* whatever may extenuate the faults which cannot be denied, and it *endureth all things,* which God can permit, or men and devils inflict. This is the law of Christ, the perfect law, the law of liberty.

And this distinction between the *law of faith,* (or love) and the *law of works,* is neither a *subtle,* nor an unnecessary distinction. It is plain, easy, and intelligible to any common understanding. And it is absolutely necessary, to prevent a thousand doubts and fears, even in those who do walk in love.

Q. 8. But do *we* not in many things offend all, yea, the best of us, even against this law?

A. In one sense we do not, while all our tempers, and thoughts, and words, and works, spring from love. But in another sense we do, and shall do, more or less, as long as we remain in the body. For neither love nor the unction of the Holy One makes us infallible. Therefore, through unavoidable defect of understanding, we cannot but mistake in many things. And these mistakes will frequently occasion something wrong both in our temper, and words, and actions. From mistaking his character, we may love a person less than he

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really deserves. And by the same mistake we are unavoidably led to speak or act with regard to that person, in such a manner as is contrary to this law, in some or other of the preceding instances.

Q. 9. Do we not then need Christ, even on this account?

A. The holiest of men still need Christ, as their prophet, as the light of the world. For he does not give them light, but from moment to moment: the instant he withdraws, all is darkness. They still need Christ as their king. For God does not give them a stock of holiness. But unless they receive a supply every moment, nothing but unholiness would remain. They still need Christ as their priest to make atonement for their holy things. Even perfect holiness is acceptable to God only through Jesus Christ.

Q. 10. May not then the very best of men adopt the dying martyr's confession: "I am in myself nothing but sin, darkness, hell; but thou art my light, my holiness, my heaven?"

A. Not exactly. But the best of men may say, "Thou art my light, my holiness, my heaven. Through my union with thee, I am full of light, of holiness, and of happiness, and if I were left to myself, I should be nothing but sin, darkness, hell."

But to proceed. The best of men need Christ as their priest, their atonement, their advocate with the Father, not only as the continuance of their every blessing depends on his death and intercession, but on account of their coming short of the law of love. For every man living does so. You who *feel all love*, compare yourselves with the preceding description. Weigh yourselves in this balance, and see if you are not wanting in many particulars.

Q. 11. But if all this is consistent with Christian Perfection, that perfection is not freedom from all sin: seeing sin is the transgression of the law. And the perfect transgress the very law they are under. Besides, they need the atonement of Christ. And he is the atonement of nothing but sin. Is then the term *sinless perfection* proper?

A. It is not worth disputing about. But observe, in what sense, the persons in question need the atonement of Christ. They do not need him to reconcile them to God *afresh*; for they are reconciled. They do not need him to *restore* the favour of God, but to *continue* it. He does not procure pardon for them anew, but, "ever liveth to make intercession for them." And "by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." Heb. x. 24.

For want of duly considering this, some deny that they need the atonement of Christ. Indeed exceeding few; I do not remember to have found five of them in England. Of the two, I would sooner give up perfection. But we need not give up either one or the other. The perfection I hold, "Love rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks," is well consistent with it: if any hold a perfection, which is not, they must look to it.

Q. 12. Does then Christian Perfection imply any more than *sincerity*?

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A. Not if you mean by that word, love filling the heart, expelling pride, anger, desire, self-will; rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks. But I doubt few use *sincerity* in this sense. Therefore, I think the old word is best.

A person may be *sincere*, who has all his natural tempers, pride, anger, lust, self-will. But he is not *perfect* till his heart is cleansed from these, and all its other corruptions.

To clear this point a little farther: I know many that love God with all their heart. He is their one desire, their one delight, and they are continually happy in him. They love their neighbour as themselves. They feel a sincere, fervent, constant desire for the happiness of every man, good or bad, friend or enemy, as for their own. They rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks. Their souls are continually streaming up to God, in holy joy, prayer, and praise. This is a point of fact: and this is plain, sound, scriptural experience.

But even these souls dwell in a shattered body, and are so pressed down thereby, that they cannot always exert themselves as they would, by thinking, speaking, and acting *precisely right*. For want of better bodily organs, they must at times think, speak, or act wrong: not indeed through a defect of *love*, but through a defect of *knowledge*. And while this is the case, notwithstanding that defect and its consequences, they fulfil the law of love.

Yet as even in this case there is not a full conformity to the perfect law, so the most perfect do on this very account need the blood of atonement, and may properly for themselves, as well as for their brethren say, "Forgive us our trespasses."

Q. 13. But if Christ has put an end to that law, what need of any atonement for their transgressing it?

A. Observe in what sense he has *put an end* to it, and the difficulty vanishes. Were it not for the *abiding merit* of his death, and his *continual intercession* for us, that law would condemn us still. These therefore we still need for every transgression of it.

Q. 14. But can one that is saved from sin be tempted?

A. Yes: for *Christ was tempted*.

Q. 15. However, what you call temptation I call the corruption of the heart. And how will you distinguish one from the other?

A. In some cases it is impossible to distinguish, without a *direct witness* of the Spirit. But in general one may distinguish thus:

One commends me. Here is a temptation to pride. But instantly my soul is humbled before God. And I feel no pride; of which I am as sure, as that pride is not humility.

A man strikes me. Here is a temptation to anger. But my heart overflows with love. And I feel no anger at all; of which I can be as sure, as that love and anger are not the same.

A woman solicits me. Here is a temptation to lust. But in the instant I shrink back. And I feel no desire for lust at all: of which I am as sure, as that my hand is cold or hot.

Thus it is, if I am tempted by a *present* object: and it is just

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the same, if, when it is absent, the Devil recalls a commendation, an injury, or a woman to my mind. In the instant the soul repels the temptation, and remains filled with pure love.

And the difference is still plainer, when I compare my present state with my past, wherein I felt temptation and corruption too.

Q. 16. But how do you *know* that you are sanctified, and saved from your inbred corruption?

A. I can know it no otherwise than I know that I am justified. Hereby know we that we are of God, in either sense, by the Spirit he hath given us.

We know it by *the witness*, and by *the fruit* of the Spirit. And first, by *the witness*. As when we are justified, the Spirit bore witness with our spirit, that our sins were forgiven, so when we were sanctified he bore witness that they were taken away. Indeed the witness of sanctification is not always clear at first; (as neither is that of justification;) neither is it afterward always the same, but like that of justification, sometimes stronger and sometimes fainter. Yea, and sometimes it is withdrawn. Yet in general, the latter testimony of the Spirit is both as clear and as steady as the former.

Q. 17. But what need is there of it, seeing sanctification is a *real change*, not a *relative change* only, like justification?

A. But is the new-birth a *relative* change only? Is not this a *real* change? Therefore, if we need no witness of our sanctification, because it is a *real* change, for the same reason we should need none, that we are born of, or are the children of God.

Q. 18. But does not sanctification shine by its own light?

A. And does not the new-birth too? Sometimes it does. And so does sanctification: at other times it does not. In the hour of temptation Satan clouds the work of God, and injects various doubts and reasonings, especially in those who have either very weak or very strong understandings. At such times there is absolute need of that witness: without which the work of sanctification, not only could not be discerned, but could no longer subsist. Were it not for this, the soul could not then abide in the love of God: much less could it rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks. In these circumstances, therefore, a *direct testimony* that we are sanctified, is necessary in the highest degree.

"But I have no *witness* that I am saved from sin: and yet I have no doubt of it." Very well. As long as you have no doubt, it is enough: when you have you will need that witness.

Q. 19. But what Scripture makes mention of any such thing, or gives any reason to expect it?

A. That Scripture, 1 Cor. ii. 12, "We have received not the spirit that is of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we may know the things which are freely given us of God."

Now surely sanctification is one of "the things which are freely given us of God." And no possible reason can be assigned why this should be excepted, when the Apostle says, "We receive the Spirit for this very end, that we may know the things which are thus freely given us."

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Is not the same thing implied in that well-known Scripture, Rom. viii. 16, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God?" Does he only bear witness to those who are children of God in the lowest sense? Nay, but to those also who are such in the highest sense. And does he not witness, that they are such in the highest sense? What reason have we to doubt it? What if a man were to affirm, (as indeed many do,) that this witness belongs *only to the highest* class of Christians? Would not you answer, The Apostle makes no restriction. Therefore doubtless it belongs to all the children of God. And will not the same answer hold, if any affirm, that it belongs *only to the lowest* class?

Consider likewise, 1 John v. 19, "We know that we are of God." How? "By the Spirit that he hath given us." Nay, "hereby we know that he abideth in us." And what ground have we, either from Scripture or Reason, to exclude the witness, any more than the fruit of the Spirit, from being here intended? By this then also we know that we are of God, and *in what sense* we are so; whether we are babes, young men, or fathers, we know in the same manner.

Not that I affirm, that all young men, or even fathers have this testimony every moment. There may be intermissions of the direct testimony that they are thus born of God. But those intermissions are few and shorter as they grow up in Christ. And some have the testimony both of their justification and sanctification, without any intermission at all: which I presume more might have, did they walk humbly and closely with God.

Q. 20. May not some of them have a testimony from the Spirit, that they shall not finally fall from God?

A. They may. And this persuasion, that neither life nor death shall separate them from Him, far from being hurtful, may in some circumstances be extremely useful. These, therefore, we should in nowise grieve, but earnestly encourage them to hold the beginning of their confidence steadfast to the end.

Q. 21. But have any a testimony from the Spirit that they shall *never sin?*

A. We know not what God may vouchsafe to some particular persons. But we do not find any general state described in Scripture, from which a man cannot draw back to sin. If there were any state wherein this was impossible, it would be that of those that are sanctified, who are "Fathers in Christ, who rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks." But it is not impossible for these to draw back. They who are *sanctified*, yet may fall and perish, Heb. x. 29. Even Fathers in Christ need that warning, "Love not the world." 1 John ii. 15. They who rejoice, pray, and give thanks without ceasing, may nevertheless quench the Spirit. 1 Thess. v. 16, &c. Nay even those who are sealed unto the day of redemption, may yet grieve the Holy Spirit of God." Eph. v. 30.

Although therefore God may give such a witness to some particular persons, yet it is not to be expected by Christians in general, there being no scripture whereon to ground such an expectation.

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Q. 22. By what fruit of the Spirit may we know that we are born of God even in the highest sense?

A. By *love, joy, peace* always abiding; by invariable *long-suffering*, patience, resignation; by *gentleness*, triumphing over all provocation; by *goodness*, mildness, sweetness, tenderness of spirit; by *fidelity*, simplicity, godly sincerity; by *meekness*, calmness, evenness of spirit; by *temperance*, not only in food and sleep, but in all things natural and spiritual.

Q. 23. But what great matter is there in this? Have we not all this when we are justified?

A. What! *Total resignation* to the Will of God, without any mixture of self-will? *Gentleness*, without any touch of anger, even the moment when we are provoked? *Love* to God, without the least love to the creature, but in and for God, excluding *all* envy, *all* jealousy, and rash judging? *Meekness*, keeping the whole soul inviolably calm? and temperance in all things? Deny that any ever came up to this, if you please; but do not say all who are justified do.

Q. 24. But some who are newly justified do: What then will you say to these?

A. If they really do, I will say, they are sanctified, saved from sin in that moment: and that they never need lose what God has given, or feel sin any more.

But certainly this is an exempt case. It is otherwise with the generality of those that are justified: they feel in themselves more or less pride, anger, self-will, a heart bent to backsliding. And till they have gradually mortified these they are not fully renewed in love.

Q. 25. But is not this the case of all that are justified? Do they not *gradually* die to sin and grow in grace, till at, or perhaps a little before death, God perfects them in love?

A. I believe this is the case of most, but not all. God usually gives a considerable *time* for men to receive *light*, to grow in *grace*, to *do and suffer* his will, before they are either justified or sanctified. But he does not invariably adhere to this. Sometimes he *cuts short his work*. He does the work of many years in a few weeks: perhaps in a week, a day, an hour. He justifies or sanctifies both those who have *done* or *suffered* nothing, and who have not had *time* for a gradual growth either in *light* or *grace*. "And may he not do what he will with his own? Is thine eye evil because he is good?"

It need not therefore be affirmed over and over, and proved by forty texts of Scripture, either that most men are perfected in love *at last*, that there is a *gradual work* of God in the soul; or that, generally speaking, it is a *long time*, even many years before sin is destroyed. All this we know. But we know likewise, that God *may*, with man's good leave, *cut short his work* in whatever degree he pleases, and do the usual work of many years in a moment. He does so, in many instances. And yet there is a *gradual* work, both before and after that moment. So that one may affirm, the work is *gradual*, another, it is *instantaneous*, without any manner of contradiction.

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Q. 26. Does St. Paul mean any more by being sealed with the Spirit, than being renewed in love?

A. Perhaps in one place, 2 Cor. i. 22, he does not mean so much. But in another, Eph. i. 13, he seems to include both the fruit and the witness; and that in a higher degree than we experience, even when we are first renewed in love. God sealeth us with the Spirit of Promise, by giving us the full assurance of hope; such a confidence of receiving all the promises of God, as excludes the possibility of doubting; with that Holy Spirit, by universal holiness, stamping the whole image of God on our hearts.

Q. 27. But how can those, who are thus sealed, grieve the Holy Spirit of God?

A. St. Paul tells you very particularly: 1. By such conversation as is not profitable, not to the use of edifying, not apt to minister grace to the hearers. 2. By relapsing into bitterness or want of kindness. 3. By wrath, lasting displeasure, or want of tender-heartedness. 4. By anger, however soon it is over; want of instantly forgiving one another. 5. By clamour or brawling, loud, harsh, rough speaking. 6. By evil speaking, whispering, tale-bearing; needlessly mentioning the fault of an absent person, though in ever so soft a manner.

Q. 28. What do you think of those in London, who seem to have been lately renewed in Love?

A. There is something very peculiar in the experience of the greatest part of them. One would expect that a believer should first be filled with love, and thereby emptied of sin: whereas these were emptied of sin first, and then filled with love. Perhaps it pleased God to work in this manner, to make his work more plain and undeniable: and to distinguish it more clearly from that overflowing love, which is often felt even in a justified state.

It seems likewise most agreeable to the great promise, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, "From all your filthiness I will cleanse you; a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you."

But I do not think of them all alike; there is a wide difference between some of them and others. I think most of them with whom I have spoken, have much faith, love, joy, and peace. Some of them I believe are renewed in love, and have the *direct witness* of it: and they manifest the *fruit* above described, in all their words and actions. Now let any man call this what he will: it is what I call *Perfection*.

But some who have much love, peace, and joy, yet have not the direct witness. The others who think they have, are nevertheless manifestly wanting in the fruit. How many I will not say: perhaps one in ten, perhaps more or fewer. But some are undeniably wanting in long-suffering and Christian resignation. They do not see the hand of God in whatsoever occurs, and cheerfully embrace it. They do not in every thing give thanks, and rejoice evermore. They are not happy; at least not always happy. For sometimes they complain. They say, "This or that is *hard!*"

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Some are wanting in *gentleness*. They resist evil instead of turning the other cheek. They do not receive reproach with gentleness; no, nor even reproof. Nay, they are not able to bear contradiction, without the appearance, at least, of resentment. If they are reproved or contradicted, though mildly, they do not take it well. They behave with more distance and reserve than they did before. If they are reproved or contradicted harshly, they answer it with harshness; with a loud voice, or with an angry tone, or in a sharp and surly manner. They speak sharply or roughly when they reprove others, and behave roughly to their inferiors.

Some are wanting in *goodness*. They are not kind, mild, sweet, amiable, soft, and loving at all times, in their spirit, in their words, in their looks and air, in the whole tenor of their behaviour; and that to all, high and low, rich and poor, without respect of persons: particularly to them that are out of the way, to opposers, and to those of their own household. They do not long study, or endeavour by every means to make all about them happy. They can see them uneasy, and not be concerned: perhaps they make them so; and then wipe their mouths and say, "Why, they deserve it: it is their own fault."

Some are wanting in *fidelity*, a nice regard to truth, simplicity, and godly sincerity. Their love is hardly *without dissimulation;* something like guile is found in their mouth. To avoid roughness, they lean to the other extreme. They are smooth to an excess, so as scarce to avoid a degree of fawning, or of seeming to mean what they do not.

Some are wanting in *meekness*, quietness of spirit, composure, evenness of temper. They are up and down, sometimes high, sometimes low: their mind is not well balanced. Their affections are either not in due proportion; they have too much of one, too little of another; or they are not duly mixed and tempered together, so as to counterpoise each other. Hence there is often a jar. Their soul is out of tune, and cannot make true harmony.

Some are wanting in *temperance*. They do not steadily use that kind and degree of food, which they know would most conduce to the health, strength, and vigour of the body. Or they are not temperate in sleep; they do not rigorously adhere to what is best both for body and mind. Otherwise they would constantly go to bed and rise early, and at a fixed hour. Or they sup late, which is neither good for body nor soul. Or they use neither fasting nor abstinence. Or they prefer, (which is so many sorts of intemperance,) that preaching, reading, or conversation which gives them transient joy and comfort, before that which brings godly sorrow, or instruction in righteousness. Such joy is not sanctified: it does not tend to and terminate in the crucifixion of the heart. Such faith does not centre in God, but rather in itself.

So far all is plain. I believe you have faith, and love, and joy, and peace. You who are particularly concerned, know each for yourself, that you are wanting in the respects above mentioned.

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You are wanting either in long-suffering, gentleness, or goodness; either in fidelity, meekness, or temperance. Let us not then, on either hand, fight about words. In the thing, we clearly agree.

You have not what I call perfection. If others will call it so, they may. However, hold fast what you have, and earnestly pray for what you have not.

Q. 29. Can those who are perfect grow in grace?

A. Undoubtedly they can. And that not only while they are in the body, but to all eternity.

Q. 30. Can they fall from it?

A. I am well assured they can. Matter of fact puts this beyond dispute. Formerly we thought one saved from sin could not fall. Now, we know the contrary. We are surrounded with instances of those, who lately experienced all that I mean by perfection. They had both the *fruit* of the Spirit and the *witness*. But they have now lost both. Neither does any one stand, by virtue of any thing that is implied in the *nature* of the state. There is no such *height* or *strength* of holiness as it is impossible to fall from. If there be any that *cannot fall*, this wholly depends on the promise and faithfulness of God.

Q. 31. Can those who fall from this state recover it?

A. Why not? We have many instances of this also. Nay, it is an exceeding common thing for persons to lose it more than once before they are established therein.

It is therefore to guard them who are saved from sin, from every occasion of stumbling, that I give the following advices. But first I shall speak plainly concerning the work itself.

I esteem this late work to be of God; probably the greatest now upon earth. Yet like all others, this also is mixed with much human frailty. But these weaknesses are far less than might have been expected; and ought to have been joyfully borne by all that loved and followed after righteousness. That there have been a few weak, warm-headed men, is no reproach to the work itself, no just ground for accusing a multitude of sober-minded men, who are patterns of strict holiness. Yet (just contrary to what ought to have been) the opposition is great; the helps few. Hereby many are hindered from seeking faith and holiness by the false zeal of others: and some who at first began to run well, are turned out of the way.

Q. 32. What is the first advice that you would give them?

A. Watch and pray continually against pride. If God has cast it out, see that it enter no more: it is full as dangerous as desire. And you may slide back into it unawares; especially if you think there is no danger of it. "Nay, but I ascribe all I have to God." So you may, and be proud nevertheless. For it is pride, not only to ascribe any thing we have to ourselves, but to think we have what we really have not. Mr. L—, for instance, ascribed all that he had to God, and so far he was humble. But then he thought he had more light than any man living. And this was palpable pride. So you ascribe all the knowledge you have to God, and in this respect

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you are humble. But if you think you have more than you really have; or if you think you are so taught of God, as no longer to need man's teaching, pride lieth at the door. Yes, you have need to be taught, not only by Mr. M——n, by one another, by Mr. M——d, or me, but by the weakest preacher in London: yea, by all men. For God sendeth by whom he will send.

Do not therefore say to any who would advise or reprove you, "You are blind: you cannot teach me." Do not say, "This is your *wisdom*, your *carnal reason*:" but calmly weigh the thing before God.

Always remember, much grace does not imply much light. These do not always go together. As there may be much light where there is little love, so there may be much love where there is little light. The heart has more heat than the eye; yet it cannot see. And God has wisely tempered the members of the body together, that none may say to the other, "I have no need of thee."

To imagine none can teach you but those who are themselves saved from sin, is a very great and dangerous mistake. Give not place to it for a moment. It would lead you into a thousand other mistakes, and that irrevocably. No: Dominion is not founded upon grace, as the madmen of the last age talked. Obey and regard them that are over you in the Lord, and do not think you know better than they. Know their place, and *your own*: always remembering, much love does not imply much light.

The not observing this has led some into many mistakes, and into the appearance, at least of pride. O beware of the appearance, and the thing. Let there be in you that lowly mind, which was in Christ Jesus. And *be ye* likewise clothed with humility. Let it not only fill, but cover you all over. Let modesty and self-diffidence appear in all your words and actions. Let all you speak and do, show that you are little, and base, and mean, and vile, in your own eyes. As one instance of this, be always ready to own any fault you have been in. If you have at any time thought, spoke, or acted wrong, be not backward to acknowledge it. Never dream that this will hurt the cause of God; no, it will further it. Be therefore open and frank, when you are taxed with any thing: do not seek either to evade or disguise it. But let it appear just as it is, and you will thereby not hinder but adorn the Gospel.

Q. 33. What is the second advice which you would give them?

A. Beware of that daughter of pride, *enthusiasm!* O keep at the utmost distance from it: give no place to a heated imagination. Do not hastily ascribe things to God. Do not easily suppose dreams, voices, impressions, visions, or revelations to be from God. They may be from him. They may be from nature. They may be from the Devil. Therefore "believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God." Try all things by the written word, and let all bow down before it. You are in danger of enthusiasm every hour, if you depart ever so little from Scripture: yea, or from the plain literal meaning of any text, taken in connexion with the con-

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text. And so you are, if you despise or lightly esteem reason, knowledge, or human learning: every one of which is an excellent gift of God, and may serve the noblest purposes.

I advise you never to use the words *wisdom*, *reason*, or *knowledge*, by way of reproach. On the contrary, pray that you yourself may abound in them more and more. If you mean *worldly* wisdom, *useless* knowledge, *false* reasoning, say so; and throw away the chaff, but not the wheat.

One general end of enthusiasm is, expecting the end without the means; the expecting knowledge, for instance, without searching the Scriptures, and consulting the children of God: the expecting spiritual strength without constant prayer, and steady watchfulness: the expecting any blessing without hearing the word of God at every opportunity.

Some have been ignorant of this device of Satan. They have left off searching the Scriptures. They said, "God writes all the Scripture on my heart: therefore, I have no need to read it." Others thought, that they had not so much need of hearing, and so grew slack in attending the morning preaching. O take warning, you who are concerned herein. You have listened to the voice of a stranger. Fly back to Christ, and keep in the good old way, which was once delivered to the saints: the way that even a heathen bore testimony of, "That the Christians rose early every day to sing hymns to Christ as God."

The very desire of *growing in grace*, may sometimes be an inlet of enthusiasm. As it continually leads us to seek *new grace*, it may lead us unawares to seek something else new beside *new degrees* of love to God and man. So it has led some to seek and fancy they had received gifts of a *new kind*, after a new heart, as, 1. The loving God with all our mind. 2. With all our soul. 3. With all our strength. 4. Oneness with God. 5. Oneness with Christ. 6. Having our life hid with Christ in God. 7. Being dead with Christ. 8. Rising with him. 9. The sitting with him in heavenly places. 10. The being taken up into his throne. 11. The being in the New Jerusalem. 12. The seeing the tabernacle of God come down among men. 13. The being dead to all works. 14. The not being liable to death, pain, or grief, or temptation.

One ground of many of these mistakes is, the taking every fresh strong application of any of these Scriptures to the heart, to be a gift of a *new kind*: not knowing that several of these Scriptures are not fulfilled yet; that most of the others are fulfilled when we are justified; the rest, the moment we are sanctified. It remains only, to experience them in *higher degrees*. This is all we have to expect.

Another ground of these, and a thousand mistakes, is, the not considering deeply that Love is the highest gift of God, humble, gentle, patient Love: that all visions, revelations, manifestations whatever, are little things compared with love: and that all the gifts above mentioned are either the same with, or infinitely inferior to it.

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It were well you should be thoroughly sensible of this: the heaven of heavens is love. There is nothing higher in religion: there is, in effect, nothing else: if you look for any thing but *more love*, you are looking wide of the mark, you are getting out of the royal way, and when you are asking others, Have *you received* this or that blessing? if you mean any thing but *more love*, you mean wrong; you are leading them out of the way, and putting them upon a false scent. Settle it then in your heart, that from the moment God has saved you from all sin, you are to aim at nothing more, but more of that love described in the thirteenth of the Corinthians. You can go no higher than this, till you are carried into Abraham's bosom.

I say yet again, beware of *enthusiasm*. Such is the imagining you have the gift of *prophesying*, or discerning of spirits, which I do not believe one of you has; no, nor ever had yet. Beware of judging people to be either right or wrong, by your own *feelings*. This is no scriptural way of judging. O keep close to the law and the testimony.

Q. 34. What is the third?

A. Beware of Antinomianism, making void the law, or any part of it, through faith. Enthusiasm naturally leads to this: indeed they can scarce be separated. This may steal upon you in a thousand forms, so that you cannot be too watchful against it. Take heed of every thing, whether in principle or practice, which has any tendency thereto. Even that great truth, that Christ is the end of the law, may betray us into it, if we do not consider, that he has adopted every point of the moral law, and grafted it into the law of love. Beware of thinking, "Because I am filled with love, I need not have *so much* holiness: because I pray always, therefore I need no *set time* for private prayer: because I watch always, therefore I need no particular self-examination." Let us magnify the law, the whole written word, and make it honourable. Let this be our voice, "I prize thy commandments above gold or precious stones. O what love have I unto thy law. All the day long is my study in it!" Beware of Antinomian books; particularly of the works of Dr. Crisp, and Mr. Saltmarsh. They contain many excellent things; and this makes them the more dangerous. O be warned in time! Do not play with fire: do not put your hand on the hole of a cockatrice den! I entreat you, beware of *Bigotry*. Let not your love or beneficence be confined to Methodists (so called) only; much less to that very small part of them, who seemed to be renewed in love; or to those who believe your's and their report. O make not this your *Shibboleth*. Beware of stillness; ceasing in a wrong sense from your own works. To mention one instance out of many, "You have received," says one, "a great blessing. But you began to *talk* of it, and to *do* this and that. So you lost it. You should have been *still*."

Beware of self-indulgence; yea, and making a virtue of it, laughing at self-denial, and taking up the cross daily, at fasting or absti-

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nence. Beware of *censoriousness;* thinking or calling them that any ways oppose *you*, whether in judgment or practice, blind, dead, fallen, or "enemies to the work." Once more, beware of *Solifidianism;* crying nothing but "believe, believe:" and condemning those as *ignorant* or *legal* who speak in a more scriptural way. At certain seasons, indeed, it may be right to treat of nothing but repentance, or merely of faith, or altogether of holiness: but in general our call is to declare the whole counsel of God, and to prophesy, according to the analogy of faith. The written word treats of the whole, and every particular branch of righteousness, descending to its minutest branches, as to be sober, courteous, diligent, patient, to honour all men. So likewise the Holy Spirit works the same in our hearts, not merely creating desires after holiness in general, but strongly inclining us to every particular grace, leading us to every individual part of whatsoever is lovely. And this with the greatest propriety: for as by works faith is made perfect, so the completing or destroying the work of faith, and enjoying the favour or suffering the displeasure of God, greatly depends on every single act of obedience or disobedience.

Q. 35. What is the fourth?

A. Beware of *sins of omission:* lose no opportunity of doing good in any kind. Be zealous of good works: willingly omit no work, either of piety or mercy. Do all the good you possibly can to the bodies and souls of men. Particularly, "thou shalt in any wise reprove thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him." Be *active*. Give no place to indolence or sloth: give no occasion to say, "Ye are idle, ye are idle." Many will say so still; but let your whole spirit and behaviour refute their slander. Be always employed: lose no shred of time: gather up the fragments, that none be lost. And whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might. Be slow to speak, and wary in speaking. "In a multitude of words there wanteth not sin." Do not talk much: neither long at a time. Few can converse profitably for above an hour. Keep at the utmost distance from pious chit-chat, from religious gossiping.

Q. 36. What is the fifth?

A. Beware of *desiring* any thing but GOD. Now you desire nothing else. Every other desire is driven out: see that none enter again. "Keep thyself pure:" "Let your eye remain single, and your whole body shall be full of light." Admit no desire of pleasing food, or any other pleasure of sense: no desire of pleasing the eye or the imagination, by any thing grand, or new, or beautiful: no desire of money, or praise, or esteem: of happiness in *any creature*. You may bring these desires back; but you *need* not: you need feel them no more. O stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free.

Be patterns to all, of denying yourselves, and taking up your cross daily. Let them see that you make no account of any pleasure which does not bring you nearer to God; nor regard any pain which does: that you simply aim at pleasing him, whether by doing or

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suffering: that the constant language of your heart, with regard to pleasure or pain, honour or dishonour, riches or poverty, is,

All's alike to me, so I
In my Lord may live and die!

Q. 37. What is the sixth?

A. Beware of *schism*, of making a rent in the church of Christ. That inward disunion, the members ceasing to have reciprocal love one for another, (1 Cor. xii. 25,) is the very root of all contention, and every outward separation. Beware of any thing tending thereto. Beware of a dividing spirit: shun whatever has the least aspect that way. Therefore say not, "I am of Paul, or of Apollos;" the very thing which occasioned the schism at Corinth. Say not, "This is *my* preacher; the best preacher in England; give me him, and take all the rest." All this tends to breed or foment division, to disunite those whom God hath joined. Do not run down any preacher. Do not exalt any one above the rest, lest you hurt both him and the cause of God. On the other hand, do not bear hard upon any, by reason of some incoherency or inaccuracy of expression; no, nor for some mistakes, were they really such.

Likewise, if you would avoid schism, observe every *Rule* of the *Society*, and of the *Bands*, for conscience' sake. Never omit meeting your Class or Band: never absent yourself from any public meeting. These are the very sinews of our society; and whatever weakens, or tends to weaken, our regard for these, or our exactness in attending them, strikes at the very root of our community. As one saith, "that part of our economy, the private weekly meetings, for prayer, examination, and particular exhortation, has been the greatest means of deepening and confirming every blessing, that was received by the word preached, and of diffusing it to others, who could not attend the public ministry: whereas, without this religious connexion and intercourse, the most ardent attempts by mere preaching, have proved of no lasting use."

Suffer not one thought of separating from your brethren, whether their opinions agree with yours or not. Do not dream that any man sins in not believing *you*, in not taking *your word;* or that this or that *opinion* is essential to the work, and both must stand or fall together. Beware of impatience of contradiction. Do not condemn or think hardly of those who cannot see just as you see, or who judge it their duty to contradict you, whether in a great thing or a small. I fear some of us have thought hardly of others, merely because they contradicted what we affirmed. All this tends to division. And by every thing of this kind we are teaching them an evil lesson against ourselves.

O beware of touchiness, or testiness; not bearing to be spoken to: starting at the least word; and flying from those who do not implicitly receive mine or another's sayings!

Expect contradiction and opposition, together with crosses of various kinds. Consider the words of St. Paul, "To you it is given

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in the behalf of Christ," for his sake, as a fruit of his death and intercession for you, "not only to believe, but also to suffer for his sake." Phil. i. 19. "It is given!" God gives you this opposition or reproach: it is a fresh token of his love. And will you disown the Giver? Or spurn the gift, and count it a misfortune? Will you not rather say, "Father, the hour is come that thou shouldst be glorified. Now thou givest thy child to suffer something for thee. Do with me according to thy will." Know that these things, far from being hinderances to the work of God, or to your soul, unless by your own fault, are not only unavoidable in the course of Providence, but profitable, yea, necessary for you. Therefore receive them from God, (not from chance,) with willingness, with thankfulness. Receive them from men with humility, meekness, yieldingness, gentleness, sweetness. Why should not even your outward *appearance* and *manner* be soft? Remember the character of Lady Cutts: "It was said of the Roman Emperor, Titus, never any one came displeased from him. But it might be said of her, never any one went displeased to her. So secure were all, of the kind and favourable reception which they would meet with from her."

Beware of tempting others to separate from *you*. Give no offence which can possibly be avoided: see that your practice be in all things suitable to your profession, adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour. Be particularly careful in speaking of yourself: You may not indeed deny the work of God: but speak of it, when you are called thereto, in the most inoffensive manner possible. Avoid all magnificent, pompous words. Indeed you need give it no general name. Neither "perfection, sanctification, the second blessing, nor the having attained." Rather speak of the particulars which God has wrought for you. You may say, "At such a time I felt a change which I am not able to express. And since that time I have not felt pride, or self-will, or anger, or unbelief: nor any thing but a fulness of love to God and to all mankind." And answer any other plain question that is asked, with modesty and simplicity.

And if any of you should at any time fall from what you now are: if you should again feel pride, or unbelief, or any temper from which you are now delivered; do not deny, do not hide, do not disguise it at all, at the peril of your soul. At all events, go to one in whom you can confide, and speak just what you feel. God will enable him to speak a word in season, which shall be health to your soul. And surely he will again lift up your head, and cause the bones that have been broken to rejoice.

Q. 38. What is the last advice that you would give them?

A. Be exemplary in all things: particularly in outward things, (as in *dress*,) in little things, in the laying out of your money, (avoiding every needless expense,) in deep, steady seriousness, and in the solidity and usefulness of all your conversation. So shall you be a light shining in a dark place. So shall you daily "grow in grace till an entrance be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

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Most of the preceding advices are strongly enforced in the following reflections: which I recommend to your deep and frequent consideration, next to the holy Scriptures.

1. The sea is an excellent figure of the fulness of God, and that of the blessed Spirit. For as the rivers all return to the sea; so the bodies, the souls, and the good works of the righteous, return to God, to live there in his eternal repose.

Although the graces of God depend upon his mere bounty, yet is he pleased generally to attach them to the prayers, the instructions, and the holiness of those with whom we are. By strong, though invisible attraction, he draws some souls through their intercourse with others.

The sympathies formed by grace far surpass those formed by nature.

The truly devout show, that passions as naturally flow from true, as from false love, so deeply sensible are they of the good and evil of those whom they love for God's sake. But this can only be comprehended by those who understand the language of love.

The bottom of the soul may be in repose, even while we are in many outward troubles: just as the bottom of the sea is calm, while the surface is strongly agitated.

The best helps to grow in grace are the ill usage, the affronts, and the losses which befall us. We should receive them with all thankfulness, as preferable to all others, were it only on this account, that our will has no part therein.

The readiest way to escape from our sufferings is, to be willing they should endure as long as God pleases.

If we suffer persecution and affliction in a right manner, we attain a larger measure of conformity to Christ, by a due improvement of one of these occasions, than we could have done merely by imitating his mercy, in abundance of good works.

One of the greatest evidences of God's love to those that love him, is to send them afflictions with grace to bear them.

Even in the greatest afflictions we ought to testify to God, that in receiving them from his hand, we feel pleasure in the midst of the pain, from being afflicted by him who loves us, and whom we love.

The readiest way which God takes to draw a man to himself, is to afflict him in that he loves most, and with good reason; and to cause this affliction to arise from some good action done with a single eye: because nothing can more clearly show him the emptiness of what is most lovely and desirable in the world.

2. True *Resignation* consists in a thorough conformity to the whole will of God; who wills and does all (excepting sin) which comes to pass in the world. In order to this we have only to embrace all events, good and bad, as his will.

In the greatest afflictions that can befall the just, either from heaven or earth, they remain immovable in peace, and perfectly submissive to God, by an inward, loving regard to him, uniting in one all the powers of their souls.

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We ought quietly to suffer whatever befalls us: to bear the defects of others, and our own, to confess them to God in secret prayer, or with groans which cannot be uttered: but never to speak a sharp or peevish word, nor to murmur or repine.

But be thoroughly willing, that God should treat you in the manner that pleases him. We are his lambs, and therefore ought to be ready to suffer, even to the death, without complaining.

We are to bear with those we cannot amend, and to be content with offering them to God. This is true resignation. And since he has borne our infirmities, we may well bear those of each other for his sake.

To abandon all, to strip one's self of all, in order to seek and to follow Jesus Christ, naked to Bethlehem, where he was born; naked to the hall, where he was scourged; and naked to Calvary, where he died on the cross, is so great a mercy, that neither the thing, nor the knowledge of it, is given to any, but through faith in the Son of God.

3. There is no love of God without patience, and no patience without *lowliness* and sweetness of spirit.

Humility and patience are the surest proofs of the increase of love.

Humility alone unites patience with love, without which it is impossible to draw profit from suffering; or indeed to avoid complaint, especially when we think we have given no occasion for what men make us suffer.

True humility is a kind of self-annihilation; and this is the centre of all virtues.

A soul returning to God, ought to be attentive to every thing which is said to him on the head of salvation, with a desire to profit thereby.

Of the sins which God has pardoned, let nothing remain but a deeper humility in the heart, and a stricter regulation in our words, in our actions, and in our sufferings.

4. The bearing afflictions, and suffering evils in *meekness* and silence, is the sum of a Christian's life.

God is the first object of our love: its next office is, to bear with the defects of others, and we should begin the practice of this amidst our own household.

We should chiefly exercise our love towards them who most shock either our way of thinking, or our temper, or our knowledge, or the desire we have that others should be as virtuous as we wish to be ourselves.

5. God only gives his Spirit even to those whom he has established in grace, if they do not pray for it on all occasions, not only once, but many times.

God does nothing but in answer to prayer; and even they who have been converted to God, without praying for it themselves, (which is exceeding rare,) were not without the prayers of others. Every new victory which a soul gains, is the effect of a new prayer.

On every occasion of uneasiness we should retire to prayer, that we may give place to the grace and light of God, and then form our

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resolutions, without being in any pain about what success they may have.

In the greatest temptations, a single look to Christ, and the barely pronouncing his name, suffices to overcome the wicked one, so it be done with confidence and calmness of spirit.

God's command, to pray without ceasing, is founded on the necessity we have of his grace, to preserve the life of God in the soul, which can no more subsist one moment without it, than the body can without air.

Whether we think of or speak to God, whether we act or suffer for him, all is prayer, when we have no other object than his love, and the desire of pleasing him.

All that a Christian does, even in eating and sleeping, is prayer, when it is done in simplicity, according to the order of God, without either adding to, or diminishing from it by his own choice.

Prayer continues in the desire of the heart, though the understanding be employed on outward things.

In souls filled with love, the desire to please God is a continual prayer.

As the furious hate which the Devil bears us is termed the roaring of the lion, so our vehement love may be termed, crying after God.

God only requires of his adult children, that their hearts be truly purified, and that they offer him continually the wishes and vows that naturally spring from perfect love. For these desires being the genuine fruits of love, are the most perfect prayers that can spring from it.

6. It is scarcely conceivable how *straight the way* is wherein God leads them that follow him: and how dependent on him we must be, unless we are wanting in our faithfulness to him.

It is hardly credible of how great consequence before God the smallest things are; and what great inconveniences sometimes follow those which appear to be light faults.

As a very little dust will disorder a clock, and the least grain of sand will obscure our sight, so the least grain of sin, which is upon the heart, will hinder its right motion towards God.

We ought to be in the church as the saints are in heaven, and in the house as the holiest men are in the church: doing our work in the house, as we pray in the church, worshipping God from the ground of the heart.

We should be continually labouring to cut off all the useless things that surround us. And God usually retrenches the superfluities of our souls in the same proportion as we do those of our bodies.

The best means of resisting the Devil is, to destroy whatever of the world remains in us, in order to raise for God upon its ruins a building all of love. Then shall we begin in this fleeting life to love God as we shall love him in eternity.

We scarcely conceive how easy it is to rob God of his due, in

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our friendship with the most virtuous persons, until they are torn from us by death. But if this loss produce lasting sorrow, that is a clear proof that we had before two treasures between which we divided our heart.

7. If after having renounced all, we do not *watch* incessantly, and beseech God to accompany our vigilance with his, we shall be again entangled and overcome.

As the most dangerous winds may enter at little openings, so the Devil never enters more dangerously than by little unobserved incidents, which seem to be nothing, yet insensibly open the heart to great temptations.

It is good to renew ourselves from time to time, by *closely examining* the state of our souls, as if we had never done it before. For nothing tends more to the full assurance of faith, than to keep ourselves by this means in humility, and the exercise of all good works.

To continual watchfulness and prayer, ought to be added continual employment. For grace flies a vacuum as well as nature, and the Devil fills whatever God does not fill.

There is no faithfulness like that, which ought to be between a guide of our souls, and the person directed by him. They ought continually to regard each other, in God, and closely to examine themselves, whether all their thoughts are pure, and all their words directed with Christian discretion.—Other affairs are only the things of men; but these are peculiarly the things of God.

8. The words of St. Paul, "No man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost," show us the necessity of eying God in our *good works*, and even in our minutest thoughts; knowing that none are pleasing to him, but those which he forms in us and with us. From hence we learn, that we cannot serve him, unless he use our tongue, hands, and heart, to do by his Spirit whatever he would have us to do.

If we were not utterly impotent, our good works would be our own property: whereas now they belong wholly to God, because they proceed from him and his grace; while raising our works, and making them all divine, he honours himself in us through them.

One of the principal rules of religion is, to lose no occasion of serving God. And since he is invisible to our eyes, we are to serve him in our neighbour; which he receives as if done to himself in person, standing visibly before us.

God does not love men that are inconstant, nor the good works that are intermitted. Nothing is pleasing to him, but what has a resemblance of his own immutability.

A constant attention to the work which God intrusts us with, is a mark of solid piety.

Love fasts when it can, and as much as it can. It leads to all the ordinances of God, and employs itself in all the outward works whereof it is capable. It flies, as it were, like Elijah, over the plain, to find God upon his holy mountain.

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God is so great that he communicates greatness to the least thing that is done for his service.

Happy are they who are sick; yea, or who lose their life for having done a good work.

God frequently conceals the part which his children have in the conversion of other souls. Yet one may boldly say, that a person who long groans before him for the conversion of another, whenever that soul is converted to God, is one of the chief causes of it.

Charity cannot be practised right, unless, first, we exercise it the moment God gives the occasion; and, secondly, retire the instant after, to offer it to God by humble thanksgiving. And this for three reasons. 1. To render him what we have received from him. 2. To avoid the dangerous temptation, which springs from the very goodness of these works. 3. To unite ourselves to God, in whom the soul expands itself in prayer, with all the graces we have received, and the good works we have done, to draw from him new strength against the bad effects which these very works may produce in us, if we do not make use of the antidotes which God has ordained against these poisons. The true means to be filled anew with the riches of grace, is thus to strip ourselves of it; and without this, it is extremely difficult not to grow faint in the practice of good works.

Good works do not receive their last perfection, till they, as it were, lose themselves in God. This is a kind of death to them, resembling that of our bodies, which will not attain their highest life, their immortality, till they lose themselves in the glory of our souls, or rather of God, wherewith they shall be filled. And it is only what they had of earthly and mortal, which good works lose by this spiritual death.

Fire is the symbol of love; and the love of God is the principle and the end of all our good works. But as truth surpasses figure, the fire of divine love has this advantage over material fire, that it can reascend to its source, and raise thither with it all the good works which it produces. And by this means it prevents their being corrupted by pride, vanity, or any evil mixture. But this cannot be done, otherwise than by making these good works in a spiritual manner, die in God, by deep gratitude, which plunges the soul in him as in an abyss, with all that it is, and all the grace and works for which it is indebted to him: a gratitude whereby the soul seems to empty itself of them, that they may return to their source, as rivers seem willing to empty themselves, when they pour themselves with all their waters into the sea.

When we have received any favour from God, we ought to retire, if not into our closets, into our hearts, and say, "I come, Lord, to restore to thee what thou hast given, and I freely relinquish it, to enter again into my own nothingness. For what is the most perfect creature in heaven or earth in thy presence, but a void capable of being filled with thee and by thee, as the air which is void and dark, is capable of being filled with the light of the sun, who withdraws it

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every day to restore it the next, there being nothing in the air that either appropriates this light, or resists it. O give me the same felicity of receiving and restoring thy grace and good works! I say thine: for I acknowledge the root from which they spring is in thee, and not in me."

26. In the year 1764, upon a review of the whole subject, I wrote down the sum of what I had observed, in the following short propositions:—

"1. There is such a thing as *Perfection;* for it is again and again mentioned in Scripture.

2. It is not so early as justification; for justified persons are to go on to perfection. Heb. vi. 1.

3. It is not so late as death; for St. Paul speaks of living men that were perfect. Phil. iii. 15.

4. It is not *absolute.* Absolute perfection belongs not to man; nor to angels; but to God alone.

5. It does not make a man *infallible;* none is infallible, while he remains in the body.

6. Is it *sinless?* It is not worth while to contend for a term. It is salvation from sin.

7. It is perfect love. 1 John iv. 18. This is the *essence* of it: its properties, or inseparable fruits, are, "rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks." 1 Thess. v. 16, &c.

8. It is *improvable.* It is so far from lying in an indivisible point, from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love may grow in grace far swifter than he did before.

9. It is capable of being lost; of which we have numerous instances. But we were not thoroughly convinced of this, till five or six years ago.

10. It is constantly both preceded and followed by a *gradual* work.

11. But is it in itself instantaneous, or not? In examining this, let us go on step by step.

An *instantaneous change* has been wrought in some believers: none can deny this.

Since that change, they enjoy *perfect love.* They rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks. Now this is all that I mean by perfection. Therefore, these are witnesses of the perfection which I preach.

"But in some this change was not instantaneous." They did not perceive the instant when it was wrought. It is often difficult to perceive the instant when a man dies. Yet there is an instant in which life ceases. And if even sin ceases, there must be a last moment of its existence, and a first moment of our deliverance from it.

"But if they have this love now, they will lose it." They may; but they need not. And whether they do or not, they have it now; they now experience what we teach. They now are *all love.* They *now* rejoice, pray, and praise without ceasing.

"However, sin is only *suspended* in them; it is not *destroyed.*"

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Call it which you please. They are *all love* to-day; and they take no thought for the morrow.

"But this doctrine has been much abused." So has that of justification by faith. But that is no reason for giving up, either this or any other Scriptural doctrine. "When you wash your child, (as one speaks) throw away the water, but do not throw away the child."

"But those who think they are saved from sin, say, they have no need of the merits of Christ." They say just the contrary. Their language is,

> Every moment, Lord, I want,
> The merit of thy death!

They never before had so deep, so unspeakable a conviction of the need of Christ in all his offices, as they have now.

Therefore all our Preachers should make a point of *preaching perfection* to believers, constantly, strongly, and explicitly.

And all believers should mind this one thing, and continually agonize for it.

27. I have now done what I proposed. I have given a plain and simple account of the manner wherein I first received the Doctrine of Perfection, and the sense wherein I received, and wherein I do receive and teach it to this day. I have declared the whole, and every part of what I mean by that Scriptural expression. I have drawn the picture of it at full length, without either disguise or covering. And I would now ask any impartial person, What is there so frightful therein? Whence is all this outcry, which, for these twenty years and upwards, has been made throughout the kingdom, as if all Christianity were destroyed, and all religion torn up by the root? Why is it, that the very name of *perfection* has been cast out of the mouths of Christians; yea, exploded and abhorred, as if it contained the most pernicious heresy? Why have the Preachers of it been hooted at like mad dogs, even by men that fear God: nay, and by some of their own children; some whom they, under God, had begotten through the gospel? What *reason* is there for this? Or what *pretence?* Reason, sound reason there is none. It is impossible there should: but *pretences* there are, and those in great abundance. Indeed there is ground to fear, that with some who treat us thus, it is a mere pretence; that it is no more than a copy of their countenance, from the beginning to the end. They wanted, they sought occasion against *me:* and here they found what they sought. "This is Mr. Wesley's doctrine! he preaches perfection." He does: yet this is not *his* doctrine, any more than it is *yours;* or any one's else that is a Minister of Christ. For it is *his* doctrine, particularly emphatically His; it is the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Those are *his* words, not mine, Εσεσθε ουν τελειοι, ωσπερ ο Πατηρ υμων ο εν τοις ουρανοις τελειος εστι. "Ye shall, therefore, be perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." And who says, ye shall not? Or at least, not till your soul is separated from the body? It is the doctrine of St. Paul, the doctrine of St. James, of St. Peter, St. John: and no otherwise Mr. Wesley's, than as it is the doctrine of every one

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who preaches the pure and the whole gospel. I tell you, as plain as I can speak, where and when I found this. I found it in the Oracles of God, in the Old and New Testament, when I read them with no other view or desire but to save my own soul. But whosesoever this doctrine is, I pray you, what harm is there in it? Look at it again: survey it on every side, and that with the closest attention. In one view, it is purity of intention, dedicating all the life to God. It is the giving God all our heart; it is one desire and design ruling all our tempers. It is the devoting not a part, but all our soul, body, and substance to God. In another view, it is all the mind which was in Christ, enabling us to walk as Christ walked. It is the circumcision of the heart from all filthiness; all inward as well as outward pollution. It is a renewal of the heart in the whole image of God, the full likeness of him that created it. Yet in another, it is the loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. Now take in which of these views you please, (for there is no material difference,) and this is the whole and sole perfection, as a train of writings prove to a demonstration, which I have believed and taught for these forty years, from the year 1725, to the year 1765.

28. Now let this *perfection* appear in its native form, and who can speak one word against it? Will any dare to speak against loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves? Against a renewal of heart, not only in part, but in the whole image of God? Who is he that will open his mouth against being cleansed from all pollution both of flesh and spirit? Or against having all the mind that was in Christ, and walking in all things as Christ walked? What man who calls himself a Christian has the hardiness to object to the devoting, not a part, but all our soul, body, and substance to God: What serious man would oppose the giving God all our heart, and the having one design ruling all our tempers? I say again, let this perfection appear in its own shape, and who will fight against it? It must be *disguised* before it can be *opposed*. It must be *covered* with a bear-skin first, or even the wild beasts of the people will scarce be induced to *worry* it.

But whatever these do, let not the children of God any longer fight against the image of God. Let not the members of Christ say any thing against having the whole mind that was in Christ. Let not those who are alive to God oppose the dedicating all our life to him. Why should you, who have his love shed abroad in your heart, withstand the giving him all your heart? Does not all that is within you cry out, "O who that loves, can love enough?" What pity that those who desire or design to please him, should have any other design or desire? much more that they should dread, as a fatal delusion, yea, abhor, as an abomination to God, the having this one desire and design, ruling every temper? Why should *devout* men be afraid of devoting all their soul, body, and substance to God? Why should those who love Christ, count it a damnable error, to think we may have all the mind that was in him? We allow, we contend, that we

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are *justified freely*, through the righteousness and blood of Christ. And why are you so hot against us, because we expect to be *sanctified wholly* through his Spirit? We look for no favour either from the open servants of sin, or from those who have only the form of religion. But how long will you, who worship God in spirit, who are circumcised with the circumcision not made with hands, set your battle in array against those who seek an entire circumcision of heart, who thirst to be cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and to perfect holiness in the fear of God? Are we your enemies, because we look for a full deliverance from the carnal mind, which is enmity against God? Nay, we are your brethren, your fellow-labourers in the vineyard of our Lord, your companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus. Although this we confess, (if we are fools therein, yet as fools bear with us,) we do expect to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. Yea, we do believe, that he will in this world so "cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, that we shall perfectly love him, and worthily magnify his holy name."

AN ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY.

Brethren and Fathers,

LET it not be imputed to forwardness, vanity, or presumption, that one who is of little esteem in the church, takes upon him thus to address a body of people, to many of whom he owes the highest reverence. I owe a still higher regard to him who I believe requires this at my hands; to the great BISHOP of our souls; before whom both you and I must shortly give an account of our stewardship. It is a debt I owe to love, to real, disinterested affection, to declare what has long been the burden of my soul. And may the GOD of LOVE enable you to read these lines in the same spirit wherewith they were written! It will easily appear to an unprejudiced reader, that I do not speak from a spirit of anger or resentment. I know well, "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." Much less would I utter one word out of *contempt;* a spirit justly abhorred by God and man. Neither of these can consist with that earnest, tender love, which is the motive of my present undertaking. In this spirit I desire to *cast* my *bread upon the waters;* it is enough, if I *find it again after many days.*

Meantime you are sensible, love does not forbid, but rather requires plainness of speech. Has it not often constrained you as well as me to lay aside, not only disguise, but reserve also? And "by manifestation of the truth to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God?" And while I endeavour to do this, let me earnestly entreat you for the love of God, for the love

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of your own soul, for the love of the souls committed to your charge, yea, and of the whole church of *Christ*, do not bias your mind, by thinking *who* it is that speaks; but impartially consider, *what* is spoken. And if it be false or foolish, reject it: but do not reject *the words of truth and soberness.*

My first design was, to offer a few plain thoughts to the Clergy of our own church only. But upon farther reflection, I see no cause for being so *straitened in my own bowels.* I am a debtor to all: and, therefore, though I primarily speak to them with whom I am more immediately connected, yet I would not be understood to exclude any, of whatsoever denomination, whom God has called to *watch over the souls of others, as they that must give account.*

In order to our giving this account with joy, are there not two things which it highly imports us to consider, *First*, What manner of men ought we to be? *Secondly*, Are we such, or are we not?

I. And, *First*, If we are "Overseers over the church of God, which he hath bought with his own blood," what manner of men ought we to be, in *Gifts* as well as in *Grace?*

To begin with *Gifts*, and, 1. with those that are from *nature.* Ought not a minister to have, 1st, A good understanding? A clear apprehension, a sound judgment, and a capacity of reasoning with some closeness? Is not this necessary in a high degree for the work of the ministry? Otherwise how will he be able to understand the various states of those under his care? Or to steer them through a thousand difficulties and dangers, to the haven where they would be? Is it not necessary, with respect to the numerous enemies whom he has to encounter? Can a fool cope with all the men that know not God? And with all the spirits of darkness? Nay, he will neither be aware of the devices of *Satan*, nor the craftiness of his children.

2dly, Is it not highly expedient that a guide of souls should have likewise some liveliness and readiness of thought? Or how will he be able, when need requires, to "answer a fool according to his folly?" How frequent is this need? Seeing we almost every where meet with those empty, yet petulant creatures, who are far "wiser in their own eyes, than seven men that can render a reason." Reasoning therefore is not the weapon to be used with them. You cannot deal with them thus. They scorn being *convinced:* nor can they be *silenced*, but in their own way.

3dly, To a sound understanding, and a lively turn of thought, should be joined a good *memory;* if it may be, *ready*, that you may make whatever occurs in reading or conversation, your own; but however, *retentive*, lest we be "ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." On the contrary, "every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven," every teacher fitted for his work, is "like a householder, who bringeth out of his treasures things new and old."

2. And as to *acquired endowments*, can he take one step aright, without, first, a competent share of *knowledge?* A knowledge, 1st,

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of his own office; of the high trust in which he stands, the important work to which he is called? Is there any hope that a man should discharge his office well, if he knows not what it is? That, he should acquit himself faithfully of a trust, the very nature whereof he does not understand? Nay: if he *knows* not the work God has given him to do, he cannot *finish* it.

2dly, No less necessary is a knowledge of the *Scriptures*, which teach us how to teach others: yea, a knowledge of all the Scriptures; seeing Scripture interprets Scripture; one part fixing the sense of another. So that whether it be true or not, that every good textuary is a good divine, it is certain none can be a good divine who is not a good textuary. None else can be "mighty in the Scriptures;" able both to instruct, and to stop the mouths of gainsayers.

In order to do this accurately, ought he not to know the literal meaning of every word, verse, and chapter, without which there can be no firm foundation on which the spiritual meaning can be built? Should he not likewise be able to deduce the proper corollaries, speculative and practical, from each text; to solve the difficulties which arise, and answer the objections which are or may be raised against it; and to make a suitable application of all, to the consciences of his hearers?

3dly, But can he do this, in the most effectual manner, without a knowledge of the *original tongues?* Without this, will he not frequently be at a stand, even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under still greater difficulties, with respect to controverted Scriptures. He will be ill able to rescue these out of the hands of any man of learning that would pervert them: for whenever an appeal is made to the original, his mouth is stopped at once.

4thly, Is not a knowledge of profane *history* likewise, of ancient customs, of chronology and geography, though not absolutely necessary, yet highly expedient for him that would thoroughly understand the Scriptures? Since the want even of this knowledge is but poorly supplied by reading the comments of other men.

5thly, Some knowledge of the *sciences* also, is, (to say the least,) equally *expedient*. Nay, may we not say, that the knowledge of one, (whether art or science,) although now quite unfashionable, is even *necessary*, next, and in order to the knowledge of the Scripture itself? I mean, *logic*. For what is this, if rightly understood, but the *art of good sense?* Of apprehending things clearly, judging truly, and reasoning conclusively? What is it, viewed in another light, but the *art of learning and teaching?* Whether by convincing or persuading? What is there then, in the whole compass of *science*, to be desired in comparison of it?

Is not some acquaintance with what has been termed the second part of logic, *metaphysics*, if not so necessary as this, yet highly expedient, 1. In order to clear our apprehension, (without which it is impossible either to judge correctly, or to reason closely or conclusively,) by ranging our ideas under general heads: and, 2. In order to

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understand many useful writers, who can very hardly be understood without it?

Should not a minister be acquainted too with, at least, the general grounds of *natural philosophy?* Is not this a great help to the accurate understanding several passages of Scripture? Assisted by this, he may himself comprehend, and on proper occasions explain to others, how "the invisible things of GOD are seen from the creation of the world?" "How the heavens declare the glory of GOD, and the firmament showeth his handy work:" till they cry out, "O LORD, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all."

But how far can he go in this, without some knowledge of *geometry?* which is likewise useful, not barely on this account, but to give clearness of apprehension, and a habit of thinking closely and connectedly.

It must be allowed indeed, that some of these branches of knowledge are not so indispensably necessary as the rest; and therefore no thinking man will condemn the Fathers of the Church, for having in all ages and nations, appointed some to the ministry, who suppose they had the capacity, yet had not the opportunity of attaining them. But what excuse is this, for one who has the opportunity, and makes no use of it? What can be urged for a person who has had an university education, if he does not understand them all? Certainly, supposing him to have any capacity, to have common understanding, he is inexcusable before God and man.

6thly, Can any who spend several years in those seats of learning, be excused, if they do not add to that of the *languages* and *sciences*, the knowledge of the *Fathers?* The most authentic commentators on Scripture, as being both nearest the fountain, and eminently endued with that Spirit by whom "all Scripture was given?" It will be easily perceived, I speak chiefly of those who wrote before the Council of Nice. But who would not likewise desire to have some acquaintance with those that followed them? With St. Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, Austin; and above all, that man of a broken heart, Ephraim Syrus?

7thly, There is yet another branch of knowledge highly necessary for a clergyman, and that is, *knowledge of the world;* a knowledge of men and their maxims, tempers, and manners, such as they occur in real life. Without this he would be liable to receive much hurt, and capable of doing little good; as he will not know, either how to deal with men, according to the vast variety of their characters; or to preserve himself from those, who almost in every place lie in wait to deceive.

How nearly allied to this, is, "the discernment of spirits? so far as it may be acquired by diligent observation." And can a guide of souls be without it? If he is, is he not liable to stumble at every step?

8thly, Can he be without an eminent share of *prudence?* that most uncommon thing which is usually called *common sense?* But how

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shall we define it? Shall we say, with the schools, that it is, *recta ratio rerum agibilium particularium?* Or is it, an habitual consideration of all the circumstances of a thing?

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo quando?

And a facility of adapting our behaviour to the various combinations of them? However it be defined, should it not be studied with all care, and pursued with all earnestness of application? For what terrible inconveniences ensue whenever it is remarkably wanting?

9thly, Next to *prudence* or *common sense*, (if it be not included therein,) a clergyman ought certainly to have some degree of *good-breeding:* I mean, address, easiness, and propriety of behaviour, wherever his lot is cast: perhaps one might add, he should have, (though not the stateliness: for "he is the servant of all," yet) all the courtesy of a gentleman, joined with the correctness of a scholar. Do we want a patern of this? We have one in St. Paul, even before Felix, Festus, and King Agrippa. One can scarce help thinking, he was one of the best bred men, one of the finest gentlemen in the world. O that we likewise had the skill to "please all men, for their good unto edification!"

In order to this, especially in our public ministrations, would not one wish for a strong, clear, musical voice, and a good delivery, both with regard to pronunciation and action? I name these here because they are far more acquirable, than has been commonly imagined. A remarkable weak and untunable voice has, by steady application, become strong and agreeable. Those who stammered almost at every word, have learned to speak clearly and plainly. And many who were eminently ungraceful in their pronunciation, and awkward in their gesture, have in some time, by art and labour, not only corrected that awkwardness of action, and ungracefulness of utterance, but have become excellent in both, and in these respects likewise the ornaments of their profession.

What may greatly encourage those who give themselves up to the work, with regard to all these endowments, many of which cannot be attained without considerable labour, is this: they are assured of being assisted in all their labour, by him who "teacheth man knowledge." And "who teacheth like him?" Who, like him, "giveth wisdom to the simple?" How easy is it for him, (if we desire it, and believe that he is both able and willing to do this,) by the powerful though secret influences of his Spirit, to open and enlarge our understandings; to strengthen all our faculties; to bring to our remembrance whatsoever things are needful, and to fix and sharpen our attention to them; so that we may profit above all who depend wholly on themselves, in whatever may qualify us for our Master's work.

(2.) But all these things, however great they may be in themselves, are little in comparison of those that follow. For what are all other *gifts*, whether natural or acquired, when compared to the *grace* of GOD? And how ought this to animate and govern the whole *intention*, *affection*, and *practice* of a minister of Christ?

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1. As to his *Intention*, both in undertaking this important office, and in executing every part of it, ought it not to be singly this: to glorify God, and to save souls from death? Is not this absolutely and indispensably necessary, before all and above all things? "If his eye be single, his whole body," his whole soul, his whole work "will be full of light." God "who commanded light to shine out of darkness," will "shine on his heart;" will direct him in all his ways, will give him to see the travail of his soul and be satisfied. But if his eye, his intention be not single, if there be any mixture of meaner motives, (how much more, if those were or are his leading motives in undertaking or exercising this high office!) his whole body, his whole soul will be full of darkness, even such as issues from the bottomless pit: let not such a man think, that he shall have any blessing from the Lord. No; the curse of God abideth on him. Let him not expect to enjoy any settled peace, any solid comfort in his own breast: neither can he hope, there will be any fruit of his labours, any sinners converted unto God.

2. As to his *Affections*. Ought not a "steward of the mysteries of God," a shepherd of the souls for whom Christ died, to be endued with an eminent measure of love to God, and love to all his brethren? A love the same in kind, but in degree far beyond that of ordinary Christians? Can he otherwise answer the high character he bears, and the relation wherein he stands? Without this, how can he go through all the toils and difficulties which necessarily attend the faithful execution of his office? Would it be possible for a parent to go through the pain and fatigue of bearing and bringing up even one child, were it not for that vehement affection, that inexpressible Στοργη, which the Creator has given for that very end? How much less will it be possible for any pastor, any spiritual parent, to go through the pain and labour of travailing in birth for, and bringing up many children, to the measure of the full stature of Christ, without a large measure of that inexpressible affection, which "a stranger intermeddleth not with?"

He therefore must be utterly void of understanding, must be a madman of the highest order, who on any consideration whatever, undertakes this office, while he is a stranger to this affection. Nay, I have often wondered that any man in his senses, does not rather dig or thresh for a livelihood, than continue therein, unless he feels at least, (which is *ex remâ lineâ amare*) such an earnest concern for the glory of God, and such a thirst after the salvation of souls, that he is ready to do any thing, to lose any thing, or to suffer any thing, rather than one should perish for whom Christ died.

And is not even this degree of love to God and man utterly inconsistent with the love of the world? With the love of money or praise? With the very lowest degree of either ambition or sensuality? How much less can it consist with that poor, low, irrational, childish principle, the love of diversions? (Surely even a man, were he neither a minister, nor a Christian, should "put away childish things.") Not only this, but the love of pleasure, and what lies still deeper in the soul, the love of ease, flees before it.

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* 3. As to his *Practice*, "Unto the ungodly, saith God, why dost thou preach my laws?" What is a minister of Christ, a shepherd of souls, unless he is all devoted to God? Unless he abstain with the utmost care and diligence, from every evil word and work; from all appearance of evil; yea, from the most innocent things whereby any might be offended or made weak? Is he not called above others, to be an "example to the flock," in his private as well as public character? An example of all holy and heavenly tempers, filling the heart so as to shine through life? Consequently, is not his whole life, if he walks worthy of his calling, one incessant labour of love? One continued tract of praising God, and helping man? One series of thankfulness and beneficence? Is he not always humble, always serious, though rejoicing evermore; mild, gentle, patient, abstinent? May you not resemble him to a guardian angel, ministering to those "who shall be heirs of salvation?" Is he not one sent forth from God, to stand between God and man, to guard and assist the poor, helpless children of men, to supply them both with light and strength, to guide them through a thousand known and unknown dangers, till at the appointed time he returns with those committed to his charge; to his and their Father who is in heaven?

* O who is able to describe such a messenger of God, faithfully executing his high office? Working together with God, with the great Author both of the old and new creation! See his Lord, the eternal SON of GOD, going forth on that work of omnipotence, and creating heaven and earth by the breath of his mouth! See the servant whom he delighteth to honour, fulfilling the counsel of his will, and in his Name speaking the word whereby is raised a new spiritual creation. Empowered by him, he says to the dark, unformed void of nature, "let there be light: and there is light." "Old things are passed away: behold all things are become new." He is continually employed, in what the angels of God have not the honour to do, co-operating with the Redeemer of men, in "bringing many children to glory."

Such is a true minister of Christ. And such, beyond all possibility of dispute, ought both you and I to be.

II. But are we such? What are we in the respects above named? It is a melancholy, but necessary consideration. It is true, many have written upon this subject; and some of them admirably well. Yet few, if any, at least in our nation, have carried their inquiry through all these particulars. Neither have they always spoken so plainly and homely, as the nature of the thing required. But why did they not? Was it because they were unwilling to give pain to those whom they loved? Or were they hindered by fear of disobliging? Or of incurring any temporal inconvenience? Miserable fear! Is any temporal inconvenience whatever to be laid in the balance with the souls of our brethren? Or were they prevented by shame, arising from a consciousness of their own many and great defects? Undoubtedly this might extenuate the fault, but not altogether remove it. For is it not a wise advice, "Be not ashamed when it

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concerneth thy soul?" Especially, when it concerns the souls of thousands also. In such a case may God

> "Set as a flint our steady face,
> Harden to adamant our brow!"

But is there not another hinderance? Should not compassion, should not tenderness hinder us from giving pain? Yes, from giving unnecessary pain. But what manner of tenderness is this? It is like that of a surgeon, who lets his patient be lost, because he is too compassionate to probe his wounds. Cruel compassion! Let me give pain, so I may save life. Let me probe, that God may heal.

(1.) Are we then such as we are sensible we should be, 1st, With regard to natural endowments? I am afraid not. If we were, how many stumbling-blocks would be removed out of the way of serious infidels? Alas, what terrible effects do we continually see of that common, though senseless imagination, "The boy, if he is fit for nothing else, will do well enough for a parson?" Hence it is, that we see (I would to God there were no such instance in all Great Britain or Ireland) dull, heavy, blockish ministers; men of no life, no spirit; no readiness of thought; who are consequently the jest of every pert fool, every lively airy coxcomb they meet. We see others whose memory can retain nothing; therefore they can never be men of considerable knowledge. They can never know much even of those things which they are more nearly concerned to know. Alas! they are pouring the water into a leaky vessel; and the broken cistern can hold no water. I do not say with Plato, That "all human knowledge is nothing but *remembering*." Yet certain it is, that without *remembering*, we can have but a small share of knowledge. And even those who enjoy the most retentive memory, find great reason still to complain,

> "Still comes so slow, and life so fast does fly;
> We learn so little, and forget so much."

And yet we see and bewail a still greater defect, in some that are in the ministry. They want *sense;* they are defective in *understanding;* their capacity is low and shallow: their apprehension is muddy and confused: of consequence they are utterly incapable, either of forming a true judgment of things, or of reasoning justly upon any thing. O how can these who themselves know nothing aright, impart knowledge to others? How instruct them in all the variety of duty, to God, their neighbour, and themselves? How will they guide them through all the mazes of error, through all the entanglements of sin and temptation? How will they apprize them of the *devices of* Satan, and guard them against all *the wisdom of the world?*

It is easy to perceive, I do not speak this for *their* sake; (for they are incorrigible) but for the sake of parents, that they may open their eyes and see, A blockhead can never "*do well enough* for a parson." He may do well enough for a tradesman; so well as to gain fifty or a hundred thousand pounds. He may do well enough

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for a soldier; nay, (if you pay well for it,) for a well-dressed and very well-mounted officer. He may do well enough for a sailor, and may shine on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war. He may do so well in the capacity of a lawyer or physician, as to ride in his gilt chariot. But, O! think not of his being a minister, unless you would bring a blot upon your family, a scandal upon our church, and a reproach on the gospel, which he may murder, but cannot teach.

Are we such as we are sensible we should be, 2dly, With regard to *acquired endowments?* Here the matter (suppose we have common understanding) lies more directly within our own power. But under this, as well as the following heads, methinks, I would not consider at all, how *many* or how *few*, are either excellent or defective. I would only desire every person who reads this, to apply it to himself. Certainly some one in the nation is defective. Am not I the man?

Let us each seriously examine himself. Have I, 1, such a *knowledge of Scripture*, as becomes him who undertakes so to explain it to others, that it may *be a light in all their paths?* Have I a full and clear view of the analogy of faith, which is the clue to guide me through the whole? Am I acquainted with the several parts of Scripture; with all the parts of the Old Testament and the New? Upon the mention of any text, do I know the context, and the parallel places? Have I that point at least of a good divine, the being a good textuary? Do I know the grammatical construction of the four gospels? Of the Acts? Of the Epistles? And am I a master of the spiritual sense (as well as the literal) of what I read? Do I understand the scope of each book, and how every part of it tends thereto? Have I skill to draw the natural inferences deducible from each text? Do I know the objections raised to them or from them by Jews, Deists, Papists, Arians, Socinians, and all other sectaries, who more or less *corrupt* or *cauponize the word of* God? Am I ready to give a satisfactory answer to each of these objections? And have I learned to *apply* every part of the sacred writings, as the various states of my hearers require?

2. Do I understand Greek and Hebrew? Otherwise how can I undertake, (as every minister does,) not only to explain books which are written therein, but to defend them against all opponents? Am I not at the mercy of every one who does understand, or even pretends to understand the original? For which way can I confute his pretence? Do I understand the language of the Old Testament? Critically? At all? Can I read into English one of David's psalms? Or even the first chapter of Genesis? Do I understand the language of the New Testament? Am I a critical master of it? Have I enough of it even to read into English the first chapter of St. Luke? If not, how many years did I spend at school? How many at the university? And what was I doing all those years? Ought not shame to cover my face?

*3. Do I understand *my own office?* Have I deeply considered before God, the character which I bear? What is it to be an am-

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bassador of Christ? An envoy from the King of heaven? And do I know and *feel* what is implied in "watching over the souls of men, as he that must give account?"

Do I understand so much of profane history as tends to confirm and illustrate the sacred? Am I acquainted with the ancient customs of the Jews and other nations mentioned in Scripture? Have I a competent knowledge of chronology, that at least which refers to the sacred writings? And am I so far (if no farther) skilled in geography, as to know the situation, and give some account of all the considerable places mentioned therein?

5. Am I a tolerable master of the sciences? Have I gone through the very gate of them, logic? If not, I am not likely to go much farther, when I stumble at the threshold. Do I understand it, so as to be ever the better for it? To have it always ready for use? So as to apply every rule of it, when occasion is, almost as naturally as I turn my hand? Do I understand it at all? Are not even the *moods* and *figures* above my comprehension? Do not I poorly endeavour to cover my ignorance, by affecting to laugh at their barbarous names? Can I even reduce an *indirect* mood to a *direct?* An *hypothetic* to a *categorical* syllogism? Rather have not my stupid indolence and laziness, made me very ready to believe what the little wits and pretty gentlemen affirm, "That logic is good for nothing?" It is good for this at least, (wherever it is understood,) to make people *talk less;* by showing them both what is, and what is not to the point; and how extremely hard it is to *prove* any thing. Do I understand *metaphysics?* If not the depths of the schoolmen, the subtleties of Scotus or Aquinas, yet the first rudiments, the general principles of that useful science? Have I conquered so much of it, as to clear my apprehension and range my ideas under proper heads? So much as enables me to read with ease and pleasure, as well as profit, Dr. Henry More's Works, Malebranche's *Search after Truth,* and Dr. Clark's *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God?* Do I understand natural philosophy? If I have not gone deep therein, have I digested the general grounds of it? Have I mastered Gravesande, Keil, Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia,* with his *Theory of Light and Colours?* In order thereto, have I laid in some stock of *mathematical* knowledge? Am I master of the mathematical A B C, of *Euclid's Elements?* If I have not gone thus far, if I am such a novice still, what have I been about ever since I came from school?

6. Am I acquainted with the Fathers? At least with those venerable men, who lived in the earliest ages of the church? Have I read over and over the golden remains of Clemens Romanus, of Ignatius and Polycarp? And have I given one reading at least to the works of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Cyprian?

7. Have I any knowledge of the *world?* Have I studied *men,* (as well as books,) and observed their tempers, maxims, and manners? Have I learned, to "beware of men?" To add the wisdom of the serpent to the innocence of the dove? Has God given me by nature, or have I acquired, any measure of the *discernment of*

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spirits? Or of its near ally, *prudence*, enabling me on all occasions to consider all circumstances, and to suit and vary my behaviour according to the various combinations of them? Do I labour never to be rude or ill-mannered? Not to be remarkably wanting in *good-breeding?* Do I endeavour to copy after those who are eminent for address, and easiness of behaviour? Am I (though never light or trifling, either in word or action, yet) *affable* and *courteous* to all men? And do I omit no mean which is in my power, and consistent with my character, of "pleasing all men" with whom I converse, "for their good to edification?"

If I am wanting even in these lowest endowments, shall I not frequently regret the want! How often shall I move heavily, and be far less useful than I might have been? How much more shall I suffer in my usefulness, if I have wasted the opportunities I once had of acquainting myself with the great lights of antiquity, the Antenicene Fathers? Or if I have droned away those precious hours, wherein I might have made myself master of the sciences? How poorly must I many times drag on, for want of the helps which I have vilely cast away? But is not my case still worse, if I have loitered away the time wherein I should have perfected myself in Greek and Hebrew? I might before this have been critically acquainted with the treasuries of sacred knowledge. But they are now hid from my eyes; they are closely locked up, and I have no key to open them. However, have I used all possible diligence to supply that grievous defect, (so far as it can be supplied now,) by the most accurate knowledge of the English Scriptures? Do I meditate therein day and night? Do I think (and consequently speak) thereof, "when I sit in the house, and when I walk by the way; when I lie down, and when I rise up? By this means have I at length attained a thorough knowledge as of the sacred text, so of its literal and spiritual meaning? Otherwise how can I attempt to instruct others therein? Without this, I am *a blind guide* indeed! I am absolutely incapable of teaching my flock, what I have never learned myself: no more fit to lead souls to God, than I am to govern the world.

(2.) And yet there is a higher consideration than that of *gifts;* higher than any or all these joined together; a consideration in view of which all *external* and all *intellectual endowments* vanish into nothing. Am I such as I ought to be, with regard to the grace of God? The Lord God enable me to judge aright of this!

And, 1. What was my *intention* in taking upon me this office and ministry: What was it, in taking charge of this parish, either as minister or curate? Was it always, and is it now, wholly and solely, to glorify God, and save souls? Has my eye been singly fixed on this, from the beginning hitherto? Had I never, have I not now, any mixture in my intention; any alloy of baser metal? Had I, or have I no thought of worldly gain? *Filthy lucre*, as the Apostle terms it. Had I at first, have I now, no secular view? No eye to honour or preferment? To a plentiful income? Or at least, a competency? A warm and comfortable livelihood?

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Alas, my brother! "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" Was a *comfortable livelihood* then your motive for entering into the ministry? And do you avow this in the face of the sun, and without one blush upon your cheek? I cannot compare you with Simon Magus: you are many degrees beneath him. He offered to *give money* for the *gift of* God, the power of conferring the Holy Ghost. Hereby however he showed, that he set a higher value on *the gift* than on *the money* which he would have parted with for it. But you do not: you set a far higher value on *the money* than on *the gift;* insomuch that you do not desire, you will not accept of *the gift*, unless *the money* accompany it! The bishop said, when you were ordained, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost." But that was the least of your care. Let who will receive this, so you receive the money, the revenue of a good benefice. While you minister the word and sacraments before God, he gives the Holy Ghost to those who duly receive them: so that through your hands likewise the Holy Ghost is in this sense given now. But you have little concern whether he be or not: so little, that you will minister no longer, he shall be given no more either through your lips or hands, if you have no more money for your labour. O Simon, Simon! what a saint wert thou, compared to many of the most honourable men now in Christendom?

Let not any either ignorantly or wilfully mistake me. I would not "muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." I know the spiritual labourer too, "is worthy of his reward;" and that if we sow unto our flock spiritual things, it is meet that we reap of their carnal things. I do not, therefore, blame, no, not in any degree, a minister's taking a yearly salary; but I blame his seeking it. The thing blameable is, the having it in his view, as the motive, or any part of the motive, for entering into this sacred office.

Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est
Ærugo mera.

If preferment, or honour, or profit was in his eye, his eye was not single. And our Lord knew no medium between a single and an evil eye. The eye therefore which is not single is evil. It is a plain, adjudged case. He then that has any other design in undertaking or executing the office of a minister, than purely this, to glorify God and save souls, his eye is not single. Of consequence, it is evil; and therefore his whole body must be full of darkness. The light which is in him is very darkness: darkness covers his whole soul: he has no solid peace: he has no blessing from God: And there is no fruit of his labours.

It is no wonder, that they who see no harm in this, see no harm in adding one living to another, and, if they can, another to that; yet still wiping their mouth, and saying, they have done no evil. In the very first step, their eye was not single: therefore their mind was filled with darkness. So they stumble on still in the same mire, till their feet, "stumble on the dark mountains."

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* It is pleaded indeed, That a "small living will not maintain a large family." Maintain! How? It will not "clothe" them "in purple and fine linen:" nor enable them to "fare sumptuously every day." But will not the living you have now, afford you and yours the plain necessaries, yea, and conveniences of life? Will it not maintain you in the frugal, Christian simplicity, which becomes a minister of Christ? It will not maintain you in pomp and grandeur, in elegant luxury, in fashionable sensuality. So much the better. If your eyes were open, whatever your income was, you would flee from these as from hell-fire.

It has been pleaded, secondly, "By having a larger income, I am able to do more good." But dare you aver, in the presence of God, that it was singly with this view, only for this end, that you sought a larger income? If not, you are still condemned before God: your eye was not single. Do not therefore quibble and evade. This was not your motive of acting. It was not the desire of doing more good, whether to the souls or bodies of men, it was not the love of God; (you know it was not, your own conscience is a thousand witnesses;) but it was, "the love of money," and "the desire of other things," which animated you in this pursuit. If then the Word of God is true, you are in darkness still: it fills and covers your soul.

I might add, a larger income does not necessarily imply a capacity of doing more *spiritual good*. And this is the highest kind of good. It is good to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked: but it is a far nobler good, to "save souls from death," to pluck poor "brands out of the burning." And it is that to which you are peculiarly called, and to which you have solemnly promised to "bend all your studies and endeavours." But you are by no means sure, that by adding a second living to your first, you shall be more capable of doing good in this kind, than you would have been, had you laid out all your time, and all your strength, on your first flock.

"However, I shall be able to do more *temporal good*." You are not sure even of this. "If riches increase, they are increased that eat them." Perhaps your expenses may rise proportionably with your income. But if not, if you have a greater ability, shall you have a greater willingness to do good? You have no reason in the world to believe this. There are a thousand instances of the contrary. How many have less will, when they have more power? Now they have more money, they love it more. When they had little, they did their "diligence gladly to give of that little:" but since they have had much, they are so far from giving plenteously, that they can hardly afford to give at all.

"But by my having another living, I maintain a valuable man, who might otherwise want the necessaries of life." I answer, 1. Was this your whole and sole motive, in seeking that other living? If not, this plea will not clear you from the charge: your eye was not single. 2. If it was, you may put it beyond dispute. You may prove at once the purity of your intention. Make that valuable man rector of one of your parishes, and you are clear before God and man.

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But what can be pleaded for those who have two or more flocks, and take care of none of them? Who just look at them now and then for a few days, and then remove to a convenient distance, and say, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years: take thine ease; eat, drink, and be merry?"

Some years ago, I was asking a plain man, "Ought not he who feeds the flock, to eat of the milk of the flock?" He answered, "Friend, I have no objection to that. But what is that to him who does not feed the flock? He stands on the far side of the hedge, and feeds himself. It is another who feeds the flock. And ought *he* to have the milk of the flock? What canst thou say for him? Truly, nothing at all. And he will have nothing to say for himself, when the great Shepherd shall pronounce that just sentence: "bind the unprofitable servant hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness."

I have dwelt the longer on this head, because a right *intention* is the first point of all, and the most necessary of all; inasmuch as the want of this cannot be supplied by any thing else whotsoever. It is the setting out wrong; a fault never to be amended, unless you return to the place whence you came, and set out right. It is impossible therefore to lay too great a stress upon a single eye, a pure *intention;* without which, all our sacrifice, our prayers, sermons, and sacraments, are an abomination to the Lord.

I cannot dismiss this important article, without touching upon one thing more. How many are *directly* concerned therein, I leave to the Searcher of Hearts.

You have been settled in a living or a curacy for some time. You are now going to exchange it for another. Why do you do this? For what reason do you prefer this before your former living or curacy? "Why, I had but fifty pounds a year where I was before, and now I shall have a hundred." And is this your real motive of acting? The true reason why you make this exchange? "It is: and is it not a sufficient reason?" Yes, for a Heathen; but not for one who calls himself a Christian.

Perhaps a more gross infatuation than this was never yet known upon earth. There goes one, who is commissioned to be an ambassador of Christ, a shepherd of never-dying souls, a watchman over the Israel of God, a steward to the mysteries which angels desire to look into. Where is he going? "To London, to Bristol, to Northampton." Why does he go thither? "To get more money." A tolerable reason for driving a herd of bullocks to one market rather than the other; though if a drover does this, without any farther view, he acts as a Heathen, not a Christian. But what a reason for leaving the immortal souls, over whom the Holy Ghost had made you overseer! And yet this is the motive which not only influences in secret, but is acknowledged openly and without a blush! Nay, it is excused, justified, defended; and that not by a few, here and there, who are apparently void both of piety and shame; but by numbers of seemingly religious men, from one end of England to the other!

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2. Am I, secondly, such as I ought to be, with regard to my *Affections?* I am *taken from among and ordained for men, in things pertaining to God.* I stand between God and man, by the authority of the great Mediator, in the nearest and most endearing relation both to my Creator and my fellow-creatures. Have I accordingly given my heart to God, and to my brethren for his sake? Do I "love God with all my soul and strength?" And my *neighbour*, every man, as myself? Does this love swallow me up? Possess me whole? Constitute my supreme happiness? Does it animate all my passions and tempers, and regulate all my powers and faculties? Is it the spring which gives rise to all my thoughts, and governs all my words and actions? If it does, not unto me, but unto God be the praise. If it does not, "God be merciful to me a sinner!"

At least, do I feel such a concern for the glory of God, and such a thirst after the salvation of men, that I am ready to do any thing, however contrary to my natural inclination, to part with any thing, however agreeable to me, to suffer any thing, however grievous to flesh and blood, so I may save one soul from hell? Is this my ruling temper at all times and in all places? Does it make all my labour light? If not, what a weariness is it! What a drudgery! Had I not far better hold the plough?

But is it possible this should be my ruling temper, if I still love the world? No, certainly. If I "love the world, the love of the Father is not in me." The love of God is not in me, if I love pleasure, so called, or diversion. Neither is it in me, if I am a lover of honour or praise, of dress, or of good eating and drinking. Nay, even indolence, or the love of ease, is inconsistent with the love of God.

What a creature then is a covetous, an ambitious, a luxurious, an indolent, a diversion-loving clergyman! Is it any wonder that infidelity should increase, where any of these are to be found? That many, comparing their spirit with their profession, should blaspheme that worthy name whereby they are called? But "wo be unto him by whom the offence cometh! It were good for that man if he had never been born." It were good for him now, rather than he should continue to turn the lame out of the way, "that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the depth of the sea!"

3. May not you, who are of a better spirit, consider, 3dly, am I such as I ought to be, with regard to my *practice?* Am I in my private life, wholly devoted to God? Am I intent upon this one thing, to do in every point "not my own will, but the will of him that sent me?" Do I carefully and resolutely abstain from every evil word and work? "From all appearance of evil?" From all indifferent things, which might lay a stumbling-block in the way of the weak? Am I zealous of good works? As I have time, do I do good to all men? And that in every kind, and in as high a degree as I am capable?

How do I behave in the public work whereunto I am called? In my pastoral character? Am I a pattern to my flock, "in word, in behaviour, in love, in spirit, in faith, and purity?" Is my *word*, my daily conversation, "always in grace, always meet to minister grace

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to the hearers?" Is my *behaviour* suitable to the dignity of my *calling?* Do I walk as Christ also walked? Does the *love* of God and man not only fill my heart, but shine through my whole conversation? Is the *spirit*, the temper which appears in all my words and actions, such as allows me to say with humble boldness, herein "be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ?" Do all who have spiritual discernment take knowledge, (judging of the tree by its fruits,) that "the life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God;" and that "in all simplicity and godly sincerity I have my conversation in the world?" Am I exemplarily *pure* from all worldly desire? From all vile and vain affections? Is my life one continued labour of love? One tract of praising God and helping man? Do I in every thing "see him who is invisible?" And, "beholding with open face the glory of the Lord, am I changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord?"

Brethren, is not this our calling, even as we are Christians? But more eminently as we are ministers of Christ? And why, (I will not say, we do fall short, but why) are we satisfied with falling so short of it? Is there any necessity laid upon us, of sinking so infinitely below our calling? Who hath required this at our hands? Certainly not He by whose authority we minister. Is not His will the same with regard to us, as with regard to his first ambassadors? Is not His love, and is not his power still the same, as they were in the ancient days? Know ye not, that "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever?" Why then may you not be as "burning and as shining lights," as those that shone seventeen hundred years ago? Do you desire to partake of the same burning love, of the same shining holiness? Surely you do. You cannot but be sensible, it is the greatest blessing which can be bestowed on any child of man. Do you design it? Aim at it? "Press on to this mark of the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus?" Do you constantly and earnestly pray for it; then as the Lord liveth, ye shall attain. Only let us pray on, and "tarry at Jerusalem, till we be endued with power from on high." Let us continue in all the ordinances of God, particularly in meditating on his Word, in "denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily," and, "as we have time, doing good to all men:" and then assuredly the great Shepherd of us and our flocks, will make us "perfect in every good work, to do his will, and work in us all that is well pleasing in his sight!" This is the desire and prayer of

Your Brother and Servant
In our common Lord,
JOHN WESLEY.

London, Feb. 6, 1756.

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A COLLECTION OF FORMS OF PRAYER,

FOR EVERY DAY IN THE WEEK.

PREFACE.

THE intention of the collector of these Prayers was, first, to have Forms of Prayer for every day in the week, each of which contained something of deprecation, petition, thanksgiving, and intercession: Secondly, To have such forms for those days which the Christian Church has ever judged peculiarly proper for religious rejoicing, as contained little of deprecation, but were explicit and large in acts of love and thanksgiving. Thirdly, To have such for those days, which, from the age of the Apostles, have been set apart for religious mourning, as contained little of thanksgiving, but were full and express in acts of contrition and humiliation. Fourthly, To have intercessions every day, for all those whom our own Church directs us to remember in our prayers. And, Fifthly, To comprise in the course of petitions for the week, the whole scheme of our Christian duty.

Whoever follows the direction of our excellent Church, in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, by keeping close to that sense of them which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have delivered to succeeding generations, will easily see that the whole system of Christian duty is reducible to these five heads.

First: The renouncing ourselves: "If any man will come after me, let him *renounce** himself, and follow me." This implies, first, A thorough conviction that we are not our own; that we are not the proprietors of ourselves, or any thing we enjoy; that we have no right to dispose of our goods, bodies, souls, or any of the actions or passions of them. Secondly, A solemn resolution to act suitably to this conviction; not to live to ourselves, not to pursue our own desires, not to please ourselves, nor to suffer our own will to be any principle of action to us.

Secondly, Such a renunciation of ourselves naturally leads to the devoting of ourselves to God: as this implies, First, A thorough conviction that we are God's: That he is the proprietor of all we are, and all we have; and that not only by right of creation, but of purchase; for he "died for all:" and, therefore, died for all, that "they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them." Secondly, A solemn resolution to act,

* Απαρνησασθω εαυτον. Matt. xvi. 24.

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suitably to this conviction: to live unto God, to render unto God the things which are God's, even all we are, and all we have; to glorify him in our bodies, and in our spirits, with all the powers and all the strength of each, and to make his will our sole principle of action.

Thirdly, Self-denial is the immediate consequence of this. For whosoever has determined, to "live no longer to the desires of men, but to the Will of God," will soon find that he cannot be true to his purpose without "denying himself, and taking up his cross daily." He will daily feel some desire which this one principle of action, the Will of God, does not require him to indulge. In this therefore he must either deny himself, or so far deny the faith. He will daily meet with some means of drawing nearer to God, which are unpleasing to flesh and blood. In this, therefore, he must either take up his cross, or so far renounce his Master.

Fourthly, By a constant exercise of self-denial, the true follower of Christ continually advances in mortification. He is more and more dead to the world, and the things of the world, till at length he can say, with that perfect disciple* of his Lord, "I desire nothing but God;" or with St. Paul, "I am crucified unto the world; I am dead with Christ: I live not, but Christ liveth in me."

Fifthly, Christ liveth in me: This is the fulfilling of the law, the last stage of Christian holiness: This maketh the man of God perfect: He that being dead to the world, is alive to God, the desire of whose soul is unto his name, who has given him his whole heart, who delights in him, and in nothing else but what tends to him; who for his sake burns with love to all mankind; who neither thinks, speaks, nor acts, but to fulfil his will, is on the last round of the ladder to heaven; grace hath had its full work upon his soul; the next step he takes is into glory.

May the God of glory give unto us who have not already attained this, neither are already perfect, to do this one thing, "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, to press toward the mark for the prize of our high-calling in Christ Jesus."

May he so enlighten our eyes, that we may "reckon all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord;" and so stablish our hearts that we may rejoice to suffer the loss of all things, and count them but dung, that we may win Christ."

* Marquis de Renty.

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A COLLECTION, &c.

SUNDAY MORNING.

ALMIGHTY GOD, Father of all mercies, I thy unworthy servant, desire to present myself with all humility, before thee, to offer my morning sacrifice of love and thanksgiving! Glory be to thee, O most adorable Father, who after thou hadst finished the work of creation, enteredst into thy eternal rest. Glory be to thee, O holy Jesus, who having through the eternal Spirit offered thyself a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, didst rise again the third day from the dead, and hadst all power given thee, both in heaven and on earth. Glory be to thee, O blessed Spirit, who proceeding from the Father and the Son, didst come down in fiery tongues on the Apostles, on the first day of the week, and didst enable them to preach the glad tidings of salvation to a sinful world, and has ever since been moving on the faces of men's souls, as thou didst once on the face of the great deep, bringing them out of that dark chaos in which they were involved. Glory be to thee, O holy undivided Trinity, for jointly concurring in the great work of our redemption, and restoring us again to the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Glory be to thee, who in compassion to human weakness, hast appointed a solemn day for the remembrance of thy inestimable benefits. O let me ever esteem it my privilege and happiness, to have a day set apart for the concerns of my soul, a day free from distractions, disengaged from the world, wherein I have nothing to do but to praise and love thee. O let it ever be to me a day sacred to divine love, a day of heavenly rest and refreshment.

Let thy Holy Spirit, who on the first day of the week descended in miraculous gifts on thy Apostles, descend on me thy unworthy servant, that I may be always "in the spirit on the Lord's day." Let his blessed inspiration prevent and assist me in all the duties of this thy sacred day, that my wandering thoughts may all be fixed on thee, my tumultuous affections composed, and my flat and cold desires quickened into fervent longings and thirstings after thee. O let me join in the prayers and praises of thy church with ardent and heavenly affection, hear thy word with earnest attention and a fixed resolution to obey it. And when I approach the altar, pour into my heart, humility, faith, hope, love, and all those holy dispositions, which become the solemn remembrance of a crucified Saviour. Let me employ this whole day to the ends for which it was ordained, in works of necessity and mercy, in prayer, praise, and meditation; and "let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart be always acceptable in thy sight."

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I know, O Lord, that thou hast commanded me, and therefore it is my duty, to love thee with all my heart, and with all my strength. I know thou art infinitely holy and overflowing in all perfections, and therefore it is my duty so to love thee.

I know thou hast created me, and that I have neither being nor blessing but what is the effect of thy power and goodness.

I know thou art the end for which I was created, and that I can expect no happiness but in thee.

I know that in love to me, being lost in sin, thou didst send thy only Son, and that he being the Lord of glory, did humble himself to the death upon the cross, that I might be raised to glory.

I know thou hast provided me with all necessary helps for carrying me through this life to that eternal glory, and this out of the excess of thy pure mercy to me, unworthy of all mercies.

I know thou hast promised to be thyself my "exceeding great reward." Though it is thou alone who thyself "worketh in me both to will and to do, of thy good pleasure."

Upon these and many other titles, I confess it is my duty, to love thee my God, with all my heart. Give thy strength unto thy servant, that thy love may fill my heart, and be the motive of all the use I make of my understanding, my affections, my senses, my health, my time, and whatever other talents I have received from thee. Let this, O God, rule my heart, without a rival; let it dispose all my thoughts, words, and works; and thus only can I fulfil my duty and thy command, of loving thee, "with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength."

O thou infinite Goodness, confirm thy past mercies to me, by enabling me, for what remains of my life, to be more faithful than I have hitherto been, to this thy great command. For the time I have yet to sojourn upon earth, O let me fulfil this great duty. Permit me not to be in any delusion here: let me not trust in words, or sighs, or tears, but love thee even as thou hast commanded. Let me feel, and then I shall know what it is, to love thee with all my heart.

O merciful God, whatsoever thou deniest me, deny me not this love. Save me from the idolatry of "loving the world, or any of the things of the world." Let me never love any creature, but for thy sake, and in subordination to thy love. Take thou the full possession of my heart, raise there thy throne, and command there, as thou dost in heaven. Being created by thee, let me live to thee; being created for thee, let me ever act for thy glory; being redeemed by thee, let me render unto thee what is thine, and let my spirit ever cleave to thee alone!

Let the prayers and sacrifices of thy holy church offered unto thee this day be graciously accepted; "clothe thy Priests with righteousness, and pardon all thy people who are not prepared according to the preparations of the sanctuary." Prosper all who are sincerely engaged in propagating or promoting thy faith and love; (—) "Give thy Son the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost

(—) Here mention the particular persons you would pray for.

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parts of the earth for his possession:" that from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, thy name may be great among the gentiles. Enable us of this nation, and especially those whom thou hast set over us in church and state, and in our several stations, to serve thee in all holiness, and to "know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge." Continue to us the means of grace, and grant we may never provoke thee by our non-improvement to deprive us of them. Pour down thy blessing upon our Universities, that they may ever promote true religion and sound learning. Show mercy, O Lord, to my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, to all my friends, (—) relations, and enemies, and to all that are in affliction. Let thy fatherly hand be over them, and thy Holy Spirit ever with them; that submitting themselves entirely to thy will, and directing all their thoughts, words, and works to thy glory, they and those that are already dead in the Lord, may at length enjoy thee, in the glories of thy kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for ever.

SUNDAY EVENING.

General Questions which a serious Christian may propose to himself, before he begins his Evening Devotion.

1. With what degree of attention and fervour did I use my morning prayers, public or private?
2. Have I done any thing without a present, or at least a previous perception, of its direct or remote tendency to the glory of God?
3. Did I in the morning consider, what particular virtue I was to exercise, and what business I had to do in the day?
4. Have I been zealous to undertake, and active in doing what good I could?
5. Have I interested myself any farther in the affairs of others, than charity required?
6. Have I, before I visited, or was visited, considered how I might thereby give or receive the improvement?
7. Have I mentioned any failing or fault of any man, when it was not necessary for the good of another?
8. Have I unnecessarily grieved any one by word or deed?
9. Have I before, or in every considerable conversation or action, considered, how it might be a mean of improving in the virtue of the day?

Particular questions relating to the Love of God.

1. Have I set apart some of this day to think upon His perfections and mercies?
2. Have I laboured to make this day, a day of heavenly rest, sacred to divine love?
3. Have I employed those parts of it in works of necessity and mercy, which were not employed in prayer, reading and meditation?

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O MY FATHER, my GOD, I am in thy hands; and may I rejoice above all things in being so: do with me what seemeth good in thy sight: only let me love thee with all my mind, soul, and strength.

I magnify thee for granting me to be born in thy church, and of religious parents; for washing me in thy baptism, and instructing me in thy doctrine of truth and holiness, for sustaining me by thy gracious Providence, and guiding me by thy blessed Spirit; for admitting me, with the rest of my Christian brethren, to wait on thee at thy public worship: and for so often feeding my soul with thy most precious body and blood, those pledges of love, and sure conveyance of strength and comfort. O be gracious unto all of us, whom thou hast this day *or at any time* admitted to thy holy table.—Strengthen our hearts in thy ways against all our temptations, and make us *more than conquerors* in thy love.

O my Father, my God, deliver me, I beseech thee, from all violent passions: I know how greatly obstructive these are both of the knowledge and love of thee; O let none of them find a way into my heart; but let me ever possess my soul in meekness. O my God, I desire to fear them more than death; let me not save those cruel tyrants; but do thou reign in my breast; let me ever be thy servant, and love thee with all my heart.

Deliver me, O God, from the love of company and diversions; I know these are so many pleasing snares which continually solicit me to pursue them for their own sakes, and not in order to thy glory. O give me that true wisdom, that using them only because they are necessary for my present weakness, I may thankfully use them so far as they are necessary thereto and no farther. Let me never be enslaved to their false charms, but let my whole heart be reserved for thee.

Deliver me, O God, from too intense an application to even necessary business: I know how this dissipates my thoughts from the one end of all my business, and impairs that lively perception I would ever retain of thee standing at my right hand. I know the narrowness of my heart, and that an eager attention to earthly things leaves it no room for the things of heaven. O teach me to go through all my employments with so truly disengaged a heart, that I may still see thee in all things, and see thee therein as continually looking upon me, and searching my reins, and that I may never impair that liberty of spirit, which is necessary for the love of thee.

Deliver me, O God, from a slothful mind, from all lukewarmness, and all dejection of spirit: I know these cannot but deaden my love to thee; mercifully free my heart from them, and give me a lively, zealous, active, and cheerful spirit, that I may vigorously perform whatever thou commandest, thankfully suffer whatever thou choosest for me, and be ever ardent to obey in all things thy holy love.

Deliver me, O God, from all idolatrous love of any creature. I know infinite numbers have been lost to thee, by loving those creatures for their own sake, which thou permittest, nay, even commandest to love subordinately to thee. Preserve me, I beseech

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thee, from all such blind affection: be thou a guard to all my desires, that they fix on no creature any farther than the love of it tends to build me up in the love of thee. Thou requirest me to love thee with all my heart: undertake for me, I beseech thee, and be thou my security, that I may never open my heart to any thing but out of love to thee.

Above all, deliver me, O my God, from all idolatrous self-love. I know, O God, (blessed be thy infinite mercy for giving me this knowledge,) that this is the root of all evil: I know thou madest me, not to do my own will but thine: I know the very corruption of the Devil is, the having a will contrary to thine. O be thou my helper against this most dangerous of all idols, that I may both discern all its subtleties, and withstand all its force. O thou who hast commanded me to renounce myself, give me strength, and I will obey thy command. My choice and desire is, to love myself, and all other creatures in and for thee. O let thy almighty arm so establish, strengthen, and settle me, that thou mayest ever be the ground and pillar of all my love.

By this love of thee, my God, may my soul be fixed against its natural inconstancy: by this may it be reduced to an entire indifference as to all things else, and simply desire what is pleasing in thy sight. May this holy frame ever warm my breast, that I may serve thee with all my might; and let it consume in my heart all selfish desires, that I may in all things regard not myself, but thee.

O my God, let thy glorious name be duly honoured and loved by all the creatures which thou hast made. Let thy infinite goodness and greatness be ever adored by all angels and men. May thy church, the catholic seminary of divine love, be protected from all the powers of darkness. O vouchsafe to all, who call themselves by thy name, one short glimpse of thy goodness. May they once taste and see how gracious thou art, that all things else may be tasteless to them; that their desires may be always flying up towards thee, that they may render thee, love, and praise, and obedience pure and cheerful, constant and zealous, universal and uniform, like that which the holy angels render thee in heaven.

Send forth thy blessed Spirit into the midst of these sinful nations, and make us a holy people: stir up the heart of our Sovereign, of the Royal Family, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and of all whom thou hast set over us, that they may be happy instruments in thy hand, of promoting this good work: be gracious to the Universities, to the Gentry and Commons of this land, and comfort all that are in affliction; let the trial of their faith work patience in them, and perfect them in hope and love. (—)

Bless my father, &c. my friends and relations, and all that belong to this family: all that have been instrumental to my good, by their assistance, advice, example, or writing, and all who do not pray for themselves.

Change the hearts of mine enemies, and give me grace to forgive them, even as thou for *Christ's* sake forgivest us.

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O "thou Shepherd of Israel," vouchsafe to receive me this night and ever into thy protection: accept my poor services, and pardon the sinfulness of these and all my holy duties. O let it be thy good pleasure shortly to put a period to sin and misery, to infirmity and death, to complete the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom: that we, and all that wait for thy salvation, may eternally love and praise thee, O God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, throughout all ages, world without end.

Our Father, &c.

MONDAY MORNING.

General Questions, which may be used every Morning.

Did I think of God first and last?

Have I examined myself how I behaved since last night's retirement?

Am I resolved to do all the good I can this day, and to be diligent in the business of my calling?

O GOD, who art the giver of all good gifts, I thy unworthy servant entirely desire to praise thy name, for all the expressions of thy bounty towards me. Blessed be thy love for giving thy Son to die for our sins, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. Blessed be thy love for all the temporal benefits which thou hast with a liberal hand poured out upon me; for my health and strength, food and raiment, and all other necessaries with which thou hast provided thy sinful servant. I also bless thee that, after all my refusals of thy grace, thou still hast patience with me, hast preserved me this night (——) and given me yet another day, to renew and perfect my repentance. Pardon, good Lord, all my former sins, and make me every day more zealous and diligent to improve every opportunity of building up my soul in thy faith, and love, and obedience: make thyself always present to my mind, and let thy love fill and rule my soul, in all those places, and companies, and employments, to which thou callest me this day. In all my passage through this world, suffer not my heart to be set upon it; but always fix my single eye, and my undivided affections on "the prize of my high calling!" This one thing let me do; let me so press toward this, as to make all things else minister unto it; and be careful so to use them, as thereby to fit my soul for that pure bliss, which thou hast prepared for those that love thee!

O thou, who art good and doest good, who extendest thy loving-kindness to all mankind, the work of thine hands, thine image, capable of knowing and loving thee eternally: suffer me to exclude

(——) Here you may mention any particular mercy received.

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none, O Lord, from my charity, who are the objects of thy mercy: but let me treat all my neighbours with that tender love, which is due to thy servants and to thy children. Thou hast required this mark of my love to thee: O let no temptation expose me to ingratitude, or make me forfeit thy loving-kindness, which is better than life itself! but grant that I may assist all my brethren with my prayers, where I cannot reach them with actual services. Make me zealous to embrace all occasions that may administer to their happiness, by assisting the needy, protecting the oppressed, instructing the ignorant, confirming the wavering, exhorting the good, and reproving the wicked. Let me look upon the failings of my neighbour as if they were my own; that I may be grieved for them, that I may never reveal them but when charity requires, and then with tenderness and compassion. Let thy love to me, O blessed Saviour, be the pattern of my love to him. Thou thoughtest nothing too dear to part with, to rescue me from eternal misery: O let me think nothing too dear to part with to set forward the everlasting good of my fellow-christians. They are members of thy body; therefore I will cherish them. Thou hast redeemed them with an inestimable price: assisted by thy Holy Spirit, therefore, I will endeavour to recover them from a state of destruction; that thus adorning thy holy gospel, by doing good according to my power, I may at last be received into the endearments of thy eternal love, and sing everlasting praise unto the Lamb, that was slain, and that now sitteth on the throne for ever.

Extend, I humbly beseech thee, thy mercy to all men, and let them become thy faithful servants. Let all Christians live up to the holy religion they profess; especially these sinful nations. Be entreated for us, good Lord: be glorified by our reformation, and not by our destruction. "Turn thou us, and so shall we be turned:" O be favourable to thy people; give us grace to put a period to our provocations, and do thou put a period to our punishment. Defend our Church from schism, heresy, and sacrilege, and the King from all treasons and conspiracies. Bless all bishops, priests, and deacons, with apostolical graces, exemplary lives, and sound doctrine. Grant to the council, wisdom from above; to all magistrates, integrity and zeal; to the universities, quietness and industry; and to the gentry and commons, pious, and peaceable, and loyal hearts.

Preserve my parents, my brothers and sisters, my friends and relations, and all mankind, in their souls and bodies, (—) forgive mine enemies, and in thy due time make them kindly affected towards me. Have mercy on all who are "afflicted in mind, body, or estate: give them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions." O grant that we, with those who are already dead in thy faith and fear, may together partake of a joyful resurrection, through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end.

Our Father, &c.

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MONDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to the love of our Neighbour.

1. Have I thought any thing, but my conscience, too dear to part with, to please or serve my neighbour?
2. Have I rejoiced or grieved with him?
3. Have I observed his infirmities with pity, not with anger?
4. Have I contradicted any one, either where I had no end in view, or where there was no probability of convincing?
5. Have I let him, I thought in the wrong, (*in a trifle,*) have the last word?

MOST great and glorious LORD GOD, I desire to prostrate myself before thy Divine Majesty, under a deep sense of my unworthiness, and with sorrow, and shame, and confusion of face, to confess I have, by my manifold transgressions, deserved thy severest visitations. "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." O let thy paternal bowels yearn upon me, and for *Jesus Christ* his sake, graciously receive me. Accept my imperfect repentance, and send thy Spirit of adoption into my heart, that I may again be owned by thee, call thee Father, and share in the blessings of thy children.

Adored be thy goodness for all the benefits thou hast already from time to time bestowed on me; for the good things of this life, and the hope of eternal happiness. Particularly, I offer to thee my humblest thanks for the preservation of me this day, (—) if I have escaped any sin, it is the effect of thy restraining grace: if I have avoided any danger, it was thy hand directed me. To thy name be ascribed the honour and glory. O let the sense of all thy blessings have this effect upon me, to make me daily more diligent in devoting myself, all I am, and all I have, to thy glory.

O my God, fill my soul with so entire a love of thee, that I may love nothing but for thy sake, and in subordination to thy love. Give me grace to study thy knowledge daily, that the more I know thee, the more I may love thee. Create in me a zealous obedience to all thy commands, a cheerful patience under all thy chastisements, and a thankful resignation to all thy disposals. May I ever have awful thoughts of thee, never mention thy venerable Name, unless on just, solemn, and devout occasions; nor even then, without acts of adoration. O let it be the one business of my life to glorify thee, by every word of my tongue, by every work of my hand: by professing thy truth, even to the death, if it should please thee to call me to it: and by engaging all men, as far as in me lies, to glorify and love thee.

Let thy unwearied and tender love to me make my love unwearied and tender to my neighbour, zealous to pray for, and to procure and promote his health and safety, ease and happiness; and active to comfort, succour, and relieve all whom thy love and their own

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necessities recommend to my charity. Make me peaceful and reconcilable: easy to forgive, and glad to return good for evil. Make me like thyself, all kindness and benignity, all goodness and gentleness, all meekness and long-suffering. And, O thou Lover of souls, raise in me a compassionate zeal to save the life, the eternal life of souls, and by affectionate and seasonable advice, exhortations and reproof, to reclaim the wicked, and win them to thy love.

Be pleased, O Lord, to take me, with my father and mother, brethren and sisters, my friends and relations, and my enemies, into thy almighty protection this night. Refresh me with such comfortable rest, that I may rise more fit for thy service. Let me lie down with holy thoughts of thee, and when I am awake, let me be still present with thee.

Show mercy to the whole world, O Father of all: Let the gospel of thy Son run and be glorified throughout all the earth. Let it be made known to all infidels, and obeyed by all Christians. Be merciful to this church and nation; give unto the Bishops a discerning spirit, that they may make choice of fit persons to serve in thy sacred ministry: and enable all who are ordained to a holy function, diligently to feed the flocks committed to their charge, instructing them in saving knowledge, guiding them by their example, praying for and blessing them, exercising spiritual discipline in thy church, and duly administering the holy sacraments. Multiply thy blessings on our Sovereign, on the Royal Family, and on the Nobles, Magistrates, Gentry, and Commons of this land: that they may all, according to the several talents they have received, be faithful instruments of thy glory. Give to our Schools and Universities, zeal, prudence, and holiness. Visit in mercy all the children of affliction, (—) relieve their necessities, lighten their burdens; give them a cheerful submission to thy gracious will, and at length bring them and us, with those that already rest from their labours, into the joy of our Lord, to whom with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, be all praise, now and for ever.

TUESDAY MORNING.

O ETERNAL and merciful FATHER, I give thee humble thanks (increase my thankfulness, I beseech thee) for all the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which in the riches of thy mercy, thou hast poured down upon me. Lord, let me not live but to love thee, and to glorify thy name. Particularly, I give thee most unfeigned thanks for preserving me from my birth to this moment, and for bringing me safe to the beginning of this day (—), in which, and in all the days of my life, I beseech thee, that all my thoughts, words and works, may tend to thy glory. Heal, O Father of Mercies, all my infirmities, (—) strengthen me against all my follies; forgive me all my sins (—), and let them not cry louder in thine ears for vengeance, than my prayers for mercy and forgiveness.

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O blessed Lord, enable me to fulfil thy commands, and command what thou wilt. O thou Saviour of all that trust in thee, do with me what seemeth best in thine own eyes: only give me the mind which was in thee: let me learn of thee: to be meek and lowly, pour into me the whole spirit of humility; fill, I beseech thee, every part of my soul with it, and make it the constant, ruling habit of my mind, that all my other tempers may arise from it: that I may have no thoughts, no desires, no designs, but such as are the true fruit of a lowly spirit. Grant that I may think of myself as I ought to think, that I may "know myself even as I am known." Herein may I exercise myself continually, when I lie down and when I rise up, that I may always appear poor, and base, and vile in my own eyes. O convince me, that "I have neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the Holy One." Give me a lively sense that I am nothing, that I have nothing, that I can do nothing. Enable me to feel that I am all ignorance and error, weakness and uncleanness, sin and misery; that I am not worthy of the air I breathe, the earth I tread upon, or the sun that shines upon me. And let me be fully content when all other men think of me as I do of myself. O save me from either desiring or seeking the honour that cometh of men.

Convince me that the words of praise, "when smoother than oil," then especially "are very swords." Give me to dread them more than the "poison of asps," or "the pestilence that walketh in darkness." And when these cords of pride, these snares of death do overtake me, suffer me not to take any pleasure in them, but enable me instantly to flee unto thee, O Lord, and to complain unto my God. Let all my bones cry out, "Thou art worthy to be praised; so shall I be safe from mine enemies."

Bless, O gracious Father, all the nations whom thou hast placed upon the earth, with the knowledge of thee, the only true God: but especially bless thy holy Catholic Church, and fill it with truth and grace; where it is corrupt, purge it; where it is in error, rectify it; where it is right, confirm it; where it is divided, and rent asunder, heal the breaches thereof, "O thou Holy One of Israel." Replenish all whom thou hast called to any office therein, with truth of doctrine and innocency of life. Let their prayers be as precious incense in thy sight, that their cries and tears for the city of their God may not be in vain.

O Lord, hear the King in the day of his trouble, let thy name, O God, defend him, grant him his heart's desire, and fulfil all his mind: set his heart firm upon thee, and upon other things only as they are in and for thee. O defend him and his royal relations with the saving strength of thy right-hand.

Have mercy upon this kingdom, and forgive the sins of this people: turn thee unto us, bless us, and cause thy face to shine on our desolations. Inspire the nobles and magistrates with prudent zeal, the gentry and commons with humble loyalty. Pour down thy blessings on all Seminaries of true religion and learning, that they may remember and answer the end of their institution. Comfort all the

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sons and daughters of affliction, especially those who "suffer for righteousness' sake." Bless my father and mother, my brethren and sisters, my friends and relations, and all that belong to this family. Forgive all who are mine enemies, and so reconcile them to me and thyself, that we all, together with those that now sleep in thee, may awake to life everlasting, through thy merit and intercession, O blessed Jesus; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed by all creatures, "all honour, and might, and wisdom, and glory, and blessing."

Our Father, &c.

TUESDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions, relating to Humility.

1. Have I laboured to conform all my thoughts, words, and actions, to these fundamental maxims; *I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing?*

2. Have I set apart some time, this day, to think upon my infirmities, follies, and sins?

3. Have I ascribed to myself any part of any good which God did by my hand?

4. Have I said or done any thing, with a view to the praise of men?

5. Have I desired the praise of men?

6. Have I taken pleasure in it?

7. Have I commended myself, or others, to their faces, unless for God's sake, and then with fear and trembling?

8. Have I despised any one's advice?

9. Have I, when I thought so, said, *I am in the wrong?*

10. Have I received contempt for things indifferent, with meekness; for doing my duty, with joy?

11. Have I omitted justifying myself, where the glory of God was not concerned? Have I submitted to be thought in the wrong?

12. Have I, when contemned, *first* prayed God it might not discourage, or puff me up? *secondly*, that it might not be imputed to the contemner? *thirdly*, that it might heal my pride?

13. Have I, without some particular good in view, mentioned the contempt I had met with?

I DESIRE to offer unto thee, O Lord, my evening sacrifice, the sacrifice of a contrite spirit. "Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness, and after the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences." Let thy unspeakable mercy free me from the sins I have committed, and deliver me from the punishment I have deserved (—.) O save me from every work of darkness, and cleanse me *from all filthiness of flesh and spirit*, that, for the time to come, I may, with a pure heart and mind, follow thee the only true God.

O Lamb of God, who both by thy example and precept didst in-

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struct us to be meek and humble, give me grace throughout my whole life, in every thought, and word, and work, to imitate thy meekness and humility. O mortify in me the whole body of pride: grant me to feel that I am nothing, and have nothing, and that I deserve nothing but shame and contempt, but misery and punishment. Grant, O Lord, that I may look for nothing, claim nothing, and resent nothing; and that I may go through all the scenes of life, not seeking my own glory, but looking wholly unto thee, and acting wholly for thee. Let me never speak any word that may tend to my own praise, unless the good of my neighbour require it. And even then let me beware, lest to heal another, I wound my own soul. Let my ears and my heart be ever shut to the praise that cometh of men, and let me "refuse to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he ever so sweetly." Give me a dread of applause, in whatsoever form, and from whatsoever tongue it cometh. I know that "many stronger men have been slain by it," and that it "leadeth to the chambers of death." O deliver my soul from this snare of hell; neither let me spread it for the feet of others. Whosoever perish thereby, be their blood upon their own head, and let not my hand be upon them.

O thou Giver of every good and perfect gift, if at any time thou pleasest to work by my hand, teach me to discern what is my own from what is another's, and to render unto thee the things that are thine. As all the good that is done on earth, thou dost it thyself, let me ever return to thee all the glory. Let me, as a pure crystal, transmit all the light thou pourest upon me; but never claim as my own what is thy sole property.

O thou who wast despised and rejected of men, when I am slighted by my friends, disdained by my superiors, overborne, or ridiculed by my equals, or contemptuously treated by my inferiors, then let me cry out with thy holy martyr,* "It is now that I begin to be a disciple of Christ." Then let me thankfully accept, and faithfully use the happy occasion of improving in thy meek and lowly Spirit. If for thy sake "men cast out my name as evil, let me rejoice and be exceeding glad." If for my own infirmities, let me acknowledge thy goodness, in giving me this medicine to heal my pride and vanity, and beg thy mercy for those physicians of my soul, by whose hands it is administered to me.

Make me to remember thee on my bed, and think upon thee when I am waking: thou hast preserved me from all the dangers of the day past: thou hast been my support from my youth up until now; under the shadow of thy wings, let me pass this night in comfort and peace.

O thou Creator and Preserver of mankind, have mercy upon all conditions of men: purge thy holy Catholic Church from all heresy, and schism, and superstition. Bless our Sovereign in his person, in his actions, in his relations, and in his people. May it please thee "to endue his Council, and all the Nobility, with grace, wis-

* Ignatius.

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dom and understanding;" the Magistrates with equity, courage, and prudence; the Gentry with industry and temperance, and all the Commons of this land with increase of grace, and a holy, humble, thankful heart.

O pour out upon our whole Church, and especially upon the Clergy thereof, the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant to our Universities peace and piety, and to all that labour under affliction, constant patience and timely deliverance. Bless all my kindred, (especially my father and mother, my brothers and sisters,) and all my friends and benefactors (—). Turn the hearts of mine enemies (—); forgive them and me all our sins, and grant that we and all the members of thy holy Church, may find mercy in the dreadful day of judgment, through the mediation and sanctification of thy blessed Son Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost the Comforter, be all honour, praise, and thanksgiving, in all the Churches of the saints for ever.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

O THOU who dwellest in the light which no man can approach, in whose presence there is no night, in the light of whose countenance there is perpetual day: I thy sinful servant, whom thou hast preserved this night, who live by thy power this day, bless and glorify thee, for the defence of thy Almighty Providence, (—) and humbly pray thee, that this, and all my days may be wholly devoted to thy service. Send thy Holy Spirit to be the guide of all my ways, and the Sanctifier of my soul and body. Save, defend, and build me up in thy fear and love; give unto me the light of thy countenance, peace from heaven, and the salvation of my soul in the day of the Lord Jesus.

O thou who art "the way, the truth, and the life," thou hast said no man can follow thee, unless he renounce himself. I know, O Saviour, that thou hast laid nothing upon us but what the design of thy love made necessary for us. Thou sawest our disease, our idolatrous self-love, whereby we fell away from God, to be as gods ourselves, to please ourselves, and to do our own will. Lo, I come! May I ever renounce my own, and do thy blessed will in all things!

I know, O Lord, thou didst empty thyself of thy eternal glory, and tookest upon thee *the form of a servant*. Thou who madest all men to serve and praise thee, didst not please thyself, but wast the servant of all. Thou, O Lord of the hosts of heaven and earth, didst yield thy cheeks to be smitten, thy back to be scourged, and thy hands and feet to be nailed to an accursed tree. Thus didst thou, our great Master, renounce thyself: and can we think much of renouncing our vile selves? My Lord and my God, let me not presume to be above my Master; let it be the one desire of my

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heart, to be as my Master, to do, not my own will, but the will of him that sent me.

O thou whose life did cry aloud, "Father, not mine, but thy will be done," give me grace to walk after thy pattern, to tread in thy steps. Give me grace to "take up my cross daily," to endure myself to bear hardship. Let me exercise myself unto godliness betimes, before the rains descend, and the floods beat upon me: Let me now practise what is not pleasing to flesh and blood, what is not agreeable to my senses, appetites, and passions: that I may not hereafter renounce thee, for fear of suffering for thee, but may stand firm in the "day of my visitation."

O thou, who didst not please thyself, although for thy "pleasure all things are and were created," let some portion of thy Spirit descend on me, that I may "deny myself and follow thee." Strengthen my soul, that I may be temperate in all things; that I may never use any of thy creatures, but in order to some end thou commandest me to pursue, and in that measure and manner which most conduces to it. Let me never gratify any desire, which has not thee for its ultimate object. Let me ever abstain from pleasures, which do not prepare me for taking pleasure in thee, as knowing that all such war against the soul, and tend to alienate it from thee. O save me from ever indulging either "the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life." Set a watch, O Lord, over my senses and appetites, my passions and understanding, that I may resolutely deny them any gratification, which has no tendency to thy glory. O train me up in this good way, "that when I am old, I may not depart from it:" that I may be at length of a truly mortified heart, "crucified unto the world, and the world crucified unto me."

Hear also my prayers for all mankind, and guide their feet into the way of peace: for thy Holy Catholic Church, let her live by thy Spirit, and reign in thy glory. Remember that branch of it which thou hast planted in these kingdoms: especially the stewards of thy holy mysteries; give them such zeal, and diligence, and wisdom, that they may save both themselves and those that hear them.

Preserve, O great King of heaven and earth, all Christian Princes, especially our Sovereign and his family. Grant that his Council, and all that are in authority under him, may truly and indiscriminately administer justice. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that they may faithfully serve thee all the days of their lives. Bless the Universities with prudence, unity, and holiness. However the way of truth be evil spoken of, may they walk in it even to the end. Whoever forget or blaspheme their high calling, may they ever remember, that they are a "chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people:" and accordingly "show forth the praise of him, who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

With a propitious eye, O gracious Lord, behold all my enemies, and all that are in affliction; give them patience under their sufferings, and grant that they, and all the members of thy Church, may

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find rest, *where the wicked cease from troubling*, and mercy in the great day of trial. In particular, I commend to thy mercy, my father and mother, my brethren and sisters, my friends and relations (—). Lord, thou best knowest all their wants: O suit thy blessings to their several necessities.

Let these my prayers, O Lord, find access to the throne of Grace, through the Son of thy love, Jesus Christ the Righteous: To whom with thee, O Father, in the unity of the Spirit, be all love and obedience now and for ever!

Our Father, &c.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Mortification.

1. Have I done any thing merely because it was pleasing?
2. Have I not only done what passion solicited me to, but done just the contrary?
3. Have I received the inconveniences I could not avoid, as means of mortification chosen for me by God?
4. Have I contrived pretences to avoid self-denial in particular?
5. Have I thought any occasion of denying myself too small to be embraced?
6. Have I submitted my will to the will of every one that opposed it, except where the glory of God was concerned?
7. Have I set apart some time for endeavouring after a lively sense of the sufferings of Christ, and my own sins? For deprecating God's judgment, and thinking how to amend?

O ALMIGHTY LORD of heaven and earth, I desire with fear and shame to cast myself down before thee, humbly confessing my manifold sins, and insufferable wickedness. I confess, O great God, that I have sinned grievously against thee, by thought, word, and deed; (particularly this day.) Thy words and thy laws, O God, are holy, and thy judgments are terrible! But I have broken all thy righteous laws, and incurred thy severest judgments; and where shall I appear when thou art angry?

But, O Lord my Judge, thou art also my Redeemer! I have sinned, but thou, O blessed Jesus, art my Advocate. "Enter not into judgment with me," lest I die; but spare me, gracious Lord, "spare thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood." O reserve not evil in store for me against the day of vengeance, but let thy mercy be magnified upon me. Deliver me from the power of sin, and preserve me from the punishment of it.

Thou, whose mercy is without measure, whose goodness is unspeakable, despise not thy returning servant, who earnestly begs for pardon and reconciliation. Grant me the forgiveness of what is past, and a perfect repentance of all my sins, that for the time to come I may, with a pure spirit, do thy will, O God, walk humbly

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with thee, conversing charitably with men, possessing my soul in resignation and holiness, and my body in sanctification and honour.

My Lord *and my* God, I know that unless I am planted together with thee in the likeness of thy death, I cannot rise in the likeness of thy resurrection. O strengthen me, that by "denying myself and taking up my cross daily," I may crucify the old man, and utterly destroy the whole body of sin. Give me grace to *mortify all my members which are upon earth*, all my works and affections which are according to corrupt nature. Let me be dead unto sin, unto every transgression of thy law, which is holy, merciful, and perfect. Let me be dead unto the world, and all that is in the world, the "desires of the flesh, the desires of the eye, and the pride of life." Let me be dead unto pleasure, so far as it tendeth not to thee, and to those pleasures which are at thy right hand for evermore. Let me be dead unto my own will, and alive only unto thine. I am not my own; thou hast "bought me with a price, with the price of thine own blood." And thou didst therefore die for all, "that we should not henceforth live unto ourselves, but unto him that died for us." Arm thou me with this mind; circumcise my heart, and make me a new creature. Let me no longer live to the desires of men, but to the will of God. Let thy Holy Spirit enable me to say with thy blessed Apostle, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live: yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."

O thou great Shepherd of souls, bring home into thy fold all that are gone astray. Preserve thy church from all heresy and schism, from all that persecute or oppose the truth: and give unto thy ministers wisdom and holiness, and the powerful aid of thy blessed Spirit. Advance the just interests, and preserve the persons of all Christian princes, especially our sovereign: give to him and his royal family, and to all his subjects, in their several stations, particularly those that are in authority among them, grace to do thy will in this world, and eternal glory in the world to come.

Bless, O Lord, all our nurseries of piety and schools of learning, that they may devote all their studies to thy glory. Have mercy on all that are in affliction: remember the poor and needy, the widow and fatherless, the friendless and oppressed: heal the sick and languishing, give them a sanctified use of thy rod, and when thou seest it expedient for them, receive them into the number of thy departed saints, and with them into thine everlasting kingdom.

O my God, I praise thee for thy continual preservation of me, for thy fatherly protection over me this day, (—) for all the comforts with which thou surroundest me, spiritual and temporal, particularly for leave now to pray unto thee. O accept the poor services, pardon the sinfulness of this and all my holy duties, and bless me, my friends and relations, my benefactors and mine enemies, (this night and ever) with the blessings of thy children.

These, my prayers, O most merciful father, vouchsafe to hear, through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, who with thee

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and the Holy Ghost is worshipped and glorified, in all churches of the saints, one God, blessed for ever!

Our Father, &c.

THURSDAY MORNING.

O ETERNAL GOD, my sovereign Lord, I acknowledge all I am, all I have is thine. O give me such a sense of thy infinite goodness, that I may return to thee all possible love and obedience.

I humbly and heartily thank thee for all the favours thou hast bestowed upon me; for creating me after thine own image, for thy daily preserving me by thy good providence, for redeeming me by the death of thy blessed Son, and for the assistance of thy Holy Spirit; for causing me to be born in a Christian country, for blessing me with plentiful means of salvation, with religious parents and friends, and frequent returns of thy blessed sacrament. I also thank thee for all thy temporal blessings; for the preservation of me this night, (—) for my health, strength, food, raiment, and all the other comforts and necessaries of life. O may I always delight to *praise thy holy Name*, and above all thy benefits, love thee, my great benefactor.

And, O FATHER of mercies, shut not up thy bowels of compassion towards me, a vile and miserable sinner; despise not the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood. For his sake I most humbly implore forgiveness of all my sins. *Lo, I come now to do thy will alone;* and am resolved by thy assistance, to have no longer any choice of my own, but with singleness of heart to obey thy good pleasure: "Father, not my will, but thine be done," in all my thoughts, words, and actions.

O thou all-sufficient God of angels and men, who art above all, and through all, and in all, from whom, by whom, and in whom are all things; "in whom we live, move, and have our being;" may my will be as entirely and continually derived from thine, as my being and happiness are!

I believe, O sovereign Goodness, O mighty Wisdom, that thou dost sweetly order and govern all things, even the most minute, even the most noxious, to thy glory and *the good of those that love thee!* I believe, O Father of the families of heaven and earth, that thou so disposest all events, as may best magnify thy goodness to all thy children, especially those whose "eyes wait upon thee." I most humbly beseech thee, teach me to adore all thy ways, though I cannot comprehend them: teach me to be glad that thou art King, and to give thee thanks for all things that befall me; seeing thou hast chosen them for me, and hast thereby *set to thy seal that they are good.* And for that which is to come, give me thy grace to do in

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all things what pleaseth thee, and then, with an absolute submission to thy wisdom, to leave the issues of them in thy hand.

O Lord Jesu, I give thee my body, my soul, my substance, my fame, my friends, my liberty, my life; dispose of me, and all that is mine, as it seemeth best unto thee. They are not mine, but thine; claim me as thy right, keep me as thy charge, love me as thy child! Fight for me when I am assaulted, heal me when I am wounded, and revive me when I am destroyed.

O help me with thy grace, that whatsoever I shall do or suffer this day may tend to thy glory. Keep me in love to thee, and to all men. Do thou direct my paths, and teach me to set thee always before me. Let not the things of this life, or my manifold concerns therein, alienate any part of my affections from thee; nor let me ever pursue or regard them, but for thee, and in obedience to thy will.

Extend, O Lord, thy pity to the whole race of mankind: enlighten the Gentiles with thy truth, and bring into thy flock thy ancient people the Jews. Be gracious to thy holy Catholic Church, and grant that she may always preserve that doctrine and discipline which thou hast delivered to her. Grant, that all of this nation, especially our Governors and the Clergy, may, "whatsoever they do, do all to thy glory." Bless our nurseries of true religion and useful learning, and let them not neglect the end of their institution. Be merciful to all that are in distress, (—) that struggle with pain, poverty, or reproach: be thou a guide to them that travel by land or by water: give a strong and quiet spirit to those who are condemned to death, liberty to prisoners and captives, and ease and cheerfulness to every sad heart. O give spiritual strength and comfort to scrupulous consciences, and to them that are afflicted by evil spirits. Pity idiots and lunatics, and give life and salvation to all to whom thou hast given no understanding. Give to all that are in error the light of thy truth; bring all sinners to repentance, (—) and give to all heretics humility and grace to make amends to thy Church, by the public acknowledgment of a holy faith. Bless all my friends and relations, acquaintance and enemies: (—) unite us all to one another by mutual love, and to thyself by constant holiness; that we, together with all those who are gone before us in thy faith and fear, may find a merciful acceptance in the last day, through the merits of thy blessed Son, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, world without end.

Our Father, &c.

THURSDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Resignation and Meekness.

1. Have I endeavoured to will what God wills, and that only?
2. Have I received every thing that has befallen me, without my choice, as the choice of infinite wisdom and goodness for me, with thanks?

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3. Have I (after doing what he requires me to do concerning them) left all future things absolutely to God's disposal? That is, Have I laboured to be wholly indifferent to whichsoever way he shall ordain for me?

4. Have I resumed my claim to my body, soul, friends, fame, or fortune, which I have made over to God; or repented of my gift, when God accepted any of them at my hands?

5. Have I endeavoured to be cheerful, mild, and courteous, in whatever I said or did?

6. Have I said any thing with a stern look, accent, or gesture? Particularly with regard to religion?

MY LORD and my GOD, thou seest my heart, and my desires are not hid from thee. I am encouraged by my happy experience of thy goodness, particularly this day past, to present myself before thee, notwithstanding I know myself unworthy of the least favour from thee. I am ashamed, when I think how long I have lived a stranger, yea, an enemy to thee, taking upon me to dispose of myself, and to please myself in the main course of my life. But I now unfeignedly desire to return unto thee, and renouncing all interest and property in myself, to give up myself entirely to thee: I would be thine and only thine for ever. But I know I am nothing, and can do nothing of myself; and if ever I am thine I must wholly be indebted to thee for it. O my God, my Saviour, my Sanctifier, turn not away thy face from a poor soul that seeks thee: but as thou hast kindled in me these desires, so confirm, increase, and satisfy them. Reject not that poor gift that I would make of myself unto thee, but teach me so to make it, that it may be acceptable in thy sight. Lord, hear me, help me, and show mercy unto me, for Jesus Christ's sake.

To thee, O God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, my Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, I give up myself entirely: May I no longer serve myself, but thee, all the days of my life.

I give thee my understanding: may it be my only care to know thee, thy perfections, thy work, and thy will. Let all things else be *as dung and dross* unto me for the excellency of this knowledge. And let me silence all reasonings against whatsoever thou teachest me, who canst neither deceive, nor be deceived.

I give thee my will: may I have no will of my own; whatsoever thou willest, may I will, and that only: may I will thy glory in all things as thou dost, and make that my end in every thing; may I ever say with the Psalmist, "Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee." May I delight to do thy will, O God, and rejoice to suffer it. Whatever threatens me, let me say, "It is the *Lord*, let him do what seemeth him good;" and whatever befalls me, let me give thanks, since it is thy will concerning me.

I give thee my affections, do thou dispose of them all: be thou my love, my fear, my joy: and may nothing have any share in them but with respect to thee and for thy sake. What thou lovest, may I

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love, what thou hatest, may I hate, and that in such measures as thou art pleased to prescribe me.

I give thee my body: may I glorify thee with it, and preserve it holy, fit for thee, O God, to dwell in; may I neither indulge it, nor use too much rigour towards it; but keep it, as far as in me lies, healthy, vigorous, and active, and fit to do thee all manner of service, which thou shalt call for.

I give thee all my worldly goods: may I prize them and use them only for thee. May I faithfully restore to thee, in thy Poor, all thou hast intrusted me with, above the necessaries of my life; and be content to part with them too, whenever thou, my Lord, shalt require them at my hands.

I give thee my credit and reputation: may I never value them, but only in respect of thee; nor endeavour to maintain them, but as they may do thee service and advance thy honour in the world.

I give thee myself and my all: let me look upon myself to be nothing, and to have nothing out of thee. Be thou the sole Disposer and Governor of myself and all I have; be thou my Portion and my All.

O my God and my All, when hereafter I shall be tempted to break this solemn engagement, when I shall be prest to conform to the world, and to the company and customs that surround me, may my answer be, "I am not my own;" I am not for myself, nor for the world, but for my God. I will give unto God the things which are God's. God, be merciful to me a sinner.

Have mercy, O Father of the spirits of all flesh, on all mankind. Convert all Jews, Turks, and Heathens to thy truth. Bless the Catholic Church; heal its breaches, and establish it in truth and peace. Preserve and defend all Christian Princes, especially our Sovereign and his Family. Be merciful to this nation; bless the Clergy with soundness of doctrine and purity of life; the Council with wisdom, the Magistrates with integrity and zeal, and the people with loyalty. Bless the Universities with learning and holiness, that they may afford a constant supply of men fit and able to do thee service.

Shower down thy graces on all my relations, on all my friends, and all that belong to this family. Comfort and relieve those that labour under any affliction of body or mind; especially those who suffer for the testimony of a good conscience. Visit them, O gracious Lord, in all their distresses. Thou knowest, thou seest them under all. O stay their souls upon thee; and give them to rejoice that they are counted worthy to suffer for thy name's sake, and constantly to look unto the Author and Finisher of their faith. Supply abundantly to all their souls who are in prison, the want of thy holy ordinances, and in thy good time, deliver them, and be merciful unto them, as thou usest to be unto them that love thy name. Those that love or do good to me, reward seven-fold into their bosom: (—) those that hate me, (—) convert and forgive: and grant us all, together with thy whole Church, an entrance into thine everlasting

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kingdom, through Jesus Christ; to whom with thee, and the blessed Spirit, Three Persons and One God, be ascribed all majesty, dominion, and power, now and for evermore. Amen.

Our Father, &c.

FRIDAY MORNING.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting GOD, I bless thee from my heart, that of thy infinite goodness thou hast preserved me this night past, and hast with the impregnable defence of thy Providence, protected me from the power and malice of the Devil. Withdraw not, I humbly entreat thee, thy protection from me, but mercifully this day watch over me with the eyes of thy mercy; direct my soul and body, according to the rule of thy will, and fill my heart with thy Holy Spirit, that I may pass this day, and all the rest of my days, to thy glory.

O Saviour of the world, GOD of Gods, Light of Light, thou that art the brightness of thy Father's glory, the express image of his person; thou that hast destroyed the power of the Devil, that hast overcome death, *that sittest at the right hand of the Father;* thou that will speedily come down in thy Father's glory to judge all men according to their works: be thou my light and my peace: destroy the power of the Devil in me, and make me a new creature. O thou who didst cast seven Devils out of Mary Magdalen, cast out of my heart all corrupt affections. O thou who didst raise Lazarus from the dead, raise me from the death of sin. Thou who didst cleanse the lepers, heal the sick, and give sight to the blind, heal the diseases of my soul: open my eyes, and fix them singly on the prize of my high-calling, and cleanse my heart from every desire, but that of advancing thy glory.

O Jesus, poor and abject, unknown and despised, have mercy upon me, and let me not be ashamed to follow thee. O Jesus, hated, calumniated, and persecuted; have mercy upon me, and let me not be afraid to come after thee. O Jesus, betrayed and sold at a vile price, have mercy upon me; and make me content to be as my Master. O Jesus, blasphemed, accused, and wrongfully condemned, have mercy upon me, and teach me to endure the contradiction of sinners. O Jesus, clothed with a habit of reproach and shame, have mercy upon me, and let me not seek my own glory. O Jesus, insulted, mocked, and spit upon, have mercy upon me, and let me run with patience the race set before me. O Jesus, dragged to the pillar, scourged, and bathed in blood, have mercy upon me, and let me not faint in the fiery trial. O Jesus, crowned with thorns and hailed in derision; O Jesus, burthened with our sins, and the curses of the people; O Jesus, affronted, outraged, buffetted, overwhelmed with injuries, griefs, and humiliations; O Jesus, hanging on the accursed tree, bowing the head, giving up the ghost, have mercy upon me,

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and conform my whole soul to thy holy, humble, and suffering spirit. O thou, who for the love of me hast undergone such an infinity of sufferings and humiliations, let me be wholly "emptied of myself," that I may rejoice to take up my cross daily and follow thee. Enable me too, to endure the pain, and despise the shame; and if it be thy will, to resist even unto blood.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, I, miserable sinner, humbly acknowledge that I am altogether unworthy to pray for myself. But since thou hast commanded me to make prayers and intercessions for all men, in obedience to thy command, and confidence of thy unlimited goodness, I commend to thy mercy the wants and necessities of all mankind. Lord, let it be thy good pleasure to restore to thy Catholic Church, primitive peace and purity: to show mercy to these sinful nations, and give us grace at length to break off our sins by repentance: defend our Church from all the assaults of schism, heresy, and sacrilege, and bless all bishops, priests, and deacons, with apostolical graces. O let it be thy good pleasure to defend the king from all his enemies spiritual and temporal; to bless all his royal relations; to grant to the council, wisdom; to the magistrates, zeal and prudence; to the gentry and commons, piety and loyalty.

Lord, let it be thy good pleasure, to give thy grace to the Universities: to bless those whom I have wronged (—), and to forgive those who have wronged me (—): to comfort the disconsolate to give health and patience to all that are sick and afflicted (—).

Vouchsafe to bless my father and mother with the fear of thy name, that they may be holy in all manner of conversation. Let them remember how short their time is, and be careful to improve every moment of it. O thou who hast kept them from their youth up until now, forsake them not now they are gray-headed, but perfect them in every good word and work, and be thou their guide unto death. Bless my brothers and sisters, whom thou hast graciously taught the gospel of thy Christ; give them further degrees of illumination, that they may serve thee with a perfect heart and a willing mind. Bless my friends and benefactors, and all who have commended themselves to my prayers (—). Lord, thou best knowest all our conditions, all our desires, all our wants. O do thou suit thy grace and blessings to our several necessities.

Hear, O merciful Father, my supplications, and that for the sake of thy Son Jesus, and bring us, with all those who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, into the glories of thy Son's kingdom; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all praise for ever and ever!

Our Father, &c.

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FRIDAY EVENING.

Questions relating to Mortification; see before the prayers for Wednesday Evening.

O GOD the FATHER, who canst not be thought to have made me only to destroy me, have mercy upon me.

O God the Son, who knowing thy Father's will, didst come into the world to save me, have mercy upon me.

O God the Holy Ghost, who to the same end hast so often breathed holy thoughts into me, have mercy upon me.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, whom in Three Persons I adore as One God, have mercy upon me.

Lord, carest thou not that I perish! Thou that wouldst have all men to be saved! Thou that wouldst have none to perish! and wilt thou now show thine anger against a worm, a leaf; against a vapour that vanisheth before thee! O remember how short my time is, and deliver not my soul into the power of hell! For, alas, what profit is there in my blood? Or who shall give thee thanks in that pit? No; let me live in thy sight: let me live, O my God, and my soul shall praise thee. Forget me, as I have been disobedient, provoking thee to anger, and regard me as I am distrest, crying out to thee for help. Look not upon me as I am a sinner; but consider me as I am thy creature. A sinner I am, I confess, a sinner of no ordinary stain; but let not this hinder thee, O my God; for upon such sinners thou gettest the greatest glory.

O remember for whose sake it was that thou camest from the bosom of thy Father, and wast content to be born of thine own handmaid. Remember, for whom it was that thy tender body was torn, scourged, and crucified! was it not for the sins of the whole world? And shall I be so injurious to thy glory, as to think thou hast excepted me? Or, can I think thou diedst only for sinners of a lower kind, and left such as I without a remedy? What had become then of him who filled Jerusalem with blood? What of her, who lived in a trade of sin? Nay, what had become of thine own disciple, who with oaths and curses thrice denied thee?

O how easy it is for thee to forgive! For it is thy nature. How proper is it for thee to save! For it is thy name. How suitable is it to thy coming into the world! For it is thy business. And when I consider that I am the chief of sinners, may I not urge thee farther, and say, shall the chief of thy business be left undone? Far be that from thee! Have mercy upon me!

I ask not of thee the things of this world, give them to whom thou pleasest, so thou givest me mercy. O say unto my soul, "Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee." O that I might never sin against thee more! And whereinsoever my conscience accuses me most, be thou most merciful unto me!

Save me, O God, as a brand snatched out of the fire.

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Receive me, O my Saviour, as a sheep that has gone astray, but would now return to the great Shepherd and Bishop of my soul!

FATHER, accept my imperfect repentance, compassionate my infirmities, forgive my wickedness, purify my uncleanness, strengthen my weakness, fix my unstableness, and let thy good Spirit watch over me for ever, and thy love ever rule in my heart, through the merits, and sufferings, and love of thy Son, in whom thou art always well-pleased.

Give thy grace, O holy Jesus, to all the world, and let all who are redeemed by thy blood, acknowledge thee to be the Lord: let all Christians, especially those of this nation, keep themselves unspotted from the world. Let all Governors, and especially our Sovereign, rule with wisdom and justice; and let the Clergy be exemplary in their lives, and discreet and diligent in their labours. Let our Universities enjoy freedom from violence and faction, and excel in true religion and sound learning. Be a help at hand to all that are afflicted, and assist them to trust in thee. Raise up friends for the widow and fatherless, the friendless and oppressed. Give patience to all that are sick, comfort to all troubled consciences, strength to all that are tempted. Be gracious to my relations (—). To all that are endeared to me by their kindnesses and acquaintance, to all who remember me in their prayers, or desire to be remembered in mine (—). Sanctify, O merciful Lord, the friendship which thou hast granted me, with these thy servants (—). O let our prayers be heard for each other, while our hearts are united in thy fear and love, and graciously unite them therein more and more. Strengthen the hearts of us thy servants against all our corruptions and temptations: enable us to consecrate ourselves faithfully and entirely to thy service. Grant that we may *provoke each other to love*, and serve thee, and grow up together before thee in thy fear and love, to thy heavenly kingdom; and by thy infinite mercies, vouchsafe to bring us with those that are dead in thee, to rejoice together before thee, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, the blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, be honour and power everlasting.

Our Father, &c.

SATURDAY MORNING.

O GOD, thou great Creator and Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, thou Father of angels and men, thou Giver of life and Protector of all thy creatures, mercifully accept this my morning sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which I desire to offer with all humility to thy divine majesty. "Thou art praised, O Lord, by all thy works," and magnified by every thing which thou hast created. The sun rejoiceth to run his course, that he may set forth thy praise who madest him. Nor do the moon and stars refrain to manifest thy

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glory even amidst the silent night. The earth breathes forth each day perfumes, as incense to thee her sacred King, who hast crowned her with herbs and trees, and beautified her with hills and dales. The deep uttereth her voice, and lifteth up her hands on high to thee, the great Creator, the universal King, the everlasting God. The floods clap their hands, and the hills are joyful together before thee: the fruitful vales rejoice and sing thy praise. Thou feedest the innumerable multitude of animals which thou hast created: "these all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." Thou madest light for our comfort, and broughtest forth darkness out of thy treasures, to overshadow the earth, that the living creatures of it might take their rest. "The fire and hail, snow and vapour, wind and storm, fulfil thy word," and manifest thy glory. Inanimate things declare thee, O Lord of life; and irrational animals demonstrate their wise Creator. Amidst this universal jubilee of nature, suffer not, I beseech thee, the sons of men to be silent; but let the noblest work of thy creation pay thee the noblest sacrifice of praise. O pour thy grace into my heart, that I may worthily magnify thy great and glorious name. Thou hast made me and sent me into the world to do thy work. O assist me to fulfil the end of my creation, and to show forth thy praise with all diligence, by giving myself up to thy service. "Prosper the work of my hands upon me," O Lord; O prosper thou whatever I shall undertake this day, that it may tend to thy glory, the good of my neighbour, and the salvation of my own soul.

Preserve me from all those snares and temptations which continually solicit me to offend thee. Guide me by thy Holy Spirit in all those places whither thy providence shall lead me this day; and suffer not my communications with the world to dissipate my thoughts, to make me inadvertent to thy presence, or lukewarm in thy service: but let me always walk as in thy sight, and as one who knows this life to be the seed-time to an eternal harvest. Keep me, I beseech thee, undefiled, unblamable, and unreprovable unto the end; and grant, that I may so diligently perform thy will, in that station wherein thou hast been pleased to place me, that I may make my calling and election sure, through Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour.

Hear, also, O Lord, my prayers for the whole race of mankind, and guide their feet into the way of peace; reform the corruptions of thy Catholic Church, heal her divisions, and restore to her her ancient discipline: give to the Clergy thereof, whether they be Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, grace, as good shepherds to feed the flocks committed to their care. Bless King George and all the Royal Family, and all that are put in authority under him. Let them exceed others as much in goodness as greatness, and be signal instruments of thy glory. Grant that the Universities, and all other places set apart for thy service, whatsoever is praiseworthy may for ever flourish. Keep, O Lord, all the nobility, gentry, and commons of this land, in constant communion with thy holy Catholic Church, in

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humble obedience to the king, and in Christian charity one towards another.

In a particular manner, I beseech thee to be gracious to my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all my friends and relations. Pardon all their sins, and heal all their infirmities. Give them that share of the blessings of this life, which thou knowest to be the most expedient for them; and thy grace so to use them here, that they may enjoy thee eternally.

With a propitious eye, O gracious Comforter, behold all that are in affliction: let the sighings of the prisoners, the groans of the sick, the prayers of the oppressed, the desire of the poor and needy, come before thee (—). Give unto my enemies (—) grace and pardon, charity to me and love to thee: remove the cloud from their eyes, the stony from their hearts, that they may know and feel what it is to love their neighbour as themselves. And may it please thee to enable me to "love all my enemies, to bless them that now curse me, to do good to them that now hate me, and to pray for those who now despitefully use me and persecute me." Be pleased, O Lord, of thy goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with all thy whole church, may have our perfect consummation of bliss, through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, now and for ever.

Our Father, &c.

SATURDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Thanksgiving.

1. Have I allotted some time for thanking God for the blessings of the past week?

2. Have I, in order to be the more sensible of them, seriously and deliberately considered the several circumstances that attended them?

3. Have I considered each of them as an obligation to greater love, and, consequently, to stricter holiness?

O MOST great and glorious GOD, who art mighty in thy power, and wonderful in thy doings towards the sons of men, accept, I beseech thee, my unfeigned thanks and praise, for my creation, preservation, and all the other blessings which, in the riches of thy mercy, thou hast from time to time poured down upon me. "Thou, LORD, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thine hand. Thou createst the sun and moon, the day and night, and makest the out-goings of the morning and evening to praise thee. Thou "formedst man of the dust of the ground, and breathedst into him the breath of life." In thine own image madest thou him, capable of knowing and loving thee eternally. His nature was perfect, thy will was his law, and thy blessed

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self his portion. Neither after he had left his first estate didst thou utterly withdraw thy mercy from him; but in every succeeding generation, didst save, deliver, assist, and protect him. Thou hast instructed us by thy laws, and enlightened us by thy statutes. Thou hast redeemed us by the blood of thy Son, and sanctifiest us by the grace of thy Holy Spirit. For these and all thy other mercies, how can I ever sufficiently love thee, or worthily magnify thy great and glorious name? All the powers of my soul are too few to conceive the thanks that are due to thee, even for vouchsafing me the honour of now appearing before thee and conversing with thee.

But thou hast declared thou wilt accept the sacrifice of thanksgiving, in return for thy goodness. For ever therefore will I bless thee, will I adore thy power, and magnify thy goodness: "My tongue shall sing of thy righteousness, and be telling of thy salvation from day to day." I will give thanks unto thee for ever and ever; I will praise my God while I have my being. O that I had the heart of the seraphim, that I might burn with love like their's! But though I am upon earth, yet will I praise, as I can, the King of heaven; though I am a feeble, mortal creature, yet will I join my song with those that excel in strength, with the immortal hosts of angels and archangels, thrones, dominions, and powers, while they laud and magnify thy glorious name, and sing with incessant shouts of praise.

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts! Heaven and earth are full of his glory! Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High. *Amen. Hallelujah.*

Accept, O merciful FATHER, my most humble thanks, for thy preservation of me this day (—). O continue thy loving-kindness towards me, and take me into thy protection this night. Let thy holy angels watch over me to defend me from the attempts of evil men and evil spirits. Let me rest in peace, and not sleep in sin, and grant that I may rise more fit for thy service.

O thou, whose kingdom ruleth over all, rule in the hearts of all the men whom thou hast made: reform the corruptions, and heal the breaches of thy holy Church, and establish her in truth and peace. Be gracious unto all Priests and Deacons, and give them rightly to divide the word of truth. Forgive the sins of this nation, and turn our hearts, that iniquity may not be our ruin. Bless King George and all the Royal Family, with all those blessings which thou seest to be most expedient for them; and give to his Council, and to the Nobility and Magistracy, grace, truly to serve thee in their several stations. Bless our Universities, that they may be the great bulwarks of thy faith and love, against all the assaults of vice and infidelity: may the Gentry and Commons of this realm, live in constant communion with thy Church, in obedience to the King, and in love one towards another.

Be gracious to all who are near and dear to me. Thou knowest their names and art acquainted with their wants. Of thy goodness, be pleased to proportion thy blessings to their necessities. Pardon my enemies, and give them repentance and charity, and me grace to

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overcome evil with good. Have compassion on all who are distrest in mind, body, or estate; give them steady patience and timely deliverance.

"O Lord, thou God of spirits and of all flesh, be mindful of thy faithful, from Abel the just even unto this day."* And for thy Son's sake give to them and us, in thy due time, a happy resurrection, and a glorious rest at thy right hand for evermore!

Now, to God the Father, who first loved us, and made us accepted in the Beloved: to God the Son, who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood: to God the Holy Ghost, who sheddeth the love of God abroad in our hearts, be all love and all glory in time and to all eternity. *Amen.*

A COLLECTION OF PRAYERS FOR FAMILIES.

SUNDAY MORNING.

ALMIGHTY and ETERNAL GOD, we desire to praise thy holy Name, for so graciously raising us up, in soundness of body and mind, to see the light of this day.

We bless thee in behalf of all thy creatures; "the eyes of all look unto thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." But above all, we acknowledge thy inestimable benefits bestowed upon mankind in Christ Jesus. We thank thee for his miraculous birth, for his most holy life, his bitter agony and bloody death, for his glorious resurrection on this day, his ascension into heaven, his triumph over all the powers of darkness, and his sitting at thy right hand for evermore.

O GOD, how great was thy love to the sinful sons of men, to give "thy only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him, might not perish, but have everlasting life!" How great was that love, which hath committed our souls to one so "mighty to save!" Which hath chosen us to be thy sons and heirs together with Christ Jesus, and set such a High Priest over thy house and family, to make intercession for us, to pour thy blessings upon us, and to send forth his angels "to minister unto them who shall be heirs of salvation!" O the riches of thy grace, in sending the Holy Spirit, to make us "abound in hope," that we shall one day rise from the dead, and after our short labours here, rest with thee in thy eternal glory.

O that we could begin this day in devout meditations, in joy unspeakable, and in blessing and praising thee, who hast given us such good hope and everlasting consolation! Lift up our minds above all these little things below, which are apt to distract our thoughts; and keep them above till our hearts are fully bent to seek thee every

* The words of the ancient LITURGY, commonly called St. Mark's.

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day, in the way wherein Jesus hath gone before us, though it should be with the loss of all we here possess.

We are ashamed, O LORD, to think that ever we have disobeyed thee, who hast redeemed us by the precious blood of thine own Son. O that we may agree with thy Will in all things for the time to come! And that all the powers of our souls and bodies may be wholly dedicated to thy service! We desire unfeignedly that all the thoughts and designs of our minds, all the affections and tempers of our life, may be pure, holy, and unreprovable in thy sight.

"Search us, O LORD, and prove us; try out our reins and our heart. Look well if there be any way of wickedness in us, and lead us in the way everlasting. Let thy favour be better to us than life itself: that so in all things we may approve our hearts before thee, and feel the sense of thy acceptance of us, giving us a joy which the world cannot give.

Make it our delight to praise thee, to call to mind thy loving kindness, and to offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving. Help us to take "heed to ourselves, lest at any time our hearts be overcharged with surfeiting or drunkenness, or the cares of this life: to have our conversation without covetousness, and to be content with such things as we have: to possess our bodies in sanctification and honour: to love our neighbour as ourselves; and as we would that others should do unto us, to do even so to them: to live peaceably as much as lieth in us, with all men: to put on the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit: and to take those who have spoken in the name of our Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience; and when we suffer as Christians, not to be ashamed, but to glorify thee our God on this behalf."

And accept, good Lord, of all the praises of all thy people met together this day. O that "thy ways were known upon all the earth, and thy saving health among all nations!" And that all Christian kings, especially, may be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and be faithful subjects of the Lord Jesus, "the King of kings, and Lord of lords." O that thy "priests may be clothed with righteousness, and thy saints rejoice and sing:" That all who are in distress may trust in thee, the "health of their countenance and their God." O Lord, hear us, and make thy face to shine upon thy servants, that we may "enter into thy gates with thanksgiving, and into thy courts with praise;" that we may be thankful unto thee, and bless thy name, Amen, for Jesus Christ's sake, in whose words we conclude our imperfect prayers, saying, "Our Father," &c.

SUNDAY EVENING.

O THOU "High and Holy One, that inhabitest Eternity," thou art to be feared and loved by all thy servants. "All thy works praise thee, O God;" and we especially give thanks unto thee, for thy marvellous love in Christ Jesus, by whom thou hast "reconciled the world to thyself." Thou hast "given us exceeding great and

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precious promises." Thou hast sealed them with his blood. Thou hast confirmed them by his resurrection and ascension, and the coming of the Holy Ghost. We thank thee, that thou hast given us so many happy opportunities of knowing "the truth as it is in Jesus," even the mystery which was hid from ages and generations, but is now revealed to them that believe.

Blessed be thy goodness for that great consolation, and for the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Blessed be thy goodness, that we have felt it so often in our heart, inspiring us with holy thoughts, filling us with love, and joy, and comfortable expectations of "the glory that shall be revealed." We thank thee, that thou hast suffered us this day to attend on thee in thy public service, and that we have begun in any measure that eternal "rest which remaineth for the people of God."

We offer up again our souls and bodies to thee, to be governed, not by our own will, but thine. O let it be ever the ease and joy of our heart, to be under the conduct of thy unerring wisdom, to follow thy counsels, and to be ruled in all things by thy holy will. And let us never distrust thy abundant kindness and tender care over us, whatsoever it is thou wouldst have us to do or to suffer in this world.

O God, purify our hearts, that we may entirely love thee, and rejoice in being loved of thee; that we may confide in thee, and absolutely resign ourselves to thee, and be filled with constant devotion toward thee. O that we may never sink into a base love of any thing here below, nor be oppressed with the cares of this life: but assist us to "abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good." Let us "use this world as not abusing it." Give us true humility of spirit, that we may "not think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think." Keep us from "being wise in our own conceits. Let our moderation be known to all men." Make us "kindly-affectioned one to another;" to delight in doing good; to "show all meekness to all men; to render unto all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour;" and to "owe no man any thing, but to love one another." Make us so happy, that we may be able to "love our enemies, to bless those that curse us, to do good to them that hate us; to rejoice with them that do rejoice, and to weep with them that weep." Compose our spirits to a quiet and steady dependence on thy good providence, that we may "take no thought for our life, nor be careful for any thing, but by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, still make known our request to thee our God."—And help us to "pray always and not faint; in every thing to give thanks, and offer up the sacrifice of praise continually; to rejoice in hope of thy glory: to possess our souls in patience: and to learn in whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content." Make us "know both how to be abased, and how to abound; every where, and in all things," instruct us both "to abound and suffer want," being enabled "to do all things through Christ who strengtheneth us."

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O that the light of all Christians did so "shine before men," that others might "glorify thee our Father which art in heaven; and send forth thy light and thy truth, (into all the dark corners of the earth,) that all kings may fall down before thee, and all nations do thee service!" Bless these kingdoms, and give us grace at length to "bring forth fruits meet for repentance." O Lord, save the King, and "establish his throne in righteousness." Prosper the endeavours of all those who faithfully feed thy people, and increase the number of them. O that the seed which hath been sown this day, may take deep root in all our hearts: that being "not forgetful hearers, but doers of the word, we may be blessed in our deeds." Help us in all this week following, to "set a watch before our mouth, and keep the door of our lips." And "let not our hearts incline to any evil thing, or to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity." But "as we have received how we ought to walk and to please thee, so we may abound more and more."

Protect us, we beseech thee, and all our friends every where, this night, and awaken in the morning those good thoughts in our hearts, that the "words of our Saviour may abide in us, and we in him;" who hath taught us when we pray, to say, "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY MORNING.

WE humble ourselves, O Lord of heaven and earth, before thy glorious Majesty. We acknowledge thy eternal power, wisdom, goodness, and truth: and desire to render thee most unfeigned thanks, for all the benefits which thou pourest upon us. But above all, for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

We implore thy tender mercies, in the forgiveness of all our sins, whereby we have offended either in thought, word, or deed. We desire to be truly sorry for all our misdoings, and utterly to renounce whatsoever is contrary to thy will. We desire to devote our whole man, body, soul, and spirit, to thee. And as thou dost inspire us with these desires, so accompany them always with thy grace, that we may, every day, with our whole hearts, give ourselves up to thy service.

We desire to be so holy and undefiled as our blessed Master was. And we trust thou wilt fulfil all the gracious promises which he hath made to us. Let them be dearer to us than thousands of gold and silver; let them be the comfort and joy of our hearts. We ask nothing, but that it may be unto thy servants according to his word.

Thou hast mercifully kept us the last night: blessed be thy continued goodness. Receive us likewise into thy protection this day. Guide and assist us in all our thoughts, words, and actions. Make us willing to do and suffer what thou pleasest: waiting for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life.

Blessed be thy goodness, which hast not suffered us to wander, without instruction, after the foolish desires of our own hearts; but

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hast clearly shown us where our happiness lies. O may we receive with all thankfulness, those holy words which teach us the blessedness of poverty of spirit, of mourning after thee, of meekness and gentleness, of hungering and thirsting after righteousness, of mercifulness, and purity of heart, of doing good unto all, and patiently suffering for doing the will of our Lord Jesus Christ.

O may we always be in the number of those blessed souls! May we ever feel ourselves happy in having the kingdom of God within us, in the comforts of the Holy One, in being filled with all the fruits of righteousness, in being made the children of the Highest, and above all, in seeing thee our God. Let us abound in thy love more and more; and in continual prayers and praises to thee, the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation, in Jesus Christ our Lord.

And we desire, thou knowest, the good of all mankind, especially of all Christian people; that they may all walk worthy of the gospel, and live together in unity and Christian love. For which end we pray that all Christian kings, princes, and governors, may be wise, pious, just, and merciful, and endeavouring that all their subjects may lead peaceful lives in all godliness and honesty: And more particularly, that our sovereign king George may be blessed with a religious, quiet, long, and prosperous reign, and that all in authority under him may seek in their several stations to right the oppressed, to comfort the afflicted, to provide for the poor and needy, and to relieve all those that are in any misery. Bless all those that watch over our souls; succeed their labours, and give us grace to follow their godly admonitions, and "to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake."—The same blessings we crave for our friends, relations, and acquaintance, that we may all live in perfect love and peace together, and rejoice together at the great day of the Lord Jesus; in whose holy words we sum up all our wants: "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY EVENING.

ALMIGHTY and most merciful FATHER, in whom we live, move, and have our being: to whose tender compassions we owe our safety the day that is past, together with all the comforts of this life, and the hopes of that which is to come. We praise thee, O Lord, we bow ourselves before thee, acknowledging we have nothing but what we receive from thee, "unto thee do we give thanks," O God, who daily pourest thy benefits upon us.

Blessed be thy goodness for our health, for our food and raiment, for our peace and safety, for the love of our friends, for all our blessings in this life; and our desire to attain that life which is immortal. Blessed be thy love, for that we feel in our hearts any motion towards thee. Behold, O Lord, we present ourselves before thee, to be inspired with such a vigorous sense of thy love, as may put us forward with a greater earnestness, zeal, and diligence, in all our duty. Renew in us, we beseech thee, a lively image of thee, in all right-

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cousness, purity, mercy, faithfulness, and truth. O that Jesus, the hope of glory, may be formed in us, in all humility, meekness, patience, and an absolute surrender of our souls and bodies to thy holy will; that "we may not live, but Christ may live in us;" that every one of us may say, "The life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me."

Let the remembrance of his love, who made himself an offering for our sins, be ever dear and precious to us. Let it continually move us to offer up ourselves to thee, to do thy will, as our blessed Master did. May we place an entire confidence in thee, and still trust ourselves with thee, who hast not "spared thine own Son, but freely given him up for us all." May we humbly accept of whatsoever thou sendest us, and in "every thing give thanks." Surely thou "wilt never leave us, nor forsake us." O guide us safe through all the changes of this life, in an unchangeable love to thee, and a lively sense of thy love to us, till we come to live with thee, and enjoy thee for ever.

And now that we are going to lay ourselves down to sleep, take us into thy gracious protection, and settle our spirits in such quiet and delightful thoughts of the glory where our Lord Jesus lives, that we may desire to be dissolved, and to go to him who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep, we may live together with him.

To thy blessing we recommend all mankind, high and low, rich and poor, that they may all faithfully serve thee, and contentedly enjoy whatsoever is needful for them. And especially, we beseech thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance, that thy church may joyfully serve thee in all godly quietness. We leave all we have with thee, especially our friends, and those who are dear unto us, desiring that when we are dead and gone, they may lift up their souls in this manner unto thee, and teach those that come after, to praise, love, and obey thee. And if we awake again in the morning, may we praise thee again with joyful lips, and still offer ourselves a more acceptable sacrifice to thee, through Jesus Christ, in whose words we beseech thee to hear us, according to the full sense and meaning thereof, "Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY MORNING.

O MOST great and mighty LORD, the possessor of heaven and earth, all the angels rejoice in blessing and praising thee, the Father of spirits: for "thou hast created all things, and in wisdom hast thou made them all," and spread thy tender mercies over all thy works. We desire thankfully to acknowledge thy bounty to us, among the rest of thy creatures, and thy particular grace and favour to us, in Jesus Christ, our merciful Redeemer. O give us a deep sense of that love which gave him to die for us, that he might be "the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him."

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And hast thou not said, that thou wilt "give thy Holy Spirit to them that ask it?" O Father of mercies, let it be unto us according to thy word. Cherish whatever thou hast already given us, which is acceptable in thy sight. And since at the best we are unprofitable servants, and can do no more than it is our duty to do, enable us to do every thing which thou hast commanded us heartily, with good-will and true love to thy service.

O that we may ever approach thee with delight, and feel it the joy of our heart, to think of thee, to praise thee, to give thee thanks, and to offer ourselves with absolute resignation to thee. O that mercy may always please us, as it pleaseth thee! That we may be strictly just and righteous! May cheerfully pass by injuries, freely deny ourselves whatever is not for thy glory; willingly submit to thy fatherly corrections, and perform the duties of our several relations with singleness of heart. Render us so mindful of the great love of our Lord, that we may be zealously concerned for his glory, and use our utmost diligence to promote his religion in the world, delighting to commemorate his death and passion, making a joyful sacrifice of our souls and bodies to him, and earnestly desiring that his kingdom may come over all the earth.

Fulfil, most merciful Lord, all our petitions: and as thou hast graciously protected us this night, so accompany us all this day with thy blessing, that we may please thee in body and soul, and be safe under thy presence, who art very nigh to all those that call upon thee.

And, O that all men may be awakened into a lively and thankful sense of all thy benefits. Stir up especially the minds of all Christian people, to follow "the truth as it is in Jesus, and exercise themselves to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man." Bless these kingdoms, and endue our Sovereign with such excellent wisdom and holy zeal, that we may see many good days under his government. O that true religion, justice, mercy, brotherly-kindness, and all things else that are praise-worthy, may so flourish among us, that we may enjoy the blessings of peace and plenty, and that there may be no complaining in our streets.

We recommend to thee all our friends and neighbours, all the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, desiring those mercies for them, which we would ask for ourselves, were we in their condition. "O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth, keep them and us, we beseech thee, from all hurtful things, and give us those things which are profitable for us, according to thine abundant mercy in our Lord Jesus;" in whose words we conclude our supplications unto thee, saying, "Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY EVENING.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting GOD, the sovereign Lord of all creatures in heaven and earth, we acknowledge that our beings, and all the comforts of them depend on thee, the Fountain of all Good.

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We have nothing but what is owing entirely to thy free and bounteous love, O most blessed Redeemer!

To thee therefore be given by us, and by all creatures whom thou hast made, to know how great and good thou art, all honour and praise, all love and obedience, as long as we have any being. "It is but meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee," O Lord, and devoutly resign both soul and body to thee, to be absolutely governed and ruled according to thy holy will.

Further, we pray thee increase every good desire which we feel already in our hearts; let us always live as becomes thy creatures, as becomes the disciples of Jesus Christ. Incline us to be more and more in love with thy laws, till they are written upon our hearts. Stir up our wills to *love them exceedingly*, and to cleave unto them as our very life.

O that we might heartily surrender our wills to thine! that we may unchangeably cleave unto it, with the greatest and most entire affection to all thy commands. O that there may abide for ever in us, such a strong and powerful sense of thy mighty love towards us in Christ Jesus, as may constrain us freely and willingly to please thee, in the constant exercise of righteousness and mercy, temperance and charity, meekness and patience, truth and fidelity; together with such an humble, contented, and peaceable spirit, as may adorn the religion of our Lord and Master. Yea, let it ever be the joy of our hearts to be righteous, as thou art righteous: to be merciful, as thou our heavenly Father art merciful: to be "holy as thou who hast called us art holy, in all manner of conversation;" to be endued with thy divine wisdom, and to resemble thee in faithfulness and truth. O that the example of our blessed Saviour may be always dear unto us, that we may cheerfully follow him in every holy temper, and delight to do thy will, O God. Let these desires, which thou hast given us, never die or languish in our hearts, but be kept always alive, always in their vigour and force, by the perpetual inspirations of the Holy Ghost.

Accept likewise our thanks for thy merciful preservation of us all this day. We are bold again to commit ourselves unto thee this night. Defend us from all the powers of darkness; and raise up our spirits, together with our bodies, in the morning, to such a vigorous sense of thy continual goodness, as may provoke us all the day long to an unwearied diligence in well-doing.

And the same mercies that we beg for ourselves, we desire for the rest of mankind; especially for those who are called by the name of Christ. O that every one of these may do his duty with fidelity!

That kings may be tender-hearted as the fathers of their countries; and all their subjects may be dutiful and obedient to them as their children: that the pastors of thy Church may feed their flocks with true wisdom and understanding, and all the people may submit unto them, and follow their godly counsels: that the rich and mighty may have compassion on the poor and miserable: and all such distressed

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people may bless the rich, and rejoice in the prosperity of those that are above them: give to husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, the grace to behave themselves so in their several relations, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, and may receive of him a crown of glory: in whose holy name and words we continue to beseech thy grace and mercy towards us, and all thy people every where, saying, "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

O GOD, blessed for ever, we thank and praise thee for all thy benefits, for the comforts of this life, and our hope of everlasting salvation in the life to come. We desire to have a lively sense of thy love always possessing our hearts, that may still constrain us to love thee, to obey thee, to trust in thee, to be content with the portion thy love allots unto us, and to rejoice even in the midst of all the troubles of this life.

Thou "hast delivered thine own Son for us all. How shalt thou not with him also freely give us all things?" We depend upon thee, especially for the grace of thy Holy Spirit. O that we may feel it perpetually bearing us up, by the strength of our most holy faith, above all the temptations that may at any time assault us! That we may keep ourselves unspotted from the world, and may still cleave unto thee in righteousness, in lowliness, purity of heart, yea, the whole mind that was in Christ.

Let thy mighty power enable us to do our duty towards thee, and towards all men, with care, and diligence, and zeal, and perseverance unto the end. Help us to be meek and gentle in our conversation, prudent and discreet in ordering our affairs, observant to thy fatherly providence in every thing that befalls us, thankful for thy benefits, patient under thy chastisements, and readily disposed for every good word and work. Preserve in us a constant remembrance of thy all-seeing eye: of thy inestimable love in Jesus Christ, whereof thou hast given us so many pledges, and of the great account we must give to him at the day of his appearing; that so we may continue steadfast and immoveable, and be abundant in the work of the Lord, knowing that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Deliver us, we beseech thee, from worldly cares and foolish desires; from vain hopes and causeless fears; and so dispose our hearts, that death itself may not be dreadful to us, but we may welcome it with a cheerful countenance, when and howsoever it shall approach.

O that our hearts may be so firmly established in grace, that nothing may affright us or shake our constancy, but we may rather choose to die than to dishonour him, who died for us! We resign ourselves to thy wisdom and goodness who knowest what is best for

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us; believing thou wilt "never suffer us to be tempted above what we are able, and wilt with the temptation also make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it."

We commend unto thee all mankind, especially thy church, and more particularly these kingdoms, that we may all believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and be zealous of good works. Bless our Sovereign, his counsellors, and his ministers, and all employed in public business, whether spiritual or civil, that whatsoever they do may be for thy glory, and the public good. Be gracious unto all that are near and dear unto us, and keep us all in thy fear and love. Guide us, good Lord, and govern us by the same Spirit, that we may be so united unto thee here, as not to be divided when thou art pleased to call us hence, but may together enter into thy glory, to dwell with thee in love and joy that shall never die, through Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour, who hath taught us when we pray, to say, "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

O LORD, "how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all. The day is thine; the night also is thine; thou hast prepared the light and the sun." We render thee thanks for all the benefits which thou hast bestowed on the whole world: especially on us, whom thou hast called to the knowledge of thy grace in Christ Jesus. It is a marvellous love wherewith thou hast loved us. Thou hast not dealt so with all people: and as for thy great and precious promises, they have not known them.

Accept, O merciful FATHER, the good resolutions which thou hast inspired us with by thy Spirit. Strengthen them, we beseech thee, with thy continued grace, that no sudden desires, vehement inclinations, ineffectual purposes, no, nor partial performances, may lead us into a false opinion of ourselves: but that we may bring forth actually, and with a constant spirit, all the fruits of righteousness, which are by Christ Jesus.

Deny not, O LORD, the desires of those souls, who would offer up themselves entirely to thy service. But preserve us always in seriousness of spirit. Let the sense of our weakness make us watchful and diligent, the sense of our former negligence excite us to be fervent in spirit, and the goodness of thy commands render us fruitful and abundant in the work of the Lord. O that all our pious affections may be turned into actions of piety and holiness: and may all our actions be spirited with zeal, and all our zeal regulated with prudence, and our prudence void of all guile, and joined with perfect integrity of heart: that adorning our most holy faith here, by an upright, charitable, and discreet conversation, we may receive praise in the day of the Lord, and be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting.

O lift up our affections to things above, that we may have perfect contentment in well-doing and patient suffering, and the good hope

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we have of being eternally beloved of thee, may make us rejoice evermore. Free us from the cares of the world, from all distrust of thy good providence, from repining at any thing that befalls us; and enable us in every thing to give thanks, believing that all things are ordered wisely, and shall work together for our good.

Into thy hands we commend both our souls and bodies, which thou hast mercifully preserved this day. We trust in thy watchful providence, who "givest thy angels charge over us, who art about our beds, and about our paths, and spiest out all our thoughts." O continue these holy thoughts and desires in us till we fall asleep, that we may receive the light of the morning, if thou prolongest our lives, with a new joy in thee, and thankful affection to thee.

We desire, likewise, O GOD, the good of the whole world. Pity the follies of mankind; deliver them from their miseries, and forgive thou all their sins. Hear the groans of every part of the creation, that is yet "subject to bondage," and bring them all "into the glorious liberty of the sons of God." Hear the daily prayers of the Catholic Church. Free her from all foul and dividing errors; let the truth, as it is in Jesus, prevail, and "peace be in all her borders." O that all Christian governors may "seek peace and ensue it!" Make thy ministers the messengers of peace, and dispose all who are called Christians, to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

Enlighten the minds of all Jews, Turks, and Infidels. Strengthen all thy faithful servants. Bring back them that wander out of the way: raise up those that are fallen: confirm those that stand, and grant them steadily to persevere in faith, love, and obedience. Relieve and comfort all that are in distress. Let the earth bring forth her fruit in due season: and let all honest and industrious people be blessed in their labours.

Remember all those who have done good unto us, and reward them sevenfold into their bosom. Grant forgiveness and charity to all our enemies; and continue good-will among all our neighbours. Support the sick with faith and patience; assist those who are leaving this world. Receive the souls which thou hast redeemed with thy Son's precious blood, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. And give us all a glorious resurrection and eternal life. "Our Father," &c.

THURSDAY MORNING.

O LORD, the GOD of our salvation, "thou art the hope of all the ends of the earth." Upon thee the eyes of all do wait; for thou givest unto all life, and breath, and all things. Thou still watchest over us for good: thou daily renewest to us our lives and thy mercies; and thou hast given us the assurance of thy word, that if we commit our affairs to thee, if we acknowledge thee in all our ways,

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thou wilt direct our paths. We desire, O Lord, to be still under thy gracious conduct and fatherly protection. We beg the guidance and help of thy good Spirit, to choose our inheritance for us, and to dispose of us, and all that concerns us, to the glory of thy name.

O LORD, withdraw not thy tender mercies from us, nor the comforts of thy presence! Never punish our past sins, by giving us over to the power of our sins: but pardon all our sins, and save us from all our iniquities. And grant us, O good God, the continual sense of thy gracious acceptance of us, in the Son of thy love, that our souls may bless thee, and "all that is within us may praise thy holy name."

And, O that we may find the joy of the Lord to be our strength; to defend us from all our sins, and to make us more zealous of every good work: that herein we may "exercise ourselves, to have a conscience void of offence both towards God and towards men. O help us to walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, carefully redeeming the time," improving all those seasons and means of grace, which thou art pleased to put into our hands. Sanctify to us all our employments in the world: our crosses also and our comforts; all the estates we go through, and all the events that befall us, till, through the merits of thy Son, and the multitude of thy mercies, we are conducted safe, to "be ever with the Lord."

Thou "hast laid help for us upon one that is mighty!" that is "able to save unto the uttermost all those that come unto God through him." Through him thou hast encouraged us to come boldly, that we "may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need." Help us, we beseech thee, to demean ourselves as becomes the children of God, the redeemed of the Lord, the members of Christ. Put thy Spirit within us, causing us to walk in thy statutes, and to keep thy judgments, and do them. Yea, let it be our meat and drink to do thy will, and to run the way of thy commandments.

O gracious Father, keep us, we pray thee, this day, in thy fear and favour, and teach us, in all our thoughts, words, and works, to live to thy glory. If thou guide us not, we go astray; if thou uphold us not, we fall. O let thy good providence be our defence, and thy good Spirit our guide, and counsellor, and supporter in all our ways. And grant that we may do always what is acceptable in thy sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord: in whose holy name and words we close these our imperfect prayers: "Our Father," &c.

Let thy grace, O LORD JESUS; thy love, O heavenly Father; and thy comfortable fellowship, O blessed Spirit, be with us, and all that desire our prayers, this day and for evermore.

THURSDAY EVENING.

O LORD our GOD, thy glory is above all our thoughts, and thy mercy is over all thy works. We are still living monuments of thy mercy. For thou hast not cut us off in our sins, but still givest us a

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good hope and strong consolation through grace. Thou hast sent thy only Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish in his sins, but have everlasting life. O Lord, we believe; help our unbelief; and give us the true repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; that we may be in the number of those who do indeed repent and believe to the saving of the soul. Being justified by faith, let us have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, let us rejoice in him, through whom we have now redemption in his blood: and let the love of God be shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.

And as we pray that thou wilt be to us a Father of mercies, and a God of consolation, so that thou wilt make us "followers of God as dear children," ever jealous over our hearts, and watchful over our ways; continually fearing to offend and endeavouring to please thee. Thou knowest, O Lord, all our temptations, and the sin that doth so easily beset us. Thou knowest the devices of the enemy, and the deceitfulness of our own hearts. We pray thee, good Lord, that thou wilt arm us with the whole armour of God. Uphold us with thy free Spirit, and watch over us for good evermore.

Let our supplications also ascend before thee, for the whole race of mankind. Send thy word unto all the ends of the earth, and let it be the savour of life unto all that hear it. Be gracious to this our native land. O do thou rule all our rulers, counsel all our conseilors, teach all our teachers, and order all the public affairs to thy glory. Turn from us the judgments which we feel or fear; continue thy blessings to our souls and bodies. And notwithstanding all our provocations, be thou still our God, and let us be thy people. Have compassion on all the children of affliction, and sanctify thy fatherly corrections to them. Be gracious to all our friends and neighbours. Reward our benefactors. Bless our relations with the best of thy blessings, with thy fear and love. Preserve us from our enemies, and reconcile them both to us and to thyself. O that all the habitations of Christians may be the houses of prayer! and be thou especially kind to the several families where thy blessed name is called upon. Let thy blessing rest upon us of this family. Bless all our present estates to us, and fit us all for whatsoever thou shalt be pleased to call us to. O teach us "how to want, and how to abound." In every condition secure our hearts to thyself, and make us ever to approve ourselves sincere and faithful in thy service.

And now, O Father of mercies, be pleased to accept our evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. O that thou wouldest imprint and preserve upon our hearts, a lively sense of all thy kindness to us, that our souls may bless thee, and all that is within us may praise thy holy name. Yea, let us give thee thanks from the ground of the heart, and praise our God while we have our being; for all thy patience with us, thy care over us, and thy continual mercy to us, blessed be thy name, O Lord God, our heavenly Father. And unto Thee, with the Son of thy love, and the Spirit of grace, be all thanks and praise now and for evermore.

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FRIDAY MORNING.

O LORD GOD, "merciful, gracious, and long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth! thou keepest mercy for thousands; thou pardonest iniquity, and transgression, and sin. How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! the children of men shall put their trust under the shadow of thy wings!" And therefore do we still look up to that bountiful Hand, from whence we have received all our good things. O Lord our God, be favourable unto us, as thou usest to be unto those that love thy name! O look not upon the sin of our nature, nor the sins of our hearts and lives, which are more than we can remember, and greater than we can express. It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because thy compassions fail not. But thou lookest upon the face of thine anointed, who was manifested to take away our sins; by whom it is that we have access to the Majesty on high.

O God, be merciful to us miserable sinners, for his sake whom "thou hast exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto thy people and forgiveness of sins." Be merciful, O God, be merciful unto our souls which have greatly sinned. O heal our backslidings: renew us to repentance. Establish our hearts in thy fear and love; and establish our goings in thy way, that our footsteps slip not. Let us waver no more: let us never more be weary or faint in our minds. Let us not revolt from thee, or turn to folly again, after thou hast spoken peace to our souls: but may we go on conquering and to conquer all the enemies of our souls, and all the hinderances of our salvation, till thou hast bruised Satan under our feet.

Seeing there is in Christ Jesus an infinite fulness of all that we can want or wish, O that we may all receive of his fulness, grace upon grace; grace to pardon our sins and subdue our iniquities: to justify our persons, and to sanctify our souls: and to complete that holy change, that renewal of our heart, whereby we may be transformed into that blessed image wherein thou didst create us. O make us all meet to be partakers of the inheritance of thy saints in light.

And teach us, O GOD, to use this world, without abusing it; and to receive the things needful for the body, without losing our part in thy love, which is better than life itself. Whatever we have of this world, O may we have the same with thy leave and love, sanctified to us by the word of God and by prayer; and by the right improvement thereof to thy glory. And whatever we want of worldly things, leave us not destitute of the "things that accompany salvation;" but adorn our souls with all such graces of thy Holy Spirit, that we may adorn the doctrine of our God and Saviour in all things.

And now that thou hast renewed our lives and thy mercies to us this morning, help us to renew our desires, and resolutions, and endeavours to live in obedience to thy holy will. O restrain us from the sins into which we are most prone to fall, and quicken us to the duties we are most averse to perform. And grant that we may think

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and speak, and will, and do, the things becoming the children of our heavenly Father: and so find the strong consolation of thy gracious acceptance in Jesus Christ our Saviour: Who, when we pray, hath taught us to say, "Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY EVENING.

O LORD, thou wast before all, thou art above all, and thy years shall not fail. Thou art the Searcher of our hearts. Thou knowest the dulness and hardness, the vanity and deceitfulness of them. We were born sinners, and so we have lived. We have added sin to sin. We have abused thy great and manifold mercies, tempted thy patience, and despised thy goodness. And justly mightest thou have cast us into outer darkness, where is wailing and gnashing of teeth.

But of thy loving kindnesses there is no number. Thou still callest us to return to thee: and "whosoever cometh unto thee, thou wilt in nowise cast out." O meet us with thy heavenly grace, that we may be able to come to thee. Be thou graciously pleased to stretch forth thy hand, and loose the chains wherewith our souls are entangled. O free us from every weight of sin, from every yoke of bondage. O help us to feel, and bewail, and forsake all our sins. And let us never want the comfortable assurance of thy forgiveness of them, thy acceptance of us, and thy love to us, in the blessed Son of thy eternal love. Thou art never weary, O Lord, of doing us good. Let us never be weary of doing thee service. But as thou hast pleasure in the prosperity of thy servants, so let us take pleasure in the service of our Lord, and abound in thy work, and in thy love and praise evermore. O fill up all that is wanting, reform whatever is amiss in us, and perfect the thing that concerneth us. Let the witness of thy pardoning love ever abide in all our hearts. O speak into every one of our souls the peace which passeth all understanding: and let us always look upon thee as our Father, reconciled to us in Jesus Christ.

In his great name we cry unto thee in behalf of the whole race of mankind. O that all the ends of the earth may see the salvation of our God. Continue thy mercies to this sinful land; teach us, at length, to know thy will concerning us: and, O turn thou all our hearts unto thee, as the heart of one man. Bless the King; O Lord, prolong his days and prosper his government; make him always a "terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well." And grant unto all magistrates and ministers of thy word, a continual supply of all the needful gifts and graces of thy Holy Spirit. Be thou a father to the fatherless, a husband to the widow, a refuge to the oppressed, a physician to the sick, a helper to the friendless, a God of consolation to the sorrowful and distressed.—Bless to us whatsoever thou art pleased to allot to us, and every thing that befalls us. May all work together for good, to build us up in thy grace, and to help us on to thy glory.

Continue thy fatherly care over us this night. O preserve and

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defend, and bless and keep us, that no evil may befall us, "nor any plague come nigh our dwelling." Give us comfortable sleep to strengthen us for thy service. And whenever thou callest us to the sleep of death, let us cheerfully resign our spirits into thy hands, through the riches of thy grace, and the worthiness of thy Son, in whose merits and mediation alone we put our trust. And for all that he hath done and suffered for us, to thy name, O blessed God of our salvation, be the praise, and honour, and glory, given by us and all thy people, now and for evermore. "Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY MORNING.

WE present ourselves before thee, O LORD our GOD, to pay our tribute of praise and thanksgiving; desiring thee mercifully to accept us and our services, at the hands of Jesus Christ. In his great name we come to beg thy pardon and peace, the increase of thy grace, and tokens of thy love. For we are not worthy the least of thy mercies. But worthy is the Lamb that was slain to take away the sin of the world, for whose sake thou wilt give us all things. For he hath fulfilled those holy laws which we had broken, and perfectly satisfied for our offences. And in him thou art a God gracious and merciful to those who deserve nothing but punishment.

O merciful FATHER, regard not what we have done *against thee;* but what our blessed Saviour hath done *for us*. Regard not what we have made ourselves; but what he is made unto us of thee our God. O that Christ may be in every one of our souls "wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption!" That his precious *blood* may "cleanse us from all our sins:" and that thy Holy Spirit may renew and sanctify our souls. May he crucify our flesh with its affections and lusts, and mortify all our members which are upon earth. O let not "sin reign in our mortal bodies, that we should obey it in the lusts thereof: but being made free from sin, let us be the servants of righteousness." Let us approve our hearts to thee, and let all our ways be pleasing in thy sight.

O teach us to know thee, O God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. And enable us to do thy will on earth, as it is done in heaven. Give us to fear thee and to love thee, to trust and to delight in thee, and to cleave to thee with full purpose of heart, that no temptations may draw or drive us from thee; but that all thy dispensations towards us, and thy dealings with us may be the messengers of thy love to our souls. Quicken us, O Lord, in our dulness, that we may not serve thee in a lifeless, and listless manner; but may abound in thy work, and be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. And make us faithful in all our intercourse with our neighbour, that we may be ready to do good and bear evil; that we may be just and kind, merciful and meek, peaceable and patient, sober and temperate, humble and self-denying, inoffensive and useful in the world; that so glorifying thee here, we may be glorified with thee in thy heavenly kingdom.

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Day by day we magnify thee, O Lord, who makest every day an addition to thy mercies. We bless thee for preserving us the night past, and for the rest thou gavest us therein. O cause us to hear thy loving-kindness in the morning; for in thee do we trust. Cause us to know the way wherein we shall go, for we lift up our souls unto thee. O take not thy Holy Spirit from us: but direct all our ways to please thee our God. Help us to see thy power, to own thy presence, to admire thy wisdom, and to love thy goodness in all thy creatures; and by all, draw our hearts still nearer to thee. Such mercy and grace we beg for ourselves, and all ours and thine every where, in our great Mediator's blessed words: "Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY EVENING.

O LORD, our GOD, thou art infinitely good, and thou hast showed us what is good. Thou sendest out thy light and thy truth that they may guide us, and makest plain thy way before our face. Thou givest us many opportunities and advantages to quicken and further us in thy service. We have "line upon line, and precept upon precept;" thy messengers early and late, to open and apply thy word, to call and warn, to direct and exhort us with all long-suffering. But how little have we improved all the precious talents, which thou hast put into our hands! O Lord, thou mightest justly take away the gospel of thy kingdom from us, and give it unto other people, who would bring forth the fruits thereof. Because thou hast called and we refused, thou hast stretched forth thy hands and we have not regarded, thou mightest leave us to our own perverseness and impenitence, till our iniquities become our ruin.

But, O Lord God, enter not thus into judgment with thy servants. Pardon all our contempt of thy word, and our not profiting thereby. And help us for the time to come, better to improve the blessed opportunities set before us. "As the rain descends from heaven and returns not thither, but waters the earth, and maketh it fruitful, so let not thy word return unto thee void, but prosper in the work whereunto thou sendest it." O make it effectual to build us all up in the true fear and love of God, and in the knowledge and faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

O gracious God, may thy Spirit cause thy word to work thoroughly and successfully in all our hearts. And as we daily "receive, how we ought to walk and to please thee our God;" so help us to "walk worthy of the Lord unto all well-pleasing;" increasing in the knowledge and love of thee, abounding more and more in every good thing which is pleasing in thy sight, through Jesus Christ.

At his hands, O Lord our God, we beg thy gracious acceptance of our humble praise and thanksgiving, for all thy blessings, spiritual and temporal, so freely conferred upon us. We praise thee for all the comforts and conveniences of this life, and for all the means and hopes of a better; particularly for what we have received this day; the food of our souls set before us; the word of salvation sounding

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in our ears, and the Spirit of God striving with our hearts. O withdraw not thy tender mercies from us, but still continue thy accustomed goodness, and increase thy grace and heavenly blessings upon us, and rejoice over us to do us good.

In mercy pass by all which thy most pure and holy eyes have seen amiss in us this day. Forgive the iniquities of our holy things: overlook all our sins and failings, through our great Mediator and Redeemer, who ever lives at thy right hand to make intercession for us. And for Jesus Christ, and for all which thou art pleased to give us together with him, "not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name" be all the praise, and honour, and glory humbly ascribed by us, and all thy Church, now and for evermore. "Our Father," &c.

PRAYERS FOR CHILDREN.

PREFACE.

MY DEAR CHILD,

A LOVER of your soul has here drawn up a few Prayers, in order to assist you in that great duty. Be sure that you do not omit, at least morning and evening, to present yourself upon your knees before God. You have mercies to pray for, and blessings to praise God for. But take care that you do not mock God, drawing near with your lips, while your heart is far from him. God sees you, and knows your thoughts: therefore see that you not only speak with your lips, but pray with your heart. And that you may not ask in vain, see that you forsake sin, and make it your endeavour to do what God has shown you ought: because God says, the prayers of the wicked are an abomination unto the Lord." Ask then of God for the blessings you want, in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, and God will hear and answer you, and do more for you than you can either ask or think. JOHN WESLEY.

MONDAY MORNING.

O LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, Father of angels and men, I praise and bless thy holy name for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to me and all mankind. I bless thee for my creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all, for thy great love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ. I bless thee for preserving me in the night past, and bringing me safe to the beginning of a new day. Defend me in the same with thy mighty power, and grant that this day I fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of

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danger: but let all my doings be so ordered by thy governance, that I may do always that which is righteous in thy sight, through Jesus Christ my Redeemer. Grant me such grace, that I may be able to withstand the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and with a pure heart and mind to follow the steps of my gracious Redeemer. Keep me, I beseech thee, O Lord, from all things hurtful to my soul or body, and grant me thy pardon and peace, that being cleansed from all my sins, I may serve thee with a quiet mind, bring forth plenteously the fruit of good works, and continue in the same unto my life's end, through Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

MONDAY EVENING.

ALMIGHTY GOD, who art the gracious Preserver of all mankind, I desire now to offer unto thee my praise and thanksgivings, for all the blessings thou hast this day bestowed upon me. I confess, O my God, that I am unworthy of the least of all thy mercies; for I have gone astray like a lost sheep. I have followed too much the devices and desires of my own heart. I have offended against thy holy laws. I have left undone those things which I ought to have done, and have done those things which I ought not to have done; and there is no health in me. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me a miserable offender. Spare me, O Lord, who now confess my faults unto thee. Enable me to bewail my manifold sins and offences, which I have from time to time most grievously committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty. Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, most merciful Father; for my Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, forgive me all that is past, and grant me thy grace, that I may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Take me under thy gracious care and keeping this night; save and defend me from all dangers. Grant unto my body rest in my bed, and unto my soul rest in thyself; and be thou my God and my guide, my hope and my help, my joy and my comfort, now and for evermore, through Jesus Christ my Redeemer. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY MORNING.

O THOU FATHER of all mercies, and God of all goodness, I praise and bless thy name for thy mercies and favours unto me in the night past, and for bringing me safe to behold the light of a new day. Send down thy heavenly grace into my soul, that I may be enabled to worship thee, and serve thee as I ought to do. Enable

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me to believe in thee, to fear thee, and to love thee with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength; that I may honour thy holy name and word, and serve thee truly this and all the days of my life. Give me thy grace, that I may love all mankind as myself, and do unto all, as I would they should do unto me. Enable me to love and honour my parents, obey my superiors, and submit to all my teachers. Suffer me not to hurt any body by word or deed. Make me just and honest in all my dealings. Let me not bear any malice or hatred in my heart. Keep my hands from picking and stealing, my tongue from evil speaking, lying, and slandering: keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity: that I may not covet any person's goods, but learn and labour to get my own living, and to do my duty in the state of life wherein it shall please thee to place me. Direct me so to pass through things temporal, that I may not finally lose the things which are eternal, but at last be received into thy presence, where is fulness of joy, and be seated at thy right hand, where are pleasures for evermore, through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

TUESDAY EVENING.

O LORD GOD, the gracious giver of all good things, I praise and adore thee for thy goodness, which has been so plentiful towards me an unworthy child of man. Thou hast, in thy mercy, not only preserved me this day from all dangers, but bestowed upon me all things needful, for which I desire entirely to praise thy fatherly goodness, and with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, to laud and magnify thy holy name. Bless then the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name; for the Lord is gracious, and his mercy is everlasting towards them that fear him. And now, Lord, I most humbly implore thy fatherly goodness to forgive me whatever has this day in my heart or life offended the eyes of thy glory. O Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, receive my prayer. Prevent me, O Lord, in all my doings for the time to come, and further me with thy continual help, that in all my thoughts, words, and works, I may continually glorify thy holy name. Grant me thy grace, that I may so follow thy blessed saints in all righteousness and holy living, that I may at last come to be a partaker with them of glory everlasting. Do thou enable me, gracious Lord, to adorn thy gospel in all holy conversation, and to do whatever I do to the glory of thy name. Cleanse the thoughts of my heart, by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that I may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name. Let thy fatherly hand be ever over me, and thy Holy Spirit ever be with me; and do thou so lead me in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that in the end I may obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ my Lord. And now, O Lord, as the night is come upon me, and as I am ready to betake myself to rest, I desire to commit myself into thy protection, who neither slumberest nor

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sleepest, but hast still a watchful eye over me: O watch over me for good, that none of the evils I deserve may fall upon me. Preserve me from all terrors and dangers in the night. Remove my sin out of thy sight, and show me the light of thy countenance, and refresh me with the sense of thy favour through Jesus Christ my Redeemer, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

O LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, Fountain of all goodness, and Father of all mercies, I desire again to bow my knee before thy holy Majesty, humbly beseeching thee to accept my praise and thanksgivings, for thy mercies to me in the night season. I laid me down and slept, and rose up again in safety; for it was thou only, O Lord, that sustainest me. And now, O my soul, return unto thy rest. Look upon me, O Lord, in thy rich mercy, and for thy dear Son's sake be gracious unto my soul. Lighten my darkness, I beseech thee, O Lord, and let the day-spring from on high visit me. Enable me to cast away all the works of darkness, and to put upon me the armour of light, that I may be able to renounce the world, the flesh, and the Devil; to keep thy holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of my life. Give me, O Lord, wisdom to know the things that belong to my peace, before I go hence, and am no more seen. Graft in my heart the love of thy name, increase in me true religion, and nourish me with all goodness. Give me the spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful. Teach me to ask and seek only such things as shall please thee and profit my soul. Give me such a measure of thy grace, that I may run the way of thy commandments, obtain thy gracious promises, and be made a partaker of thy heavenly treasures. Pour down upon me the abundance of thy mercy. Give me more than I can either desire or deserve. O give me the increase of faith, hope, and love, and keep me ever by thy help from all things hurtful, and lead me to all things useful. Let thy grace always prevent and follow me, that I may be continually given to all good works, and may always glorify my Father, which is in heaven. These and every other blessing for me, and for thy whole church, I humbly beg in the name, and for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, &c. "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

O GOD, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, I most humbly beseech thee now to accept my sincere praise and thanksgiving, for all the blessings and mercies that I have enjoyed this day. It is thou, O Lord, alone, who hast preserved me from dangers.

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And from thy gracious bounty have I received all things needful to promote my present and eternal happiness. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy name be the praise. O Lord, I am unworthy through my manifold sins to offer thee any sacrifice; yet as thy property is to have mercy and to forgive, I beseech thee to accept this my bounden duty, not dealing with me according to my deserving, but after thy mercy and the merits of thy dear Son Jesus Christ. I confess unto thee, O my God, that I am tied and bound with the chain of my sins: yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose me. I have no power of myself to help myself: O do thou keep me by thy grace, both outwardly in my body, and inwardly in my soul, that I may be enabled to present both body and soul a holy and pleasing sacrifice unto thee, through my Redeemer Jesus Christ. Grant me, O my God, grace, that I may love what thou hast commanded, and earnestly desire what thou hast promised. Enable me, amidst the many changes of this world, to fix my heart constantly upon things above. May I both in heart and mind constantly thither ascend, whither my Saviour Jesus Christ is gone before, to prepare a place for me. Bring me up, O Lord, in thy fear and love. Keep me under the protection of thy good providence. Hide me under the shadow of thy wings: keep me from the evils of this world, and land me safe at last on that blissful shore, where all is quietness and assurance for ever.

Into thy hands, O my God, I this night commend my soul and body. Give thy angels charge over me, and grant me such rest and sleep as may fit me for the duties of the following day. And, O my God, do thou prepare me for my last sleep in death, my departure out of this mortal state; that before I go hence, I may finish the work thou hast given me to do, and at last finish my course with joy, through Jesus Christ my Lord. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

THURSDAY MORNING.

O THOU Eternal FOUNTAIN of all wisdom, whom I cannot see or know, but by the mean of thy own light, vouchsafe to manifest thyself to my soul, and teach me to know aright, thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. O blessed Son of Righteousness, arise upon me with healing in thy wings, to scatter all the clouds of folly and ignorance that overspread my soul. Open my eyes to see the wondrous things thy love has wrought. Suffer me not to remain in darkness concerning any thing that is needful for me to know, in order to my present peace, and my eternal glory. O Lord, incline mine ears to wisdom, and my heart to understanding, that I may follow on to know the Lord, and increase in the knowledge and love of God. Give me, O Lord, that highest learning, to know thee, and that best wisdom, to know myself. Command a

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blessing on my studies and endeavours, and bless me, and help me, Lord, in my learning all such things, as shall stand me in stead, and do me good. Let my soul and body, and all their powers, be under thy conduct, and employed to thy glory. Show me thy ways, O Lord, and lead me into truth, and whatever I am ignorant of, unto me let it be given to know the mysteries of thy kingdom: and let me count all things but dung and dross, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen. Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep me this day from all sins Bless my going out and coming in, now and for evermore. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

THURSDAY EVENING.

O MY heavenly FATHER, who tookest me out of my mother's womb, who wast my hope, when I hanged yet upon my mother's breast, I have been preserved by thee ever since I was born: O go not from me in this my youth, but send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me to thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling place. Teach me thy way, O Lord, and enable me to walk in thy truth. O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name; and give me understanding in the way of godliness. Lord, I am young, and cannot discern between good and evil: O let me not go out of the way of thy commandments. Learn me true understanding and knowledge. Teach me to do the thing that pleaseth thee; for thou art my God. Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into all the paths of righteousness. Let my study day and night be in thy word, that I may become wise unto salvation. Make thy word a light to my feet, and a lamp to my path: guide me here with thy counsel, and after that receive me into glory. Withdraw not thou thy mercy from me, O my God; but let thy loving-kindness and thy truth always preserve me. Give thy blessing to me, and with thy favourable kindness defend me as with a shield. Show me the path of life, and enable me to walk therein, till I come into thy presence, where is fulness of joy, and to thy right hand, where are pleasures for evermore. As thou hast been pleased to preserve me this day, and hast bestowed upon me all things needful, I desire to bless thy name for the same. Take care of me this night, O Lord, and visit me with thy mercies. Preserve me, O Lord, from every thing hurtful, and let thy merciful arms for ever surround me, through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY MORNING.

O LORD my GOD, I am taught by thy word, that I am by nature born in sin and a child of wrath, and that except I be born again, I

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cannot see the kingdom of God. O Lord, do thou teach me the meaning of the new-birth, that I a child of wrath may become a child of grace. Lord, take away the veil from my heart, that I may know my sinful nature. Make the remembrance of my sins grievous unto me, and the burden of them intolerable. Lead me then to the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, that I may there wash and be cleansed. Suffer me not to rest, till I find redemption in thy blood, even the forgiveness of all my sins. It has pleased thee, O Lord, to hide these things from the wise and prudent, and to reveal them unto babes. Reveal then, O Lord, thy love in my soul. Let me taste and see how good and gracious thou art. Suffer a child to come unto thee, and forbid me not. I am unworthy; but receive me as thou didst the little children of old into thy gracious arms, and adopt me thine for ever. Shed abroad in my heart thy love, and fill me with all peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Let every thought, word, and deed, be henceforth to the glory of thy great name through Jesus Christ, and at last grant me an abundant entrance into thy everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

Be thou with me, O Lord, this day, to bless and keep, guide and govern me, and let me be thine, and only thine, for ever. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY EVENING.

O THOU ever blessed GOD, the Author and Giver of life, I desire with all humility to draw near unto thy gracious Majesty, to offer up unto thee my evening sacrifice of prayer and praise. Thou alone, O God, art worthy to be praised, and to be had in everlasting remembrance. Glory be to thee, O most adorable Lord God. Glory be to thy name for all thy mercies and goodness bestowed on me thy most unworthy servant, in the day that is now past. Give me a due sense of all thy mercies, that my heart may be unfeignedly thankful, and grant me thy grace that I may show forth thy praise not only from my lips but in my life. Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness. According to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from all my sin. Turn thy face from my sins, and put out all my misdeeds. Create in me a clean heart, O my God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, neither withdraw thy loving kindness from me. Spare me, O Lord, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with me for ever. For the glory of thy name, turn from me those evils that I have most righteously deserved, and enable me to walk before thee henceforth in holiness and righteousness to thy praise and glory. Let thy mercy and goodness follow me all the days of my life, and be thou my guide unto death, and my portion for ever. Give me thy grace, that I may duly consider my latter end and the fewness of my days, that I may seriously ap-

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ply my heart unto wisdom; and work out my salvation with fear and trembling, before the night of death cometh upon me, wherein no man can work. Enable me so to live, that I may not only be looking but also longing for my Saviour's appearing; that when he shall come, I may also appear with him in glory. And now, O Lord my God, I beseech thee take me under thy protection this night, and preserve me from all evil. I will lay me down in peace and take my rest; for it is thou, Lord, only that makest me dwell in safety. In thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. These and all other mercies I humbly beg in the name of my Mediator Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY MORNING.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting GOD, I bless thee that of thy infinite goodness, thou hast preserved me this night past, and brought me in safety to this morning. Withdraw not, I humbly beseech thee, thy protection from me, but take me under the care of thy providence this day. Watch over me with the eyes of thy mercy, direct my soul and body according to the rule of thy will, that I may pass this and all my days to thy glory. O Lord, I am but a child, and know not how to go out or come in; and I am in the midst of a sinful world. Give therefore unto thy servant an understanding heart, that I may know and choose the good, and abhor and shun that which is evil. According to thy mercy, think upon me, O Lord, of thy goodness. Make me to remember thee in the days of my youth. O learn me true wisdom, and let the law of thy mouth be dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver, and let my whole delight be therein. O let me be devoted to thee from my childhood. Keep out of my heart all love of the world, of riches, or any other created thing, and fill it with the love of God. Thou knowest how many and powerful are the enemies of my soul, that seek to destroy it, the world, the flesh, and the Devil. O Lord, help; O Lord, save; O Lord, deliver me from them. Give me grace to renounce them all, and to keep thy holy will and commandments all the days of my life. Show me and make me what I must be before I can inherit thy kingdom. Teach me the truth as it is in Jesus. Save me from my own will, and let thine be done in me and by me. O make me thy child by adoption and grace. Renew me daily with thy Holy Spirit, and guide me in all my ways, till thou hast perfected me for thy heavenly kingdom. Make me dutiful to my parents, affectionate to my relations, obedient to my superiors, and loving towards all mankind. And grant, that as I grow in stature, I may grow in wisdom and in thy favour, till thou shalt take me to thine everlasting kingdom, there to dwell with thee for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

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SATURDAY EVENING.

I DESIRE to offer unto thee, O Lord, my evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all thy mercies bestowed upon me. I bless thee for my creation, preservation, and above all, for my redemption, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I bless thee for bringing me safely to the conclusion of this day, and humbly implore the pardon of all the sins I have been guilty of, whether in thought, word, or deed. Have mercy upon me, O God, and do thou free me from all the sins I have committed, and deliver me from the punishment I have deserved. O thou blessed guide of my youth, give me thy grace to seek after thee in my early years, that thou mayest not be unmindful of me in the time of age. Keep me from the evil of the world, and carry me safe through it to thy kingdom. Take care of me, and provide for me, and dispose of me in the world, as shall be most for thy glory and my good. Leave me not to myself, in the hands of my own counsel, but let me be taught of God. Take thou, O Lord, the gracious charge, and guidance, and government of me, and fix in my heart thy fear and love, and direct all my ways to please not myself but thee. O redeem me from the power of my sins by thy grace, and from the punishments of them by thy blood, and by both bring me to thy glory. I desire, O my God, to give up myself wholly to thee. I would be thine, and only thine for ever. O my God, my Saviour, turn not away thy face from a poor child that seeks thee. Give me to know that I am nothing, and can do nothing of myself, and that if ever I am thine, I must be wholly indebted to thee for it. Let me be entirely devoted unto thee, and do thou make me obedient and faithful unto the end. Make me to remember thee in my bed, and think upon thee when I am waking: thou hast preserved me from the dangers of the day past, thou hast been my support ever since I was born. Under the shadow of thy wings let me pass this night in comfort and peace. Keep me both in body and soul, and give me such rest as my body has need of. And grant, O Lord, that when I lay down my body in the grave, my soul may rise to life immortal, through the merits and intercession of thy dear Son, my Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

SUNDAY MORNING.

O ALMIGHTY GOD, Maker of all mankind, in whom we live, and move, and have our being, who makest the outgoings of the morning and the evening to rejoice, suffer me now to approach thy divine Majesty with all reverence and godly fear. I desire to adore thy sacred name, who hast in thy goodness brought me in safety to behold the beginning of a new day and another sabbath. I bless thee

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who hast in love to my soul and for the glory of thy name, set apart this day for holy uses, to engage me in thy service, wherein consists my honour and happiness. This is thy day, O Lord, enable me to rejoice and be glad in it. May I ever remember to keep it holy, not doing my own works, nor finding my own pleasure, nor speaking my own words: but so delight in thee, that thou mayest give me my heart's desire. Bless to me thy word, O most heavenly Father, and all the means of grace, that I may not use them in vain or to my own hurt, but for the instructing my mind, reforming my life, and the saving my soul. Save me from all hardness of heart and contempt of thy word; increase my love to it, and enable me to hear it meekly, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth fruit unto good living. Open my understanding to receive thy truth in the love thereof. Set it so powerfully upon my heart, and root it so deep in my soul, that the fruits thereof may be seen in my life, to thy glory and praise. May I always so hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest thy word, that it may be a savour of life to my soul. O let me not offer vain oblations unto the Lord, drawing nigh with my lips, while my heart is far from thee. But do thou enable me to worship thee with holy worship, with joy and delight, with profit and pleasure. Fill me with a comfortable sense of thy presence, that I may serve thee with reverence and godly fear, to the comfort of my soul and the glory of thy name. O Lord God, do thou clothe thy priests with righteousness, and let thy saints rejoice and sing. Break the bread of life to all our souls, that we may eat and live for ever. O Lord, hear my prayers, and let my cry come unto thee. Do more and better for me than I can either desire or deserve, for the sake of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all praise and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

SUNDAY EVENING.

MERCIFUL GOD, permit me to pay thee, now, my evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, for all the blessings and favours to my body and soul, so freely bestowed and so long continued unto me. Thou hast dealt graciously with me, O Lord God, and hast been exceeding good and kind to me beyond all that I had reason to expect or am able to express. I bless thee, O Lord, for every help which I enjoy to the promoting my present and eternal good. I desire to ascribe all praise and glory to thee, to whom alone it is due. O Lord, I bless thee that thy house is open to me, the bread of life offered me, the word of salvation preached, and thy Spirit striving with me. O suffer me not to receive thy grace in vain, nor let thy word be lost upon me. Do thou apply it to my heart, and fix it in my memory, that it may prove a blessing to my soul. In mercy, O Lord, pass by all things which in thy pure and holy eyes have been amiss this day past; pardon my neglects and the

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guilt of my misdoings. And as I have heard how to walk and to please thee, O my God, help me to walk more worthy of the Lord unto all well-pleasing, that I may be built up in thy true fear and love, and in the right knowledge and faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. Be thou pleased to second every word of instruction that I have received, with the power of thy grace and holy Spirit; and above all, O blessed God, do thou give me a heart filled with thy love, and lifted up in thy praise, and devoted to thy honour and glory all the days of my life. Take me, O Lord God, my Saviour, into thy gracious care and protection. Preserve me from all dangers in the night season. Let me lie down and sleep in thy arms, and when the trumpet shall sound, and at last call me from the sleep of death, let me be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so for ever be with the Lord. All these mercies, O my God, I most humbly ask, for the alone sake of Jesus Christ my Redeemer. Amen.

"Our Father," &c.

A Prayer for Relations, Friends, &c. to be used after Morning and Evening Prayer.

VOUCHSAFE, O LORD, to bless my father and mother, and all my relations, with the fear of thy Name. Bless them in their souls and bodies: perfect them in every good word and work, and be thou their guide unto death. Bless my friends, forgive my enemies; and grant unto all mankind the knowledge and love of thee. Have mercy upon all who are afflicted in mind, body, or estate. Give them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions. And receive them and me at last into thy blessed kingdom, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Grace before Meat.

O LORD, I beseech thee, give thy blessing with what thy mercy has here provided me with, that whether I eat or drink, or whatsoever I do, I may do all to thy glory and praise, through Jesus Christ my Lord. Amen.

After Meals.

O LORD my GOD, I bless thy Holy Name for this mercy, which I have now received from thy bounty and goodness. Feed now my soul with thy grace, that I may make it my meat and drink to do thy gracious Will, through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

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ADMONITIONS

TO PERSONS OF VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS.

I.

A WORD TO A SABBATH BREAKER.

"Remember the Sabbath-Day to keep it holy."

HAVE you forgotten who spoke these words? Or do you set him at defiance? Do you bid him do his worst? Have a care. You are not stronger than he. Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth; but wo unto the man that contendeth with his Maker: He sitteth in the circle of the heavens: and the inhabitants of the earth are as grasshoppers before him.

"Six days shalt thou do all manner of work. But the Seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." It is not thine, but God's Day. He claims it for his own. He always did claim it for his own, even from the beginning of the world. "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested the Seventh Day. Therefore the Lord blessed the Seventh Day, and hallowed it." He hallowed it; that is, he made it holy: he reserved it for his own service. He appointed, that as long as the sun and moon, the heavens and the earth should endure, the children of men should spend this day in the worship of him who gave them life, and breath, and all things.

Shall a man then rob God? And art thou the man? Consider! Think what thou art doing. Is it not God that giveth thee all thou hast? Every day thou livest, is it not his gift? And wilt thou give him none? Nay, wilt thou deny him what is his own already? He will not, he cannot quit his claim. This day is God's. It was so from the beginning: it will be so to the end of the world. This he cannot give to another. "O render unto God the things that are God's:" now, "to-day, while it is called to-day."

For whose sake does God lay claim to this day? For his sake or thine? Doubtless not for his own. He needeth not thee, nor any child of man. Look upto the heavens and see, and behold the clouds which are higher than thou. If thou sinnest, what dost thou against him? If thy transgressions be multiplied, what dost thou unto him? If thou art righteous, what givest thou him? Or what receiveth he of thine hand? For thy own sake he calleth thee to serve him. For thy own sake he demands a part of thy time to be restored to him that gave thee all. Acknowledge his love. Learn

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while thou art on earth, to praise the King of heaven. Spend this day, as thou hopest to spend that day which never shall have an end.

The Lord not only hallowed the Sabbath-day, but he hath also blessed it. So that you are an enemy to yourself. You throw away your own blessing, if you neglect to keep this day holy. It is a day of special grace. The King of heaven now sits upon his mercy-seat, in a more gracious manner than on other days, to bestow blessings on those that observe it. If you love your own soul, can you forbear laying hold on so happy an opportunity? Awake, arise, let God give thee his blessing! Receive a token of his love: cry to him that thou mayest sing the riches of his grace and mercy in Christ Jesus! You do not know how few more of these days of salvation you may have. And how dreadful would it be, to be hurried hence in the abuse of his proffered mercy!

O what mercy hath God prepared for you, if you do not trample it under foot! What mercy hath he prepared for them that fear him, even before the sons of men! A peace which the world cannot give; joy that no man taketh from you; rest from doubt and fear, and sorrow of heart: and love, the beginning of heaven. And are not these for you? Are not they all purchased for you, by him who loved you, and gave himself for you? For you a sinner! You a rebel against God? You who have so long crucified him afresh! Now look unto him whom you have pierced. Now say, Lord, it is enough. I have fought against thee long enough. I yield, Jesus, Master, have mercy upon me! On this day, above all, cry aloud, and spare not, to the God who heareth prayer. This is the day he hath set apart for the good of your soul, both in this world, and that which is to come. Never more disappoint the design of his love, either by worldly business or idle diversions. Let not a little thing keep you from the house of God, either in the forenoon or afternoon. And spend as much as you can of the rest of the day, either in repeating what you have heard, or in reading the Scriptures, or in private prayer, or talking of the things of God. Let his love be ever before your eyes. Let his praise be ever in your mouth. You have lived many years in folly and sin. Now live one day unto the Lord.

Do not ask any more, "Where is the harm, if after Church I spend the remainder of the day in the fields, or in a public house, or in taking a little diversion?" You know where is the harm. Your own heart tells you so plainly, that you cannot but hear. It is a base mis-spending your talent, and a barefaced contempt of God and his authority. You have heard of God's judgments even upon earth against the profaners of this day. And yet these are but as drops of that storm of fiery indignation, which will at last consume his adversaries. Glory be to God, who hath now given you a sense of this. You now know, this was always designed for a day of blessing. May you never again by your idleness or profaneness, turn that blessing into a curse! What folly, what madness would that be. And in what sorrow and anguish would it end! And yet

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a little while and death will close up the day of grace and mercy. And those who despise them now, will have no more Sabbaths, or Sacraments, or Prayers, for ever! Then they will wish to recover that which they now idly cast away! But all in vain. For they will then find no place for repentance, though they should seek it carefully with tears.

O my friend, know the privilege you enjoy. Now remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Your day of life and of grace is far spent. The night of death is at hand. Make haste to use the time you have: improve the last hours of your day. Now provide the things which make for your peace, that you may stand before the face of God for ever.

II.

A WORD TO A SWEARER.

Swear not at all, saith the LORD GOD *of heaven and earth.*

ART thou without GOD in the world? Hast thou no knowledge of GOD? No concern about him? Is not GOD in all thy thoughts? Dost thou believe there is a God? Where? In heaven only? Nay, he filleth all in all. "Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places, that I shall not see him? Do not I fill heaven and earth?"

Whither wilt thou go then from his Spirit? Or whither wilt thou flee from his presence? If thou go up into heaven, God is there. If thou go into hell, he is there also. If thou take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there his hand shall touch thee, and God's right hand shall hold thee.

GOD seeth thee now: his eyes are upon thee: he observes all thy thoughts: he compasseth thy path: he counteth all thy steps: he is acquainted with all thy ways: by him actions are weighed: nor is there a word in thy tongue but he knoweth it altogether.

And does not power belong unto GOD? Yea, all power in heaven and in earth? Is he not able, even while thou readest or hearest these words, to crush thee into nothing? Can he not just now crumble thee into dust? Or bid the earth open and swallow thee up? O do not set him at naught! Do not provoke him thus! Do not fly in his face! Can he not in a moment cast forth his lightnings and tear thee? Shoot forth his arrows and consume thee? What hinders him from cutting thee off this instant? Sending thee now, now, quick into hell!

Would God do thee any wrong therein? What! in giving thee the request of thy own lips? What words were those thou spakest but now? Did not God hear? Why, thou didst pray to God to send thee to hell. Thou didst ask him to damn thy soul. How! art thou in love with damnation? Art thou in haste to dwell with

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everlasting burnings? To be day and night tormented in that flame, without a drop of water to cool thy tongue?

I had rather thou shouldest go to the Paradise of God. Hadst not thou? Is not heaven better than hell? Art thou not convinced of this in thy own conscience? Why then, amend thy prayer: cry to God, "Save my soul, for I have sinned against thee! save me from all my sins. Save me from all my evil tempers and evil desires! Make me holy as thou art holy! Let me know thee, and love thee, and serve thee, now and for ever!"

And is not God willing to do this? Surely he is, for God loveth thee. He gave his only Son, that thou mightest not perish, but have everlasting life. Christ died for thee. And he that believeth on him hath everlasting life. Mark that word: he hath it. He hath it now. He hath the beginning of heaven even upon earth; for his soul is filled with the love of God; and the love of God is heaven. He that truly believes on Jesus Christ, hath a peace which earth cannot give; his mind is always calm: he hath learned in every state therewith to be content; he is always easy, quiet, well-pleased; always happy in life and in death. For a believer is not afraid to die; he desires to be dissolved and to be with Christ; he desires to quit this house of clay, and to be carried by angels into Abraham's bosom; to hear the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God, and to see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven; to stand at his right hand, and hear that word, (which I earnestly beg of God you and I may hear,) "Come, ye blessed, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world!"

III.

A WORD TO A DRUNKARD.

ARE you a man? God made you a man, but you make yourself a beast. Wherein does a man differ from a beast? Is it not chiefly in reason, in understanding? But you throw away what reason you have. You strip yourself of your understanding. You do all you can to make yourself a mere beast: not a fool, not a madman only, but a swine, a poor filthy swine.

O how honourable is a beast of God's making, compared to one that makes himself a beast? But that is not all. You make yourself a devil. You stir up all the devilish tempers that are in you; you heighten and increase them. You cause the fire of anger, or malice, or lust, to burn seven times hotter than before. At the same time you grieve the Spirit of God, till you drive him quite away from you. And whatever spark of good remained in your soul, you drown and quench at once.

So you are now just fit for every work of the Devil; having cast off all that is good or virtuous, and filled your heart with every thing that is bad, that is earthly, sensual, base, and devilish. You have

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forced the Spirit of God to depart from you; for you would take none of his reproof: and you have given yourself up into the hands of the Devil, to be led blindfold by him at his will.

Now, what shall hinder the same thing from befalling you, which befell him who was asked, Which was the greatest sin; adultery, drunkenness, or murder? He said, Drunkenness was the least. Soon after, he got drunk: he then met with another man's wife, and ravished her; the husband coming to help her, he murdered him.—So drunkenness, adultery, and murder, went together.

I have heard a story of a poor wild Indian, far wiser than either him or you. The Englishman gave him a cask of strong liquor. The next morning he called for his friends together, and setting it in the midst of them, said, "These white men have given us poison. The man who gave me this was a wise man, and would hurt none but his enemies. But as soon as he had drunk of this, he was mad, and would have killed his own brother. We will not be poisoned." He then broke the cask, and poured the liquor upon the sand.

On what motive do you thus poison yourself? Only for the pleasure of doing it? What, will you make yourself a beast, or rather a Devil? Will you run the hazard of committing all manner of villanies; and this only for the poor pleasure of a few moments, while the poison is running down your throat? O never call yourself a Christian! Never call yourself a man! You are sunk beneath the greater part of the beasts that perish.

But you say, "You drink for the sake of company. You do it to oblige your friends." For company, do you say? How is this? Will you take a dose of ratsbane for company? If twenty men were to do so before you, would you not desire to be excused? How much more may you desire to be excused from going to hell for company? But, "to oblige your friends?" What manner of friends are they, who would be obliged by your destroying yourself, who would suffer, nay entice you so to do. They are villains. They are your worst enemies. They are just such friends, as a man that would smile in your face, and stab you to the heart.

O do not aim at any excuse. Say not, as many do, "I am no one's enemy but my own." If it were so, what a poor saying is this, "I give none but my own soul to the Devil!" Alas! is not that too much? Why shouldest thou give him thy own soul? Do it not: rather give it to God.

But it is not so. You are an enemy to your King, whom you rob thereby of an useful subject. You are an enemy to your country, which you defraud of the service you might do, either as a man or a Christian. You are an enemy to every man that sees you in your sin; for your example may move him to do the same. A drunkard is a public enemy. I should not wonder at all if (like Cain of old) you were afraid, that "every man who meeteth you should slay you."

Above all, you are an enemy to GOD; the great GOD of heaven

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and earth: to him who surrounds you on every side, and can just now send you quick into hell. Him you are continually affronting to his face. You are setting him at open defiance. O do not provoke him thus any more. Fear the great GOD.

You are an enemy to Christ, to the Lord that bought you. You fly in the face of his authority. You set at naught both his sovereign power and tender love. You crucify him afresh. And when you call him your Saviour, what is it less than to "betray him with a kiss?"

O repent! See and feel what a wretch you are! Pray to God to convince you in your inmost soul, how often you have crucified him afresh, and put him to open shame. Pray that you may know yourself to be (inwardly and outwardly) all sin, all guilt, all helplessness. Then cry out, "Thou Son of David have mercy on me. Thou Lamb of God, take away my sins:—Grant me thy peace:—Justify the ungodly:—O bring me the blood of sprinkling, that I may go and sin no more:—that I may love much, having had so much forgiven!"

IV.

A WORD TO AN UNHAPPY WOMAN.

WHITHER are you going? To heaven or hell? Do you not know? Do you never think about it? Why do you not? Are you never to die? Nay, it is appointed for all men to die. And what comes after? Only heaven or hell. Will the not thinking of death, put it farther off? No; not a day; not one hour. Or will your not thinking of hell, save you from it? O no: you know better. And you know every moment you are nearer hell whether you are thinking of it or not: that is, if you are not nearer heaven. You must be nearer one or the other.

I entreat you think a little on that plain question, Are you going toward heaven or hell? To which of the two does this way lead? Is it possible you should be ignorant? Did you never hear, that neither adulterers nor fornicators, shall inherit the kingdom?—That fornicators and adulterers God will judge? And how dreadful will be their sentence: "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels?"

Surely you do not mock at the Word of God! You are not yet sunk so low as this. Consider, then, that awful word, "Know ye not, that ye are the temples of God?" Were not *you* designed for the Spirit of God to dwell in? Were not you devoted to God in baptism? But if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy. O do not provoke him to it any longer. Tremble before the great, the holy GOD!

Know you not, that your body is, or ought to be, the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you? Know you not, that you are not

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your own? For you are bought with a price. And, O how great a price! You are not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot. O when will you glorify God, with your body and your spirit, which are God's.

Ah poor wretch! How far are you from this! How low are you fallen! You yourself are ashamed of what you do. Are you not? Conscience, speak in the sight of God! Does not your own heart condemn you at this very hour? Do not you shudder at the condition you are in? Dare for once to lay your hand upon your breast, and ask, "What am I doing? And what must the end of these things be?" Destruction both of body and soul.

Destruction both of body as well as soul? Can it be otherwise? Are you not plunging into misery in this world, as well as the world to come! What have you brought upon yourself already!—What infamy!—What contempt! How could you now appear among those relations and friends, that were once so loved, and so loving to you? What pangs have you given! How do some of them still weep for you in secret places! And will you not weep for yourself? When you see nothing before you but want, pain, diseases, death? O spare yourself! Have pity upon your body, if not your soul. Stop! before you rot above ground and perish!

Do you ask, What shall I do? First, sin no more. First of all secure this point. Now, this instant now, escape for your life. Stay not. Look not behind you. Whatever you do, sin no more: starve, die, rather than sin. Be more careful for your soul than your body. Take care of that too; but of your poor soul first.

"But you have no friend; none, at least, that is able to help you." Indeed you have: one that is a present help in time of trouble. You have a friend that has all power in heaven and earth, even Jesus Christ the righteous. He loved sinners of old: and he does so still. He then suffered the publicans and harlots to come unto him. And one of them washed his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. I would to God *you* were in her place! Say, Amen! Lift up your heart and it shall be done. How soon will he say, "Woman, be of good cheer! Thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee. Go in peace. Sin no more. Love much: for thou hast much forgiven.

Do you still ask, But what shall I do for bread?—For food to eat and raiment to put on? I answer, in the name of the Lord God, (and mark well! His promise shall not fail:) "Seek thou first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and these things shall be added unto thee."

Settle it first in your heart, Whatever I have or have not, I will not have everlasting burnings. I will not sell my soul and body for bread: better even starve on earth than burn in hell. Then ask help of God. He is not slow to hear. He hath never failed them that seek him. He who feeds the young ravens that call upon him, will not let you perish for lack of sustenance. He will provide, in

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a way you thought not of, if you seek him with your whole heart. O let your heart be toward him: seek him from the heart. Fear sin, more than want, more than death. And cry mightily to him who bore your sins, till you have bread to eat that the world knoweth not of; till you have angels' food, even the love of God, shed abroad in your heart: till you can say, "Now I know that *my* Redeemer liveth, that he hath loved *me* and given himself for *me:* and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God!"

A WORD TO A SMUGGLER.

I. What is Smuggling? It is the importing, selling, or buying of run goods; that is, those which have not paid the duty appointed by law to be paid to the King.

1. Importing run goods. All smuggling vessels do this with a high hand. It is the chief, if not the whole business of these, to bring goods which have not paid duty.

2. Next to these are all sea captains, officers, sailors, or passengers, who import any thing without paying the duty which the law requires.

3. A third sort of smugglers are all those who sell any thing which has not paid the duty.

4. A fourth sort, those who buy tea, liquors, linen, handkerchiefs, or any thing else which has not paid duty.

II. "But why should they not? What harm is there in it?"

1. I answer, Open Smuggling (such as was common a few years ago, on the southern coasts, especially) is robbing on the highway: and as much harm as there is in this, just so much there is in smuggling. A smuggler of this kind is no honester than a highwayman. They may shake hands together.

2. Private Smuggling is just the same as picking of pockets. There is full as much harm in this as in that. A smuggler of this kind is no honester than a pickpocket. These may shake hands together.

3. But open smugglers are worse than common highwaymen, and private smugglers are worse than common pickpockets. For it is undoubtedly worse to rob our father, than one we have no obligation to. And it is worse still, far worse, to rob a good father, one who sincerely loves us, and is at that very time doing all he can to provide for us, and to make us happy. Now this is exactly the present case. King GEORGE is the father of all his subjects: and not only so, he is a good father. He shows his love to them on all occasions; and is continually doing all that is in his power to make his subjects happy.

4. An honest man therefore would be ashamed to ask, Where is the harm in robbing such a father? His own reason if he had any at all, would give him a speedy answer. But *you* are a Christian:

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are you not? You say, you believe the Bible. Then I say to *you*, in the name of God, and in the name of Christ, "Thou shalt not steal." Thou shalt not take what is not thine own, what is the right of another man. But the duties appointed by law are the King's right, as much as your coat is *your* right. He has as good a right to them, as *you* have to this: these are his property as much as this is yours. Therefore you are as much a thief if you take his duties, as a man is that takes your coat.

5. If you believe the Bible, I say to *you*, as our Saviour said to them of old time, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." If then you mind our Saviour's words, be as careful to honour the King as to fear God. Be as exact in giving to the King what is due to the King, as in giving God what is due to God. Upon no account whatever rob or defraud him of the least thing which is his lawful property.

6. If you believe the Bible, I say to *you*, as St. Paul said to the ancient Christians, "Render unto all their dues:" in particular, "Custom to whom custom is due, tribute to whom tribute." Now custom is by the laws of England due to the King. Therefore every one in England is bound to pay it him. So that robbing the King herein, is abundantly worse than common stealing, or common robbing on the highway.

7. And so it is on another account also: for it is a general robbery: it is, in effect, not only robbing the King, but robbing every honest man in the nation. For the more the King's duties are diminished, the more the taxes must be increased. And these lie upon us all: they are the burden not of some, but of all the people of England. Therefore every smuggler is a thief-general, who picks the pockets both of the King, and all his fellow-subjects. He wrongs them all: and above all, the honest traders, many of whom he deprives of their maintenance: constraining them either not to sell their goods at all, or to sell them to no profit. Some of them are tempted hereby, finding they cannot get bread for their families, to turn thieves too. And then *you* are accountable for *their* sin as well as your own: you bring their blood upon your own head. Calmly consider this, and you will never more ask, "What harm there is in Smuggling?"

III. 1. But for all this, cannot men find *excuses* for it? Yes, abundance; such as they are. "I would not do this," says one; "I would not sell uncustomed goods: but I am under a necessity: I can't live without it." I answer, May not the man who stops you on the highway, say the very same? "I would not take your purse; but I am under a necessity: I can't live without it." Suppose the case to be your own: and will you accept of this excuse? Would not you tell him, "Nay, let the worst come to the worst, you had better be honest, though you starve." But that need not be neither. Others who had no more to begin with, yet find a way to live honestly. And certainly so may you: however settle it in your heart: "Live or die, I will be an honest man."

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2. "Nay," says another, "we do not wrong the King: for he loses nothing by us. Yea, on the contrary, the King is rather a gainer, namely, by the seizures that are made."

So you plunder the King, out of stark love and kindness! You rob him, to make him rich! It is true, you take away his purse: but you put a heavier in its place! Are you serious? Do you mean what you say? Look me in the face and tell me so. You cannot. You know in your own conscience, that what comes to the King, out of all the seizures made the year round, does not amount to the tenth, no, not the hundredth part of what he is defrauded of.

But if he really gained more than he lost, that would not excuse *you*. You are not to commit robbery, though the person robbed were afterwards to gain by it. You are not to *do evil, that good may come*. If you do, your *damnation is just*.

"But certainly," say some, "the King is a gainer by it, or he might easily suppress it." Will you tell him which way? By custom-house officers? But many of them have no desire to suppress it. They find their account in its continuance: they come in for a share of the plunder. But what if they had a desire to suppress it? They have not the power. Some of them have lately made the experiment: and what was the consequence? Why they lost a great part of their bread, and were in danger of losing their lives.

Can the King suppress smuggling by parties of soldiers? That he cannot do. For all the soldiers he has are not enough, to watch every port and every creek in Great Britain. Besides, the soldiers that are employed, will do little more than the custom-house officers. For there are ways and means of taking off *their* edge too, and making them as quiet as lambs.

"But many courtiers and great men, who know the King's mind, not only connive at smuggling, but practise it." And what can we infer from this? Only, that those great men are great villains. They are great highwaymen and pickpockets: and their greatness does not excuse, but makes their crimes tenfold more inexcusable.

But besides. Suppose the King were willing to be cheated, how would this excuse your cheating his subjects. All your fellow-subjects, every honest man, and in particular, every honest trader? How would it excuse your making it impossible for him to live, unless he will turn knave as well as yourself?

3. "Well, but I am not convinced it is a sin: my conscience does not condemn me for it." No! Are you not convinced, that robbery is a sin? Then I am sorry for you. And does not your conscience condemn you for stealing? Then your conscience is asleep. I pray God to smite you to the heart, and awaken it this day!

4. "Nay, but my soul is quite happy in the love of God: therefore I cannot think it is wrong." I answer, Wrong it must be, if the Bible is right. Therefore, either that love is a mere delusion, a fire of your own kindling; or God may have hitherto winked at the times of ignorance. But now you have the means of knowing better.

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Now light is offered to you. And if you shut your eyes against the light, the love of God cannot possibly continue.

5. "But I only buy a little brandy or tea now and then, just for my own use." That is, I only *steal a little*. God says, Steal not at all.

6. "Nay, I do not buy any at all myself: I only send my child or servant for it." You receive it of them; do you not? And the receiver is as bad as the thief.

7. "Why, I would not meddle with it, but I am forced, by my parent, husband, or master." If you are forced by your father or mother to rob, you will be hanged nevertheless. This may lessen, but does not take away the fault; for you ought to suffer rather than sin.

8. "But I do not know that it was run." No! Did not he that sold it, tell you it was? If he sold it under the common price, he did: the naming the price, was telling you, "This is run."

9. "But I don't know where to get tea which is not run." I will tell you where to get it. You may have it from those whose tea is duly entered, and who make a conscience of it. But were it otherwise, if I could get no wine, but what I knew to be stolen, I would drink water: yea, though not only my health, but my life depended upon it: for it is better to die than to live by thieving.

10. "But if I could get what has paid duty, I am not able to pay the price of it. And I can't live without it." I answer, 1. You can live without it, as well as your grandmother did. But, 2. If you could not live without it, you ought to die, rather than steal. For death is a less evil than sin.

11. "But my husband will buy it, whether I do or not. And I must use what he provides, or have none." Undoubtedly to have none is a less evil, than to be partaker with a thief.

IV. Upon the whole then, I exhort all of you that fear God, and desire to save your souls, without regarding what others do, resolve at all hazards, to keep yourselves pure. Let your eye be fixed on the word of God, not the examples of men. Our Lord says to every one of you, *What is that to thee? Follow thou me!* Let no convenience, no gain, no pleasure, no friend, draw you from following him. In spite of all the persuasions, all the reasonings of men, keep to the word of God. If all on the right-hand and the left will be knaves, be *you* an honest man. Probably God will repay you, (he certainly will, if this be best for you,) even with temporal blessings: there have not been wanting remarkable instances of this. But if not, he will repay you with what is far better; with the "testimony of a good conscience toward God;" with "joy in the Holy Ghost;" with a "hope full of immortality;" with the "love of God shed abroad in your hearts." And the "peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus!"

LONDON, *Jan.* 30, 1767.

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A WORD TO A CONDEMNED MALEFACTOR.

WHAT a condition are you in! The sentence is past: you are condemned to die; and this sentence is to be executed shortly. You have no way to escape; these fetters, these walls, these gates and bars, these keepers, cut off all hope. Therefore die you must: but must you die like a beast, without thinking what it is *To die?* You need not: you will think a little first: you will consider, What is death? It is leaving this world, these houses, lands, and all things under the sun; leaving all these things, never to return; your place will know you no more. It is leaving these pleasures; for there is no eating, drinking, gaming, no merriment in the grave. It is leaving your acquaintance, companions, friends; your father, mother, wife, children. You cannot stay with them, nor can they go with you; you must part; perhaps for ever. It is leaving a part of yourself; leaving this body which has accompanied you so long. Your soul must now drop its old companion, to rot and moulder into dust. It must enter upon a new, strange, unbodied state. It must stand naked before God!

2. But, O! how will you stand before God? The great, the holy, the just, the terrible God? Is it not his own word, "Without holiness, no man shall see the Lord?" No man shall see him with joy: rather he will call for the mountains to fall upon him, and the rocks to cover him. And what do you think holiness is? It is purity both of heart and life. It is the mind that was in Christ, enabling us to walk as he also walked. It is the loving God with all our heart, the loving our neighbour, every man, as ourselves, and the doing to all men, in every point, as we would they should do unto us. The least part of holiness is, To do good to all men, and to do no evil either in word or work. This is only the outside of it. But this is more than you have. You are far from it; far as darkness from light. You have not the mind that was in Christ: there was no pride, no malice in him; no hatred, no revenge, no furious anger, no foolish or worldly desire. You have not walked as Christ walked: no: rather as the Devil would have walked, had he been in a body; the works of the Devil you have done, not the works of God. You have not loved God with all your heart. You have not loved him at all. You have not thought about him. You hardly knew or cared whether there was any God in the world. You have not done to others as you would they should do to you; far, very far from it. Have you done all the good you could to all men? If so, you had never come to this place. You have done evil exceedingly: your sins against God and man are more than the hairs of your head. Insomuch that even the world cannot bear you; the world itself spues you out. Even the men that know not God, declare, "You are not fit to live upon the earth!"

3. O repent, repent! Know yourself: see and feel what a sinner you are. Think of the innumerable sins you have committed, even

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from your youth up. How many wicked words have you spoken? How many wicked actions have you done? Think of your inward sins! Your pride, malice, hatred, anger, revenge, lust. Think of your sinful nature, totally alienated from the life of God. How is your whole soul prone to evil, void of good, corrupt, full of all abominations! *Feel*, that your carnal mind is enmity against God. Well may the wrath of God abide upon you. He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity: he hath said, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." It shall die eternally; shall be "punished with everlasting destruction, from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power."

4. How then can *you* escape the damnation of hell? The lake of fire burning with brimstone? Where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched? You can never redeem your own soul. You cannot atone for the sins that are past. If you could leave off sin now, and live unblamable for the time to come, that would be no atonement for what is past. Nay, if you could live like an angel for a thousand years, that would not atone for one sin. But neither can you do this: you cannot leave off sin: it has the dominion over you: if all your past sins were now to be forgiven, you would immediately sin again: that is, unless your heart were cleansed; unless it were created anew. And who can do this? Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Surely none but God. So you are utterly sinful, guilty, helpless! What can you do to be saved?

5. One thing is needful: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved!" Believe (not as the devils only, but) with that faith which is the gift of God, which is wrought in a poor, guilty, helpless sinner, by the power of the Holy Spirit. See all thy sins on Jesus laid. God laid on him the iniquities of us all. He suffered once, the just for the unjust. He bore our sins in his own body on the tree. He was wounded for thy sins: he was bruised for thy iniquities. "Behold the Lamb of God, taking away the sin of the world!" Taking away thy sins, even thine, and reconciling thee unto God the Father! "Look unto him, and be thou saved!" If thou look unto him by faith, if thou cleave to him with thy whole heart, if thou receive him both to atone, to teach, and to govern thee in all things, thou shalt be saved, thou art saved, both from the guilt, the punishment, and all the power of sin. Thou shalt have peace with God, and a peace in thy own soul, that passeth all understanding. Thy soul shall magnify the Lord, and thy spirit rejoice in God thy Saviour. The love of God shall be shed abroad in thy heart, enabling thee to trample sin under thy feet. And thou will then have a hope full of immortality. Thou wilt no longer be afraid to die, but rather long for the hour, having a desire to depart, and be with Christ.

6. This is the faith that worketh by love, the way that leadeth to the kingdom. Do you earnestly desire to walk therein? Then put away all hinderances. Beware of company: at the peril of your soul, keep from those who neither know nor seek God. Your old acquaintance are no acquaintance for *you*, unless they too acquaint themselves with God. Let them laugh at you, or say, you are running

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mad. It is enough, if you have praise of God. Beware of strong drink. Touch it not, lest you should not know when to stop. You have no need of this to cheer your spirits; but of the peace and the love of God: beware of men that pretend to show you the way to heaven, and know it not themselves. There is no other name whereby you can be saved, but the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And there is no other way whereby you can find the virtue of his name, but by faith. Beware of Satan transformed into an angel of light, and telling you, it is presumption to believe in Christ, as *your* Lord and *your* God, your Wisdom and Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption. Believe in him with your whole heart. Cast your whole soul upon his love. Trust him alone: love him alone: fear him alone: and cleave to him alone: till he shall say to you, (as he did to the dying malefactor of old,) "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

A WORD IN SEASON;
OR, ADVICE TO AN ENGLISHMAN.*

DO *you* ever *think?* Do *you* ever *consider?* If not, it is high time you should. *Think* a little before it is too late. *Consider* what a state you are in. And not you alone, but our *whole nation.* We *would* have war. And we have it. And what is the fruit? Our armies broken in pieces, and thousands of our men either killed on the spot or made prisoners in one day. Nor is this all. We have now war at our own doors: our own countrymen turning their swords against their brethren. And have any hitherto been able to stand before them? Have they not already seized upon one whole kingdom? Friend, either think now, or sleep on and take your rest, till you drop into the pit where you will sleep no more.

2. *Think*, what is likely to follow, if an army of French also should blow the trumpet in our land? What desolation may we not then expect! What a wide-spread field of blood! And what can the end of these things be? If they prevail, what but popery and slavery? Do you know what the spirit of Popery is? Did you ever hear of that Queen Mary's reign: and of the holy men who were then burnt alive by the Papists, because they did not dare to do as they did; to worship angels and saints; to pray to the Virgin Mary; to bow down to images, and the like? If we had a king of this spirit, whose life would be safe? At least, what honest man's? A knave indeed might turn with the times: but what a dreadful thing would this be to a man of conscience! "Either turn, or burn. Either go into that fire, or into *the fire that shall never be quenched.*"

3. And can you dream that your *property* would be any safer than your conscience? Nay, how should that be? Nothing is plainer than

* This was published at the beginning of the late Rebellion.

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that the Pretender cannot be King of England, unless it be by conquest. But every conqueror may do what he will. The laws of the land are no laws to him. And who can doubt, but one who should conquer England by the assistance of France, would copy after the French rules of government?

4. How dreadful then is the condition wherein we stand! On the very brink of utter destruction! But why are we thus? I am afraid the answer is too plain to every considerate man: Because of our *sins;* because we have well nigh "filled up the measure of our iniquities: for what wickedness is there under heaven, which is not found among us at this day? Not to insist on the Sabbath-breaking in every corner of our land, the thefts, cheating, fraud, extortion, the injustice, violence, oppression, the lying and dissimulation, the robberies, sodomies, and murders, (which, with a thousand unnamed villanies, are common to us and our neighbour Christians of Holland, France, and Germany:) Consider over and above, what a plentiful harvest we have of wickedness almost peculiar to ourselves! For who can vie with us in the direction of courts of *justice?* In the management of *public charities?* Or in the *accomplished barefaced* wickedness which so abounds in our prisons, and fleets, and armies? Who in Europe can compare with the sloth, laziness, luxury, and effeminacy of the English gentry? Or with the drunkenness, and stupid, senseless cursing and swearing, which are daily seen and heard in our streets; one great inlet, no doubt, to that flood of perjury, which so *increases* among us day by day; the like whereunto is not to be found in any other part of the habitable earth.

5. Add to these, (what is indeed the source as well as completion of all;) that open and professed DEISM and *rejection* of the Gospel, that public, avowed Apostacy from the Christian Faith which reigns among the rich and great, and hath spread from them to all ranks and orders of men, (the vulgar themselves not excepted,) and made us a people fitted for "the destroyer of the Gentiles."

6. Because of these sins is this evil come upon us: for (whether you are aware of it or not) there is a GOD; a GOD, who though he sits upon the circle of the heavens, sees and knows all that is done upon earth. And this God is holy: he does not love sin: he is just, rendering to all their due: and he is strong: there is none able to withstand him: he has all power in heaven and earth: he is patient indeed, and suffers long; but he will at last repay the wicked to his face: he often does so in this world; especially when a whole nation, is *openly* and *insolently* wicked. Then doth God "arise and maintain his own cause;" then doth he terribly show both his justice and power; that if these will not repent, yet others may fear, and flee from the wrath to come.

7. There hath been among them that feared God, a general expectation for many years, that the time was coming, when God would thus arise, to be avenged on this sinful nation. At length the time is come. The patience of God, long provoked, gives place to justice. The windows of heaven begin to be opened, to rain down judgments

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on the earth. And yet, with what tenderness does he proceed! In the midst of wrath remembering mercy. By how slow degrees does his vengeance move! Nor does his whole displeasure yet arise.

8. Brethren, Countrymen, Englishmen, what shall we do! To-day, while it is called to-day! before the season of mercy is quite expired, and our "destruction cometh as a whirlwind?" Which way can we remove the evils we feel? Which way prevent those we fear? Is there any better way than the making God our Friend? The securing his help against our enemies? Other helps are little worth. We see armies may be destroyed, or even flee away from old men and children. Fleets may be dashed to pieces in an hour, and sunk in the depth of the sea. Allies may be treacherous, or slow, or foolish, or weak, or cowardly. But GOD is a friend who cannot betray, and whom none can either bribe or terrify. And who is wise, or swift, or strong like him? Therefore, whatever we do, let us make God our Friend: let us with all speed remove the cause of his anger: let us cast away our sins: then shall his love have free course, and he will send us help, sufficient help against all our enemies.

9. Come; will *you* begin? Will *you*, by the grace of God, amend *one*, and that without delay? First then, *own* those sins which have long cried for vengeance in the ears of God. *Confess*, that we and all (and *you* in particular) deserve for our inward and outward abominations, not only to be swept from the face of the earth, but to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire. Never aim at *excusing* either yourself or others. Let your mouth be stopped. Plead guilty before God. Above all, *own* that *impudence* of wickedness, that utter *carelessness*, that *pert* stupidity, which is hardly to be found in any part of the earth, (at least, not in such a degree,) except in England. Do you not know what I mean? You were not long since praying to God for "damnation upon your soul." One who heard you, said, "Is that right? Does not God hear? What if he takes you at your word?" You replied, with equal *impudence* and *ignorance*, "What, are you a *Methodist?*"—What, if he is a *Turk?* Must thou therefore be a *Heathen?*—God humble thy *brutish*, *devilish* spirit.

10. Lay thee in the dust for this, and for all thy sins. Let thy laughter be turned into heaviness, thy joy into mourning, thy senseless jollity and mirth into sorrow and brokenness of heart. This is no time "to eat and drink, and rise up to play:" but to afflict thy soul before the Lord. Desire of God a deep, piercing sense of the enormous sins of the nation, and of thy own. Remember that great example: how when the king of Nineveh was warned of the near approaching vengeance of God, he caused it to be proclaimed, "Let none taste any thing; let them not feed, nor drink water; but let them be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way: who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not." Jonah iii.

11. Let them *turn* every one from his evil way. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well. And see that this Reformation be *universal;* for

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there is no serving God by halves. Avoid *all* evil, and do *all* good unto *all* men; else you only deceive your soul. See also, that it be from the *heart*. Lay the axe to the root of the tree. Cut up, by the grace of God, evil desire, pride, anger, unbelief. Let this be your continual prayer to God, the prayer of your heart, (as well as lips,) "Lord, I *would* believe; help thou mine unbelief! Give me the faith that worketh by love. 'The life which I now live,' let me 'live by faith in the Son of God.' Let me *so believe*, that I may 'love thee with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength!' And that I may love every child of man, even 'as thou hast loved us!' Let me daily 'add to my faith, courage, knowledge, temperance, patience, brotherly-kindness, charity; that so an entrance may be administered to me abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'"

LONDON, 1745.

A WORD TO A PROTESTANT.

1. DON'T *you* call yourself a Protestant? Why so? Do you know what the word means? What is a Protestant? I suppose you mean one that is not a Papist. But what is a Papist? If you don't know, say so. Acknowledge you cannot tell. Is not this the case? You call yourself a Protestant: but you don't know what a Protestant is. You talk against Papists: and yet neither do you know what a Papist is. Why do you *pretend* then to the knowledge which you have not? Why do you use words which you don't understand?

2. Are you desirous to know what these words, Papist and Protestant mean? A Papist is one who holds the Pope, or Bishop, of Rome, (the name *Papa*, that is, *Father*, was formerly given to all Bishops) to be head of the whole Christian Church: and the Church of Rome, or that which owns the Pope as their head, to be the only Christian Church.

3. In a course of years, many errors crept into this church, of which good men complained from time to time. At last, about two hundred years ago, the Pope appointed many Bishops and others to meet at a town in Germany, called Trent. But these, instead of amending those errors, established them all by a law, and so delivered them down, to all succeeding generations.

4. Among these errors may be numbered, their doctrine of seven sacraments; of transubstantiation; of communion in one kind only; of purgatory, and praying for the dead therein: of veneration of relics: and of indulgences, or pardons granted by the Pope, and to be bought for money.

It is thought by some, that these errors, great as they are, do only defile the purity of Christianity: but it is sure the following strike at its very root, and tend to banish true religion out of the world.

5. First, the doctrine of *Merit*. The very foundation of Christi-

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anity is, that a man can *merit* nothing of GOD: that we are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: not for any of our works, or of our deservings; but by faith in the blood of the covenant.

But the Papists hold, that a man may, by his works, *merit* or deserve eternal life; and that we are justified, not by faith in Christ alone, but by faith and works together.

This doctrine strikes at the root of Christian faith, the only foundation of true religion.

6. Secondly, the doctrine of *praying* to saints, and *worshipping* of images. To the Virgin Mary they pray in these words, "O Mother of GOD, O Queen of Heaven, command thy Son to have mercy upon us." And "the right use of images (says the council of Trent) is to honour them, by *bowing down* before them." Sess. 25. Par. 2.

This doctrine strikes at the root of that great commandment, (which the Papists call part of the first,) "Thou shalt not bow down to them, or worship them," i. e. not any image whatsoever. It is gross, open, palpable *idolatry*, such as can neither be denied, nor excused; and tends directly to destroy the love of God, which is indeed the first and great commandment.

7. Thirdly, The doctrine of *Persecution*. This has been for many ages a favourite doctrine of the Church of Rome. And the Papists in general still maintain, That "all heretics (that is, all who differ from them) ought to be *compelled* to receive what they call the *true faith:* to be *forced* into the church, or out of the world."

Now this strikes at the root of, and utterly tears up, the second great commandment. It directly tends to bring in blind, bitter zeal; anger, hatred, malice, variance; every temper, word, and work, that is just contrary to the loving our neighbour as ourselves.

So plain it is, that these grand Popish doctrines of *Merit*, *Idolatry*, and *Persecution*, by destroying both faith and the love of God and of our neighbour, tend to banish true Christianity out of the world.

8. Well might our forefathers *protest* against these: and hence it was that they were called *Protestants;* even because they publicly *protested*, as against all the errors of the Papists, so against these three in particular: the making void Christian faith, by holding that man may *merit* heaven by his own works, the overthrowing the love of God by *idolatry*, and the love of our neighbour by *persecution*.

Are *you* then a Protestant, truly so called? do you *protest*, as against all the rest, so in particular, against these three grand, fundamental errors of Popery? Do you publicly *protest* against all *merit* in man? all *salvation* by our own *works?* against all *idolatry* of every sort? and against every kind and degree of *persecution?*

I question not but you do. You *publicly protest* against all these horrible errors of Popery. But does your heart agree with your lips? Do you not *inwardly* cherish what you *outwardly* renounce? It is well, if *you*, who cry out so much against Papists, are not one *yourself*. It is well if you are not *yourself* (as little as you may think it) a rank Papist at the heart.

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9. For, first, How do you hope to be saved? By doing thus and thus? By doing no harm, and paying every man his own, and saying your prayers, and going to church and sacrament? Alas! alas! Now you have thrown off the mask. This is Popery barefaced. You may just as well speak plainly, and say, "I trust to be saved by the *merit* of my own works." But where is Christ all this time? Why, he is not to come in till the end of your *prayer*. And then you will say, for Jesus Christ's sake, because so it stands in your book. O my friend, your very foundation is popish. *You* seek salvation by your own *works*. You trample upon the "blood of the covenant." And what can a poor Papist do more?

10. But let us go on. Are you clear of idolatry any more than the Papists are? It may be, indeed, yours is in a different way. But how little does that signify! They set up their idols in their *churches:* you set up yours in your *heart*. Their idols are only *covered with gold* or *silver:* yours is *solid gold*. They worship the picture of the Queen of *heaven;* you, the picture of the Queen or King of *England*. In another way, they idolize a dead man or woman; whereas your idol is yet alive. O how little is the difference before God! How small pre-eminence has the money-worshipper at London, over the image-worshipper at Rome! Or the idolizer of a living sinner, over him that prays to a dead saint!

11. Take one step further. Does the Papist abroad *persecute?* Does he *force* another man's conscience? So does the Papist at home, as far as he can; for all he calls himself a Protestant. Will the man in Italy *tolerate* no opinion but his own? No more, if he could help it, would the man in England? Would you? Do not you think the government much overseen, in *bearing* with any but those of the *church?* Do not you wish they would *put down* such and such people? You know what *you* would do, if you were in their place. And by the very same spirit you would continue the inquisition at Rome, and rekindle the fires in Smithfield.

12. It is because our nation is overrun with *such* Protestants, who are full of their own *good deservings*, as well as of abominable *idolatry*, and of blind, fiery zeal, of the whole spirit of *Persecution;* that the sword of God, the great, the just, the jealous God, is even now drawn in our land: that the armies of the aliens are hovering over it, as a vulture over his prey; and that the *open* Papists are on the very point of swallowing up the *pretended* Protestants.

13. Do you desire to escape the scourge of God? Then I entreat you, first, be a *real* Protestant. By the Spirit of God assisting you, (for without him you know you can do nothing,) cast away all that *trust* in your own righteousness, all hope of being saved by your own works. Own, your *merit* is everlasting damnation; that you *deserve* the damnation of hell. Humble yourself under the mighty hand of God. Lie in the dust. Let your mouth be stopped. And let all your confidence be in the "blood of sprinkling;" all your hope in Jesus Christ *the righteous;* all your faith in "him that justifieth the ungodly, through the redemption that is in Jesus."

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O put away your *idols* out of your heart. "Love not the world, neither the things of the world." Having food to eat and raiment to put on, be content: desire nothing more but God. To-day, hear his voice, who continually cries, "My son, give me thy heart." Give yourself to him, who gave himself for *you*. May you love God, as he has loved us! Let him be your desire, your delight, your joy, your portion, in time and in eternity.

And if you love God, you *will* love your brother also: you will be ready to lay down your life for his sake; so far from any desire to take away his life, or to hurt a hair of his head. You will then leave his *conscience* uncontrolled: you will no more think of *forcing* him into your own opinions, as neither can he force *you*, to judge by *his* conscience. But each shall "give an account of himself to God."

14. It is true, if his conscience be misinformed, you should endeavour to inform him better. But whatever you do, let it be done in charity, in love and meekness of wisdom. Be zealous for God: but remember, that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God:" that angry zeal, though opposing sin, is the servant of sin; that true zeal is only the flame of love. Let this be your truly Protestant zeal: while you abhor every kind and degree of *persecution*, let your heart burn with love to all mankind, to friends and enemies, neighbours and strangers; to Christians, Heathens, Jews, Turks, Papists, Heretics, to every soul which God hath made. "Let this your light shine before men, that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven."

IX.

A WORD TO A FREEHOLDER.

WHAT are you going to do? To vote for a Parliament man? I hope then you have taken no money. For doubtless you know the strictness of the oath, That you have received no "*Gift or Reward, directly or indirectly, nor any promise of any, on account of your Vote*" in the ensuing election. Surely you start at *Perjury!* at calm, forethought, deliberate, wilful Perjury! If you are guilty already, stop. Go no farther. It is at the peril of your soul. Will you sell your country? Will you sell your own soul? Will you sell your God, your Saviour? Nay, God forbid! Rather cast down just now the thirty pieces of silver or gold, and say, "Sir, I will not sell Heaven. Neither you, nor all the world, is able to pay the purchase."

I hope you have received nothing else, neither will receive, no entertainment, no meat or drink. If this be *given* you on account of your vote, you are perjured still. How can you make oath you have received no *gift?** This was a gift, if you did not buy it.

* The bare allowing your expense for loss of time and business is not bribery.

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What, will you sell your soul to the Devil for a draught of drink, or for a morsel of bread? Oh consider what you do. Act as if the whole election depended on your single vote: and as if the whole parliament (and therein the whole nation) depended on that single person whom you now choose to be a member of it.

But if you can take nothing of any, for whom shall you vote? For the man that loves God. He must love his country, and that from a steady, invariable principle. And by his fruits you shall know him. He is careful to abstain from all appearance of evil. He is zealous of good works, as he has opportunity, doing good to all men. He uses all the ordinances of God, and that both constantly and carefully. And he does this, not barely as something he *must* do, or what he would willingly be excused from. No; he rejoices in this his reasonable service, as a blessed privilege of the children of God.

But what if none of the candidates have these fruits? Then vote for him that loves the King; *King George*, whom the wise providence of God has appointed to reign over us. He ought to be highly esteemed in love, even for his office-sake. A KING is a lovely, sacred name. He is a minister of God unto thee for good. How much more, *such* a King, who is a blessing to his subjects. You may easily know those who love him not. For they generally glory in their shame. They are not afraid to *speak evil* of dignities: no, not even of the *Ruler of their people.*

Perhaps you will say, "But I love my Country: therefore I am for the *Country-Interest.*" I fear, you know not what you say. Are you against your King, because you love your country? Who taught you to separate your king from your country? To set one against the other? Be assured, none that loves either. True lovers of their country do not talk in this senseless manner.

Is not the interest of the king of England, and of the country of England, one and the same? If the king is destroyed, does it profit the country? If the country, does it profit the king? Their interest cannot be divided. The welfare of *one* is the welfare of *both.*

Have you an objection of a different kind? Do you say, "I am for the *Church?* The Church of England for ever! Therefore I vote for ——. He is a true *Churchman*, a lover of the Church." Are you sure of that? Friend, think a little. What kind of a Churchman is he? A whoring Churchman? A gaming Churchman? A drunken Churchman? A lying Churchman? A cursing and swearing Churchman, or a redhot, persecuting Churchman, that would send all dissenters to the Devil at a clap? For shame, for shame! Do you call a man a Churchman, who knows no more of God than a Turk? Call a man a Churchman that does not even *pretend* to so much religion as would serve an honest Heathen? He is a lover of the Church, who is a lover of God, and consequently of all mankind. Whoever else talks of loving the Church, is a cheat. Set a mark upon that man.

Above all, mark that man who talks of loving the Church, and does not love the King. If he does not love the King, he cannot love God. And if he does not love God, he cannot love the Church.

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He loves the Church and the King just alike. For indeed he loves neither one nor the other.

O beware, you who truly love the Church, and therefore cannot but love the King: beware of dividing the King and the Church, any more than the King and Country. Let others do as they will, what is that to you? Act you as an honest man, a loyal subject, a true Englishman, a lover of the country, a lover of the Church; in one word, A Christian! One that fears nothing but Sin, that seeks nothing but Heaven, and that desires nothing but God. Nothing but glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men!

X.

A WORD IN SEASON; OR, ADVICE TO A SOLDIER.

Fight the good fight of faith: Lay hold of eternal life!

Are you to die? Must you leave this world, and carry nothing of it away with you? Naked as you came out of your mother's womb, naked shall you return. And are you never to come back into this world? Have you no more place under the sun? When you leave these houses and fields, this flesh and blood, do you part with them for ever? Are you sure of this? Must all men die? Can none at all escape death? Do rich men likewise die, and leave their riches for others? Do Princes also fall and die like one of their people? Can you then escape it? You do not think so. You know death is as sure as if you felt it already; as if you were now gasping for life, sweating and trembling in those last pangs, till the soul started off from the quivering lips, into the boundless ocean of eternity.

And are you to be judged? How is this to be? Why "the Son of God shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him, and then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats." "Behold, he cometh with clouds! and every eye shall see him, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty! And I saw (wilt thou also say) a great white throne, and him that sat thereon, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and they were judged every man according to his works." And shalt thou also be judged according to thy works? All thy works, whether they be good or evil? Yea, and for every idle word which thou shalt speak, thou shalt give an account in the day of judgment. But this is not all. The Lord, the Judge, searcheth the heart, and trieth the reins. He understandeth all thy thoughts; and for all these likewise he shall bring thee into judgment. Supposest thou, it is enough to be outwardly good? What! though thy inward

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parts are very wickedness? And are they not? Is not thy soul fallen short of the glory (the glorious image) of God? Look into thy breast. Art thou not a fallen spirit? Dost thou not know and feel how very far thou art gone from original righteousness? How desperately full thou art of all evil, and destitute of all good? Is there not in thee an earthly, sensual, devilish mind? A mind that is enmity against God? It is plain there is. For thou dost not love God. Thou dost not delight in him. He is not the desire of thy eyes, or the joy of thy heart. Thou lovest the creature more than the Creator. Thou art a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God. O how wilt thou stand in the judgment!

Are you then to go to heaven or hell? It must be either one or the other. I pray to God you may not go to hell! For who can dwell with everlasting burnings? Who can bear the fierceness of the flame, without even a drop of water to cool his tongue? Yea, and that without end; for as the worm dieth not, so the fire is not quenched. No, whoever is cast into that lake of fire, shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever. O Eternity, Eternity! Who can tell the length of Eternity? I warn thee now, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, that thou come not into that place of torment!

But, alas! is not hell now begun in thy soul? Does thy conscience never awake? Hast thou no remorse at any time? No sense of guilt? No dread of the wrath of God? Why, these (if thou art not saved from them in this life) are the worm that never dieth. And what else is thy carnal mind? Thy enmity against God? Thy foolish and hurtful lusts? Thy inordinate affections? What are pride, envy, malice, revenge? Are they not vipers gnawing thy heart? May they not well be called, *The dogs of hell?* Canst thou be out of hell, whilst they are in thy soul? While they are tearing it in pieces, and there is none to help thee? Indeed they are not fully let loose upon thee. And while thou seest the light of the sun, the things of the world that surround thee, or the pleasures of sense divert thy thoughts from them. But when thou canst eat and drink no more, when the earth, with the works thereof, is burnt up, when the sun is fallen from heaven, and thou art shut up in utter darkness, what a state wilt thou be in then! Mayest thou never try: seek thou a better habitation, a house of God eternal in the heavens.

"There the wicked cease from troubling, there the weary are at rest: For God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. And there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain, but everlasting joy upon their heads." But this joy our ears have not heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive. Yet a little of it the children of God can conceive, from what they already enjoy. For the kingdom of heaven is within them. God has given them eternal life; the life which is hid with Christ in God. They have heaven upon earth; righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Their souls are renewed in the image of God. They love God with all their

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hearts. They are happy in him. And they love their neighbour (that is every man) as themselves, as their own souls. Being justified by faith, they have peace with God, yea, a peace which passeth all understanding. And they rejoice evermore, knowing their sins are blotted out; that they are accepted in the Beloved, and that they are going to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.

Will you reply to all this, "But I am a soldier, and have therefore nothing to do with these things?" Hold! Have soldiers nothing to do with death? How so? Do soldiers never die? Can you fight death away? No, my friend: he will not regard all your big words and looks, nor all the weapons of your warfare. You can neither conquer nor escape him. Your profession may excuse you from many other things, but there is no excusing yourself from death. Are you less sure of this than other men are? No. There is one lot for all. Are you farther from it than they? Nay, rather nearer. You live in the very jaws of death. Why, then, a soldier (if there be any difference) has more to do with death than other men. It is not far from every one of us; but to him it is just at the door.

Or do you fancy a soldier has nothing to do with judgment? Will you say then (as poor Captain Uratz did, when asked a few minutes before his death, If he had made his peace with God?) "I hope God will deal with me like a gentleman." But God said unto him, "Thou fool! I will deal with thee as with all mankind. There is no respect of persons with me. I reward every man according to his works." Thou also shalt receive of the righteous Judge according to the things which thou hast done in the body. Death levels all; it mingles into one dust the gentleman, soldier, clown, and beggar. It makes all these distinctions void. When life ends, so do they. Holy or unholy, is the one question then. Lo! the books are opened, that all the dead may be judged, according to the things that are written therein! O may thy name be found written in the Book of Life!

Or have soldiers nothing to do with hell? Why then is it so often in *thy* mouth? Dost thou think God does not hear thy prayer? And how often hast thou prayed to him to *damn thy soul?* Is his ear waxed heavy that it cannot hear? I fear thou wilt find it otherwise. Was not he a soldier too, (and a terrible one,) to whom God said of old, "Hell from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming?" And what marvel? For sin is the high road to hell. And have soldiers nothing to do with sin? Alas! How many of you wallow therein; yea, and glory in your shame! How do you labour to work out your own damnation! O poor work, for poor wages! The wages of sin is death; the wages of cursing, of taking the name of God in vain, of sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, revenge, of fornication, adultery, and all uncleanness. Now art thou clear of these? Does not thine own heart smite thee? Art thou not condemned already? What voice is that which sounds in thine ears? Is it not the voice of God? "Shall I not visit for these things, saith

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the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a sinner as this?" It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God! Be very sure that thou art stronger than He, before thou fliest in his face. Do not defy God, unless thou canst overcome Him. But canst thou indeed? O no. Do not try: do not dare him to do his worst. Why should he destroy both thy body and soul in hell? Why shouldst thou be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power?

But if there were no other hell, thou hast hell within thee. An awakened conscience is hell. Pride, envy, wrath, hatred, malice, revenge, what are these? Hell upon earth. And how often art thou tormented in these flames? Flames of lust, envy, or proud wrath! Are not these to thy soul, when blown up to the height, as it were a lake of fire, burning with brimstone? Flee away before the great gulf is fixed: Escape, escape for thy life! If thou hast not strength, cry to God, and thou shalt receive power from on high: and He, whose name is rightly called Jesus, shall save thee from thy sins.

And why should he not? Has a soldier nothing to do with heaven? God forbid that you should think so! Heaven was designed for *you* also. God so loved *your* soul, that He gave his only begotten son, that you, believing in Him, might not perish, but have everlasting life. Receive then the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world! This, this is the time to make it sure; this short, uncertain day of life! Have you then an hour to spare? No, not a moment: Arise, and call upon thy God. Call upon the Lamb, who taketh away the sins of the world, to take away thy sins. Surely he hath borne *thy* griefs, and carried *thy* sorrows! He was wounded for *thy* transgressions, and bruised for *thy* iniquities. He hath paid the ransom for *thy* soul. Believe in Him, and thou shalt be saved. Art thou a sinner? He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Art thou a lost, undone sinner? He came to seek and to save that which was lost. May he that gave himself for thee, give thee ears to hear, and a heart to understand his love! So shalt thou also say, "The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God." So shall the love of God be shed abroad in *thy* heart, and thou shalt rejoice with joy unspeakable. Thou shalt have the mind that was in Christ, and thou shalt so walk as He also walked: till having fought the good fight, and finished thy course, thou receive the crown that fadeth not away!

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SERIOUS THOUGHTS

OCCASIONED BY THE LATE

EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON.

Tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet.

THINKING men generally allow that the greater part of modern Christians are not more virtuous than the ancient Heathens: perhaps less so; since public spirit, love of our country, generous honesty, and simple truth, are scarce any where to be found. On the contrary, covetousness, ambition, various injustice, luxury, and falsehood in every kind, have infected every rank and denomination of people, the clergy themselves not excepted. Now they who believe there is a God are apt to believe, he is not well pleased with this. Nay, they think, he has intimated it very plainly, in many parts of the Christian world. How many hundreds of thousands of men have been swept away by war, in Europe only, within half a century! How many thousands, within little more than this, hath the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up! Numbers sunk at Port-Royal and rose no more. Many thousands went quick into the pit at Lima. The whole city of Catanea, in Sicily, and every inhabitant of it perished together. Nothing but heaps of ashes and cinders show where it stood. Not so much as one Lot escaped out of Sodom!

And what shall we say of the late accounts from Portugal? That some thousands of houses, and many thousands of persons are no more! That a fair city is now in ruinous heaps. Is there indeed a God that judges the world? And is he now making inquisition for blood? If so, it is not surprising, he should begin there, where so much blood has been poured on the ground like water? Where so many brave men have been murdered, in the most base and cowardly, as well as barbarous manner, almost every day, as well as every night, while none regarded or laid it to heart. "Let them hunt and destroy the precious life, so we may secure our stores* of gold and precious stones." How long has their blood been crying from the earth? Yea, how long has that bloody *house of mercy*,† the scandal not only of all religion, but even of human nature, stood to insult both heaven and earth? "And shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged of such a city as this?"

* Merchants who have lived in Portugal inform us, that the king had a large building filled with diamonds: and more gold stored up, coined and uncoined, than all the other princes of Europe together.

† The title which the *Inquisition* of Portugal (if not in other countries also) takes to itself.

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It has been the opinion of many, that even this nation has not been without some marks of God's displeasure. Has not war been let loose even within our own land, so that London itself felt the alarm? Has not a pestilential sickness broken in upon our cattle, and in many parts left not one of them alive? And although the earth does not yet open in England or Ireland, has it not shook, and reeled to and fro like a drunken man? And that not in one or two places only, but almost from one end of the kingdom to the other?

Perhaps one might ask, Was there nothing uncommon, nothing more than is usual at this season of the year, in the rains, the hail, the winds, the thunder and lightning, which we have lately heard and seen? Particularly, in the storm which was the same day and hour, that they were playing off Macbeth's thunder and lightning at the theatre. One would almost think they designed this (inasmuch as the entertainment continued, notwithstanding all the artillery of heaven) as a formal answer to that question, "Canst thou thunder with an arm like him?"

What shall we say to the affair of Whiston Cliffs? Of which, were it not for the unparalleled stupidity of the English, all England would have rang long ago, from one sea to the other. And yet seven miles from the place, they knew little more of it in May last, than if it had happened in China or Japan.

The fact (of the truth of which any who will be at the pains of inquiring, may soon be satisfied) is this. On Tuesday, March 25th last, being the week before Easter, many persons heard a great noise near a ridge of mountains called Black Hamilton, in Yorkshire. It was observed chiefly on the south west side of the mountain, about a mile from the course where the Hamilton races are run, near a ledge of rocks, commonly called Whiston Cliffs, two miles from Sutton, and about five from Thirsk.

The same noise was heard on Wednesday by all who went that way. On Thursday, about seven in the morning, Edward Abbot, weaver, and Adam Bosomworth, bleacher, both of Sutton, riding under the Whiston Cliffs, heard a *roaring* (so they termed it) like many cannons, or loud and rolling thunder. It seemed to come from the cliffs: looking up to which, they saw a large body of stone, four or five yards broad, split and fly off from the very top of the rock. They thought it strange, but rode on. Between ten and eleven, a larger piece of the rock, about fifteen yards thick, thirty high, and between sixty and seventy broad, was torn off and thrown into the valley.

About seven in the evening, one who was riding by, observed the ground to shake exceedingly, and soon after, several large stones or rocks of some tons weight each, rose out of the ground. Others were thrown on one side, others turned upside down, and many rolled over and over. Being a little surprised and not very curious, he hastened on his way.

On Friday and Saturday the ground continued to shake, and the rocks to roll over one another. The earth also clave asunder in very many places, and continued so to do till Sunday morning.

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Being at Osmotherly, seven miles from the cliffs, on Monday, June 1, and finding Edward Abbot there, I desired him the next morning to show me the way thither. I walked, crept, and climbed round and over great part of the ruins. I could not perceive by any sign, that there was ever any cavity in the rock at all; but one part of the solid stone is cleft from the rest in a perpendicular line, and as smooth as if cut with instruments. Nor is it barely thrown down, but split into many hundred pieces, some of which lie four or five hundred yards from the main rock.

The ground nearest the cliff, is not raised, but sunk considerably beneath the level. But at some distance it is raised in a ridge of eight or ten yards high, twelve or fifteen broad, and near a hundred long. Adjoining to this lies an oval piece of ground thirty or forty yards in diameter, which has been removed whole as it is, from beneath the cliff, without the least fissure, with all its load of rocks, some of which were as large as the hull of a small ship. At a little distance is a second piece of ground, forty or fifty yards across, which has been also transplanted entire, with rocks of various sizes upon it, and a tree growing out of one of them. By the removal of one or both of these, I suppose the hollow near the cliff was made.

All round them lay stones and rocks, great and small, some on the surface of the earth, some half sunk into it, some almost covered, in variety of positions. Between these the ground was cleft asunder in a thousand places. Some of the apertures were nearly closed again, some gaping as at first. Between thirty and forty acres of land, as is commonly supposed, (though some reckon above sixty) are in this condition.

On the skirts of these, I observed in abundance of places, the green turf (for it was pasture land) as it were pared off, two or three inches thick, and wrapt round like sheets of lead. A little farther it was not cleft or broken at all, but raised in ridges, five or six feet long, exactly resembling the graves in a church-yard. Of these there is a vast number.

That part of the cliff from which the rest is torn, lies so high and is now of so bright a colour, that it is plainly visible to all the country round, even at the distance of several miles. We saw it distinctly not only from the street in Thirsk, but for five or six miles after, as we rode towards York. So we did likewise, in the great North road, between Sandhutton and Northallerton.

But how may we account for this phenomenon? Was it effected by a merely natural cause? If so, that cause must either have been fire, water, or air. It could not be fire; for then some mark of it must have appeared, either at the time, or after it. But no such mark does appear, nor ever did: not so much as the least smoke, either when the first or second rock was removed, or in the whole space between Tuesday and Sunday.

It could not be water; for no water issued out, when the one or the other rock was torn off. Nor had there been any rains for some time before. It was in that part of the country a remarkably dry

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season. Neither was there any cavity in that part of the rock, wherein a sufficient quantity of water might have lodged. On the contrary, it was one, single, solid mass, which was evenly and smoothly cleft in sunder.

There remains no other natural cause assignable, but imprisoned air. I say, *imprisoned:* for as to the fashionable opinion, that the exterior air is the grand agent in earthquakes, it is so senseless, unmechanical, unphilosophical a dream, as deserves not to be named, but to be exploded. But it is hard to conceive, how even imprisoned air could produce such an effect. It might indeed shake, tear, raise, or sink the earth, but how could it cleave a solid rock? Here was not room for a quantity of it, sufficient to do any thing of this nature; at least, unless it had been suddenly and violently expanded by fire, which was not the case. Could a small quantity of air, without that violent expansion, have torn so large a body of rock from the rest, to which it adhered in one solid mass? Could it have shivered this into pieces, and scattered several of those pieces some hundred of yards round? Could it have transported those promontories of earth, with their incumbent load, and set them down unbroken, unchanged at a distance? Truly I am not so great a volunteer in faith, as to be able to believe this. He that supposes this, must suppose air to be not only very strong, (which we allow) but a very wise agent; while it bore its charge with so great a caution, as not to hurt or dislocate any part of it.

What then could be the cause? What indeed, but God, who arose to shake terribly the earth: who purposely chose such a place, where there is so great a concourse of nobility and gentry every year; and wrought in such a manner, that many might see it and fear, that all who travel one of the most frequented roads in England, might see it, almost whether they would or not, for many miles together. It must likewise for many years, maugre all the heart of man, be a visible monument of his power. All that ground being now so encumbered with rocks and stones, that it cannot be either ploughed or grazed. Nor can it well serve any use, but to tell all that see it, Who can stand before this great God?

Who can account for the late motion in the waters? Not only that of the sea, and rivers communicating therewith, but even that in canals, fishponds, cisterns, and all either large or small bodies of water? It was particularly observed, that while the water itself was so violently agitated, neither did the earth shake at all, nor any of the vessels which contained that water. Was such a thing ever known or heard of before! I know not, but it was spoken of once, near eighteen hundred years ago, in those remarkable words, "There shall be σεισμοι (not only *earthquakes*, but various *concussions* or *shakings*) in divers places." And so there have been in Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, in Holland, in England, in Ireland; and not improbably in many other places too, which we are not yet informed of. Yet it does not seem, that a concussion of this kind, has ever been known before, since either the same, or some other comet

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revolved so near the earth. For we know of no other natural cause in the universe, which is adequate to such an effect. And that this is the real cause, we may very possibly be convinced in a short time.

But, alas! why should we not be convinced sooner, while that conviction may avail, that it is not chance which governs the world? Why should we not now, before London is as Lisbon, Lima, or Catanea, acknowledge the hand of the Almighty, arising to maintain his own cause? Why, we have a general answer always ready, to screen us from any such conviction: "All these things are purely natural and accidental; the result of natural causes." But there are two objections to this answer: first, it is untrue; secondly, it is uncomfortable.

First, If by affirming, "All this is purely natural," you mean, it is not providential, or that God has nothing to do with it, this is not true, that is, supposing the bible to be true. For supposing this, you may descant ever so long on the natural causes of murrain, winds, thunder, lightning, and yet you are altogether wide of the mark, you prove nothing at all, unless you can prove, that God never works in or by natural causes. But this you cannot prove, nay none can doubt of his so working, who allows the Scripture to be of God. For this asserts in the clearest and strongest terms that *all things* (in nature) *serve him:* that (by or without a train of natural causes) he "sendeth his rain on the earth," that he "bringeth the winds out of his treasures," and "maketh a way for the lightning and the thunder:" in general, that "fire and hail, snow and vapour, wind and storm, fulfil his word." Therefore, allowing there are natural causes of all these, they are still under the direction of the Lord of nature. Nay, what is nature itself but the art of God? Or God's method of acting in the material world? True philosophy therefore ascribes all to God, and says, in the beautiful language of the wise and good man,

> Here, like a trumpet, loud and strong,
> *Thy* thunder shakes our coast;
> While the red lightnings wave along,
> The banners of *thy host.*

A second objection to your answer is, it is extremely uncomfortable. For if things really be as you affirm, if all these afflictive incidents, entirely depend on the fortuitous concourse and agency of blind, material causes; what hope, what help, what resource is left, for the poor sufferers by them? Should the murrain among the cattle continue a few years longer, and consequently produce scarcity or famine; what will there be left for many of the poor to do, but to lie down and die? If tainted air spread a pestilence over our land, where shall they flee for succour? They cannot resist either the one or other. They cannot escape from them. And can they hope to appease

> *Illacrymabilem Plutona?*
> "Inexorable Pluto, king of shades?"

Shall they entreat the famine or the pestilence to show mercy? Alas, they are as senseless as you suppose God to be.

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However, you who are men of fortune, can shift tolerably well, in spite of the difficulties. Your money will undoubtedly procure you food as long as there is any in the kingdom. And if your physicians cannot secure you from the epidemic disease, your coaches can carry you from the place of infection. Be it so: but you are not out of all danger yet; unless you can drive faster than the wind. Are you sure of this? And are your horses literally swifter than the lightning? Can they leave the panting storm behind? If not, what will you do when it overtakes you? Try your eloquence on the whirlwind? Will it hear your voice? Will it regard either your money, or prayers, or tears? Call upon the lightning. Cry aloud. See whether *your* voice will *divide the flames of fire?* O no! It hath no ears to hear. It devoureth and showeth no pity.

But this is not all. Here is a nearer enemy. The earth threatens to swallow you up. Where is your protection now? What defence do you find from thousands of gold and silver? You cannot fly; for you cannot quit the earth, unless you will leave your dear body behind you. And while you are on the earth, you know not whither to flee to, neither whither to flee from. You may buy intelligence, where the shock was yesterday, but not where it will be to-morrow—to-day. It comes! The roof trembles! The beams crack. The ground rocks to and fro. Hoarse thunder resounds from the bowels of the earth. And all these are but the beginning of sorrows. Now what help? What wisdom can prevent? What strength resist the blow? What money can purchase, I will not say, deliverance, but an hour's reprieve? Poor honourable fool, where are now thy titles? Wealthy fool, where is now thy golden god? If any thing can help, it must be prayer. But what wilt thou pray to? Not to the God of heaven: you suppose him to have nothing to do with earthquakes. No: they proceed in a merely natural way, either from the earth itself, or from included air, or from subterraneous fires or waters. If thou prayest then (which perhaps you never did before) it must be to some of these. Begin. "O earth, earth, earth, hear the voice of thy children. Hear, O air, water, fire!" And will they hear? You know, it cannot be. How deplorable then is his condition, who in such an hour has none else to flee to? How uncomfortable the supposition, which implies this, by direct necessary consequence, namely, that all these things are the pure result of merely natural causes!

But supposing the earthquake which made such havoc at Lisbon, should never travel so far as London, is there nothing else which can reach us? What think you of a comet? Are we absolutely out of the reach of this? You cannot say we are; seeing these move in all directions, and through every region of the universe. And would the approach of one of these amazing spheres, be of no importance to us? Especially in its return from the sun? When that immense body is (according to Sir Isaac Newton's calculation) heated two thousand times hotter than a redhot cannon ball. The late ingenious and accurate Dr. Halley (never yet suspected of enthusiasm)

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fixes the return of the great comet in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight: and he observes that the last time it revolved, it moved in the very same line which the earth describes in her annual course round the sun: but the earth was on the other side of her orbit. Whereas in this revolution it will move not only in the same line, but in the same part of that line wherein the earth moves. And "who can tell (says that great man) what the consequences of such a contact may be?"

"Who can tell?" Any man of common understanding, who knows the very first elements of astronomy. The immediate consequence of such a body of solid fire touching the earth, must necessarily be, that it will set the earth on fire, and burn it to a coal, if it do not likewise strike it out of its course; in which case (so far as we can judge) it must drop down directly into the sun.

But what if this vast body is already on its way? If it is nearer than we are aware of? What if these unusual, unprecedented motions of the waters, be one effect of its near approach? We cannot be certain that it will be visible to the inhabitants of our globe, till it has imbibed the solar fire. But possibly we may see it sooner than we desire. We may see it, not as Milton speaks, "From its horrid hair shake pestilence and war:" but ushering in far other calamities than these, and of more extensive influence. Probably it will be seen first, drawing nearer and nearer, till it appears as another moon in magnitude, though not in colour, being of a deep fiery red: then scorching and burning up all the produce of the earth, drying away all clouds, and so cutting off the hope or possibility of any rain or dew; drying up every fountain, stream, and river, causing all faces to gather blackness, and all men's hearts to fail. Then executing its grand commission on the globe itself, and causing the stars to fall from heaven.* O who may abide when this is done? Who will then be able to stand?

Quum mare, quum tellus, operosa regia cœli
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa laboret?

What shall we do? Do now, that none of these things may come upon us unawares? We are wisely and diligently providing for our defence against one enemy: with such a watchful wisdom and active diligence, as is a comfort to every honest Englishman. But why should we not show the same wisdom and diligence in providing against all our enemies? And if our own wisdom and strength be sufficient to defend us, let us not seek any further. Let us without delay recruit our forces and guard our coasts against the famine, and murrain, and pestilence; and still more carefully against immoderate rains, and winds, and lightnings, and earthquakes, and comets: that we may no longer be under any painful apprehensions of any present or future danger, but may smile,

"Secure amidst the jar of elements,
The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds!"

* What security is there against all this, upon the *Infidel* hypothesis? But upon the *Christian*, there is abundant security; for the Scripture prophecies are not yet fulfilled.

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But if our own wisdom and strength be not sufficient to defend us, let us not be ashamed to seek farther help. Let us even dare to own, we believe there is a God: nay, and not a lazy, indolent, epicurean deity, who sits at ease upon the circle of the heavens, and neither knows nor cares what is done below: but one, who as he created heaven and earth, and all the armies of them, as he sustains them all by the word of his power, so cannot neglect the work of his own hands. With pleasure we own there is such a God, whose eye pervades the whole sphere of created beings, who knoweth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names: a God, whose wisdom is as the great abyss, deep and wide as eternity:

> "Who high in power, in the beginning said,
> Let sea, and air, and earth, and heaven be made,
> And it was so. And when he shall ordain
> In other sort, hath but to speak again,
> And they shall be no more."

Yet more: whose mercy riseth above the heavens, and his faithfulness above the clouds; who is loving to every man, and his mercy over all his works: let us secure him on our side. Let us make this wise, this powerful, this gracious God our friend! Then need we not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea: no, not though the heavens being on fire are dissolved, and the very elements melt with fervent heat. It is enough that the Lord of hosts is with us, the God of love is our everlasting refuge.

But how shall we secure the favour of this great God? How, but by worshipping him in spirit and in truth: by uniformly imitating him we worship, in all his imitable perfections; without which, the most accurate systems of opinions, all external modes of religion, are idle cobwebs of the brain, dull farce and empty show. Now God is love. Love God then, and you are a true worshipper. Love mankind, and God is your God, your Father, and your Friend. But see that you deceive not your own soul; for this is not a point of small importance. And by this you may know; if you love God, then you are happy in God. If you love God, riches, honours, and the pleasures of sense, are no more to you than bubbles on the water: you look on dress and equipage as the tassels of a fool's cap, diversions, as the bells on a fool's coat. If you love God, God is in all your thoughts, and your whole life is a sacrifice to him. And if you love mankind, it is your one design, desire, and endeavour to spread virtue and happiness all around you: to lessen the present sorrows, and increase the joys of every child of man: and if it be possible, to bring them with you to the rivers of pleasure that are at God's right-hand for evermore.

But where shall you find one who answers this happy and amiable character? Wherever you find a Christian: for this and this alone is real, genuine Christianity. Surely you did not imagine, that Christianity was no more than such a system of *opinions* as is vulgarly called *faith?* Or a strict and regular attendance on any kind

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of *external worship*? O no! Were this all that it implied, Christianity were, indeed, a poor, empty, shallow thing: such as none but half-thinkers could admire, and all who think freely and generously must despise. But this is not the case: the spirit above described, this alone, is Christianity. And if so, it is no wonder, that even a celebrated unbeliever should make that frank declaration, "Well, after all, these Christian dogs, are the happiest fellows upon earth!" Indeed they are. Nay, we may say more. They are the only happy men upon earth: and that though we should have no regard at all to the particular circumstances above mentioned. Suppose there were no such thing as a comet in the universe, or none that would ever approach the solar system; suppose there had never been an earthquake in the world, or that we were assured there never would be another: yet what advantage has a Christian (I mean always a real, Scriptural Christian) above all other men upon earth?

What advantage has he over *you* in particular, if you do not believe the Christian system? For suppose you have utterly driven away storms, lightnings, earthquakes, comets, yet there is another grim enemy at the door; and you cannot drive him away; it is death. "O *that death* (said a gentleman of large possessions, of good health, and a cheerful natural temper) I do not love to think on it! it comes in and spoils all." So it does indeed. It comes with its "miscreated front," and spoils all your mirth, diversions, pleasures! It turns all into the silence of a tomb, into rottenness and dust. And many times it will not stay, till the trembling hand of old age beckons to it: but it leaps upon you, while you are in the dawn of life, in the bloom and strength of your years.

"The morning flowers display their sweets,
And gay their silken leaves unfold,
Unmindful of the noon-tide heats,
And fearless of the evening cold.
Nipp'd by the wind's unkindly blast,
Parch'd by the sun's directer ray,
The momentary glories waste,
The short-liv'd beauties die away."

And where are you then? Does your soul disperse and dissolve into common air? Or does it share the fate of its former companion, and moulder into dust? Or does it remain conscious of its own existence, in some distant, unknown world? It is all unknown! A black, dreary, melancholy scene! Clouds and darkness rest upon it.

But the case is far otherwise with a Christian. To him life and immortality are brought to light. His eye pierces through the vale of the shadow of death, and sees into the glories of eternity. His view doth not terminate on that black line, "The verge 'twixt mortal and immortal being," but extends beyond the bounds of time and place, to the "house of God eternal in the heavens." Hence he is so far from looking upon death as an enemy, that he longs to feel his welcome embrace. He groans (but they are pleasing groans) to have mortality swallowed up of life.

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Perhaps you will say, "But this is all a dream. He is only in a fool's paradise?" Supposing he be, it is a pleasing dream. *Maneat mentis gratissimus error!* If he is only in a fool's paradise, yet it is a paradise, while you are wandering in a wide, weary, barren world. Be it folly: his folly gives him that present happiness, which all your wisdom cannot find. So that he may now turn tables upon you and say,

"Whoe'er can ease by folly get,
With safety may despise
The wretched, unenjoying wit,
The miserable wise."

Such unspeakable advantage (even if there is none beyond death) has a Christian over an Infidel. It is true, he has given up some pleasures before he could attain to this. But what pleasures? That of eating till he is sick: till he weakens a strong, or quite destroys a weak constitution. He has given up the pleasure of drinking a man into a beast, and that of ranging from one worthless creature to another, till he brings a canker upon his estate, and perhaps rottenness into his bones. But in lieu of these, he has now (whatever may be hereafter) a continual serenity of mind, a constant evenness and composure of temper, a peace which passeth all understanding. He has learned in every state wherein he is, therewith to be content: nay, to give thanks, as being clearly persuaded, it is better for him than any other. He feels continual gratitude to his Supreme Benefactor, Father of Spirits, Parent of Good: and tender, disinterested benevolence to all the children of this common Father. May the Father of *your* spirit, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, make *you* such a Christian! May he work in *your* soul a divine conviction of things not discerned by eyes of flesh and blood! May he give you to see him that is invisible, and to taste of the powers of the world to come; may he fill you with all peace and joy in believing, that you may be happy in life, in death, in eternity!

THE PRINCIPLES OF A METHODIST,

OCCASIONED BY A PAMPHLET ENTITLED, "A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF METHODISM."

TO THE READER.

1. I HAVE often written on controverted points before; but not with an eye to any particular person. So that this is the first time that I have appeared in controversy, properly so called. Indeed I have not wanted occasion to do it before: particularly when, after many stabs in the dark, I was publicly attacked, not by an open enemy, but by *my own familiar friend*. But I could not answer him.

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I could only cover my face and say, Και συ εν αυτοις: Και συ, τεκνον. Art thou also among them? Art thou, my son?

2. I now tread an untried path with fear and trembling: fear, not of my adversary, but of myself. I fear my own spirit, lest I "fall, where many mightier have been slain." I never knew one man (or but one) write controversy, with what I thought a right spirit. Every disputant seems to think, (as every soldier) that he may hurt his opponent as much as he can; nay, that he ought to do his worst to him, or he cannot make the best of his own cause: that, so he do not belie or wilfully misrepresent him, he must expose him as far as he is able. It is enough, we suppose, if we do not show heat or passion against our adversary. But not to despise him, or endeavour to make others do so, is quite a work of supererogation.

3. But ought these things to be so? (I speak on the Christian scheme:) Ought we not to love our neighbour as ourselves? And does a man cease to be our neighbour, because he is of a different opinion? Nay, and declares himself so to be? Ought we not, for all this, to do to him, as we would he should do to us? But do we *ourselves* love to be exposed, or set in the worst light? Would we *willingly* be treated with contempt? If not, why do we treat others thus? And yet, who scruples it? Who does not hit every blow he can, however foreign to the merits of the cause? Who, in controversy, casts the mantle of love over the nakedness of his brother? Who keeps steadily and uniformly to the question, without ever striking at the person? Who shows in every sentence, that he loves his brother, only less than the truth?

4. I have made a little faint essay towards this. I have a brother, who is as my own soul. My desire is, in every word I say, to look upon Mr. Tucker as in his place, and to speak no tittle concerning the one, in any other spirit than I would speak concerning the other. But whether I have attained this or not, I know not; for my heart is deceitful, and desperately wicked. If I have spoken any thing in another spirit, I pray God it may not be laid to my charge; and that it may not condemn me in that day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made manifest! Meanwhile, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that both I, and all who think it their duty to oppose me, may put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us.

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1. THERE has lately appeared in the world, a Tract entitled, *A Brief History of the Principles of Methodism.* I doubt not but the writer's design was good, and believe he has a real desire to know the truth. And the manner wherein he pursues that design is, generally, calm and dispassionate. He is indeed in several mistakes; but as many of these are either of small consequence in themselves, or do not immediately relate to me, it is not my concern

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to mention them. All of any consequence which relates to me, I think falls under three heads:

First, That I believe Justification by Faith alone.

Secondly, That I believe Sinless Perfection: and,

Thirdly, That I believe in Inconsistencies.—Of each of these, I will speak as plainly as I can.

2. First, That I believe Justification by Faith alone. This I allow: for I am firmly persuaded, "That every man of the offspring of Adam is very far gone from original righteousness, and is, of his own nature, inclined to evil:" That this corruption of our nature, in every person born into the world, deserves God's wrath and damnation: that therefore if ever we receive the remission of our sins, and are accounted righteous before God, it must be only for the merits of Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings of any kind. Nay, I am persuaded, that all works done before justification, have in them the nature of sin; and that, consequently, till he is justified, a man has no power to do any work, which is pleasing and acceptable to God.

3. To express my meaning a little more at large.

I believe, Three things must go together in our justification: upon God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, the satisfaction of God's justice, by the offering his body, and shedding his blood, and fulfilling the law of God perfectly; and upon our part, true and living faith in the merits of Jesus Christ. So that in our justification there is not only God's mercy and grace, but his justice also. And so the grace of God does not shut out the rightcousness of God in our justification, but only shuts out the righteousness of man; that is, the righteousness of our works.

4. And therefore St. Paul requires nothing on the part of man, but only a true and living faith. Yet this faith does not shut out repentance, hope, and love, which are joined with faith in every man that is justified. But it shuts them out from the office of justifying. So that although they are all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether.

5. Neither does faith shut out good works, necessarily to be done afterwards. But we may not do them to this intent, To be justified by doing them. Our Justification comes freely, of the mere mercy of God. For whereas all the world was not able to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased him, without any of our deserving, to prepare for us Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be paid, his law fulfilled, and his justice satisfied. Christ therefore is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him. He for them paid the ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in Him, and by Him, every Believer may be called a fulfiller of the law.

6. But let it be observed, the true sense of those words, "We are justified by faith in Christ only," is not, that this our own act, To believe in Christ, or this our faith which is within us, justifies us (for that were, to account ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue

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that is within us:) but that although we have faith, hope, and love within us, and do ever so many good works, yet we must renounce the merit of all, of faith, hope, love, and all other virtues and good works, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as far too weak to deserve our justification: for which therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and the merits of Christ. For it is he alone that taketh away our sins. To Him alone are we to go for this; forsaking all our virtues, good words, thoughts, and works, and putting our trust in Christ only.

7. In strictness, therefore, neither our faith nor our works justify us, i. e. deserve the remission of our sins. But God himself justifies us, of his own mercy, through the merits of his Son only. Nevertheless, because by faith we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins, therefore the Scripture says, That faith does justify, yea, faith without works. And it is all one to say, faith without works, and faith alone justifies us, therefore the ancient Fathers from time to time speak thus: faith alone justifies us. And because we receive faith through the only merits of Christ, and not through the merit of any virtue we have, or work we do: therefore in that respect we renounce, as it were, again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our corruption through Original Sin is so great, that all our faith, charity, words, and works, cannot merit or deserve any part of our justification for us. And therefore we thus speak, humbling ourselves before God, and giving Christ all the glory of our justification.

8. But it should also be observed, What that faith is, whereby we are justified. Now that faith which brings not forth good works, is not a living faith, but a dead and devilish one. For even the devils believe, "That Christ was born of a Virgin, that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself to be very God, that for our sakes He died and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and at the end of the world shall come again, to judge the quick and the dead." This the devils believe, and so they believe all that is written in the Old and New Testament. And yet still, for all this faith, they are but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the true Christian faith.

9. The true Christian faith is, not only to believe the Holy Scriptures and the articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ, whereof doth follow a loving heart, to obey his commandments. And this faith neither any devil hath, nor any wicked man. No ungodly man hath or can have this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God.

10. This is what I believe (and have believed for some years) concerning Justification by faith alone. I have chosen to express it in the words of a little treatise published several years ago, as being the most authentic proof, both of my past and present sentiments. If I err herein, let those who are better informed calmly point out

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my error to me: and I trust I shall not shut my eyes against the light, from whatsoever side it comes.

11. The second thing laid to my charge is, That I believe sinless Perfection. I will simply declare what I do believe concerning this also, and leave unprejudiced men to judge.

12. My last and most deliberate thoughts on this head were published a few years since, in these words:

1. "Perhaps the general prejudice against Christian Perfection may chiefly arise from the misapprehension of the nature of it. We willingly allow, and continually declare, there is no such perfection in this life, as implies either a dispensation from doing good, and attending all the ordinances of God; or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood.

2. "First, We not only allow, but earnestly contend, (as for the faith once delivered to the saints,) that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies any dispensation from attending all the ordinances of God, or from doing good unto all men, while we have time, though especially unto the household of faith. And whosoever they are, who have taught otherwise, we are convinced are not taught of God. We dare not receive them, neither bid them God speed, lest we be partakers of their evil deeds. We believe that not only the babes in Christ, who have newly found redemption in his blood, but those also, who are grown up unto perfect men, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, are indispensably obliged, (and that they are obliged thereto, is their glory and crown of rejoicing) as oft as they have opportunity, to eat bread and drink wine, in remembrance of him; to search the Scriptures; by fasting (as well as temperance) to keep their bodies under, and bring them into subjection; and, above all, to pour out their souls in prayer, both secretly, and in the great congregation.

3. "We secondly believe, and therefore speak, and that unto all men, and with much assurance, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies an entire deliverance, either from ignorance or mistake, in things not essential to salvation, or salvation from manifold temptations, or from numberless infirmities, wherewith the corruptible body more or less presses down the soul. This is the same thing which we have spoken from the beginning: if any teach otherwise, they are not of us. We cannot find any ground in Scripture to suppose, that any inhabitant of a house of clay is wholly exempt either from bodily infirmities, or from ignorance of many things; or to imagine any mere man is incapable of mistake, or of falling into divers temptations: no: the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough, that every one, who is perfect, shall be as his Master.

4. "But what then, it may be asked, do you mean by one that is perfect, or one that is as his Master?" We mean, one in whom is the mind which was in Christ, and who so walketh, as he also walked; a man that hath clean hands and a pure heart; or that is cleansed.

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from all filthiness of flesh and spirit; one in whom there is no occasion of stumbling, and who accordingly doth not commit sin. To declare this a little more particularly: we understand by that scriptural expression, a perfect man, one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, "From all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you.—I will also save you from all your uncleannesses." We understand thereby one whom God hath sanctified throughout, even in body, soul, and spirit; one who walketh in the light, as he is in the light, and in whom is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, having cleansed him from all sin."

5. "This man can now testify to all mankind, I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. He is holy, as God who hath called him is holy, both in heart, and in all manner of conversation. He loveth the Lord his God with all his heart, and serveth him with all his strength. He loveth his neighbour (every man) as himself; yea, as Christ loved us: them in particular, that despitefully use him and persecute him, because they know not the Son, neither the Father. Indeed his soul is all love, filled with bowels of mercies, kindness, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering. And his life agreeth thereto, full of the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. And whatsoever he doth, either in word or deed, he doth it all in the name, in the love and power of the Lord Jesus. In a word, he doth the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven.

6. "This it is to be a perfect man, to be sanctified throughout, created anew in Christ Jesus: even to have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God, (to use Archbishop Usher's words) as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable unto God through Christ. In every thought of our hearts, in every work of our hands, to show forth his praise, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light. O that both we, and all who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity, may thus be made perfect in one!"

13. If there be any thing unscriptural in these words, any thing wild or extravagant, any thing contrary to the analogy of faith, or the experience of adult Christians, let them smite me friendly and reprove me; let them impart to me of the clearer light God has given them. How knowest thou, O man, but thou mayest gain thy brother? But he may at length come to the knowledge of the truth! And thy labour of love, shown forth with meekness of wisdom, may not be in vain?

14. There remains yet another charge against me. That I believe Inconsistencies: that my tenets, particularly concerning justification, are contradictory to themselves: that Mr. Wesley, "since his return from Germany, has improved in the spirit of inconsistency. For then he published two treatises of Dr. Barnes's the Calvinist, or Dominican rather, who suffered in 1541;" [Let us spare the ashes of the dead. Were I such a Dominican as he was, I should rejoice too to die in the flames!] "the first on 'Justification by faith only,'

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the other on 'The sinfulness of man's natural will, and his utter inability to do works acceptable to God, until he be justified.' Which principles, if added to his former tenets" (nay, they need not be added to them, for they are the very same) "will give the whole a new vein of inconsistency, and make the contradictions more gross and glaring than before."

15. It will be necessary to speak more largely on this head, than on either of the preceding. And in order to speak as distinctly as I can, I propose taking the paragraphs one by one, as they lie before me.

16. [1.] It is asserted that Mr. Law's system was the "creed of the Methodists." But it is not proved. I had been eight years at Oxford, before I read any of Mr. Law's writings: and when I did, I was so far from making them my creed, that I had objections to almost every page. But all this time my manner was, to spend several hours a day, in reading the Scripture in the original tongues. And hence my system (so termed) was wholly drawn according to the light I then had.

17. It was in my passage to Georgia, I met with those Moravian teachers, who would have taught me the way of God more perfectly. But I understood them not. Neither on my arrival there, did they infuse any particularities into me, either about justification, or any thing else. For I came back with the same notions I went. And this I have explicitly acknowledged in my second journal, where some of my words are these: "When Peter Bohler, as soon as I came to London, affirmed of true faith in Christ, (which is but one) that it had these two fruits inseparably attending it, "dominion over sin, and constant peace from a sense of forgiveness:" I was quite amazed, and looked upon it as a new gospel. If this were so, it was clear I had no faith. But I was not willing to be convinced of this: therefore I disputed with all my might, and laboured to prove that faith might be where these were not; especially where that sense of forgiveness was not: for all the Scriptures relating to this, I had been long since taught to construe away, and to call all presbyterians who spoke otherwise. Besides, I well saw, no one could (in the nature of things) have such a sense of forgiveness, and not feel it. But I felt it not. If then there was no faith without this, all my pretensions to faith dropped at once.

18. [2.] Yet it was not Peter Bohler who convinced me that conversion (I mean justification) was an instantaneous work. On the contrary, when I was convinced of the nature and fruits of justifying faith, still "I could not comprehend what he spoke of an instantaneous work." I could not understand how this faith should be given in a moment: how a man could at once be thus turned from darkness to light, from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the Scriptures again, touching this very thing, particularly the Acts of the Apostles. But to my utter astonishment, I found scarce any instances there of other than instantaneous conversions: scarce any other so slow as that of Saint Paul,

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who was three days in the pangs of the new-birth. I had but one retreat left; viz. "Thus, I grant, God wrought in the first ages of Christianity; but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe, He works in the same manner now?"

"But on Sunday 22, I was beat out of this retreat too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses, who testified God had thus wrought in themselves: giving them in a moment, such a faith in the blood of his Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, "Lord, help thou my unbelief." —The remaining part of this section, with the third and fourth, contain my own words; to which I still subscribe.

And if there is a mistake in the fifth, it is not material.

19. [6.] It is true that "on Wednesday, July 12, the Count spoke to this effect:

1. Justification is the forgiveness of sins:
2. The moment a man flies to Christ, he is justified:
3. And has peace with God, but not always joy:
4. Nor perhaps may he know he is justified, till long after:
5. For the assurance of it is distinct from justification itself:
6. But others may know he is justified, by his power over sin, by his seriousness, his love of the brethren, and his hunger and thirst after righteousness, which alone proves the spiritual life to be begun.
7. To be justified is the same thing as to be born of God: when a man is awakened, he is begotten of God, and his fear, and sorrow, and sense of the wrath of God, are the pangs of the new-birth."

20. It is true also, that I then recollected what Peter Bohler had often said on this head, which was to this effect:

1. When a man has living faith in Christ, then he is justified:
2. This is always given in a moment:
3. And in that moment he has peace with God:
4. Which he cannot have without knowing that he has it:
5. And, being born of God, he sinneth not:
6. Which deliverance from sin he cannot have without knowing that he has it.

21. I did not apprehend it possible, for any man living to have imagined, that I believed *both these accounts;* the words whereof I had purposely so ranged and divided into short sentences, that the gross, irreconcileable difference between them might be plain to the meanest reader. I cannot therefore but be a little surprised at the strength of that prejudice, which could prevent any one's seeing, that in opposition to the Count's opinion, (which, in many respects, I wholly disapproved of) I quoted the words of one of his own church, which, if true, overturn it altogether.

22. I have nothing to object to the quotations made in the seventh, eighth, and ninth Sections. In the tenth are these words: "Now since Mr. Wesley went so far, to gather such materials together, let

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us see what was the *system* (or rather the *medley*) of principles he had to return with to England.

Of the Assurance of Justification.

I believe that conversion is an instantaneous work. And that the moment a man is converted, or has living faith in Christ, he is justified. Which faith a man cannot have, without knowing that he hath it.

Yet I believe he may not know that he is justified, (i. e. that he has living faith) 'till a long time after.

I believe, also, that the moment a man is justified, he has peace with God.

Which he cannot have without knowing that he has it.

Yet I believe he may not know that he is justified, (i. e. that he has peace with God) 'till a long time after.

I believe when a man is justified, he is born of God.

And being born of God, he sinneth not.

Which deliverance from sin he cannot have without knowing it.

Yet I believe he may not know that he is justified, (i. e. delivered from sin) till a long time after. Though I believe that others may know that he is justified by his power over sin, his seriousness, and love of the brethren.

23. "Of the Conditions of Justification.

I believe that Christ *formed in us* subordinately to Christ *given for us*, (i. e. our own inherent Righteousness subordinate to Christ's Merits) ought to be insisted upon, as necessary to our Justification.

And it is just and right that a man should be humble and penitent, and have a broken and contrite heart (i. e. should have Christ *formed in him*) before he can expect to be justified.

And that this penitence and contrition is the work of the Holy Ghost."

"Yet I believe that all this is nothing towards, and has no influence on our Justification.

Again, I believe that in order to Justification, I must go straight to Christ with all my ungodliness, and plead nothing else.

Yet I believe that we should not insist upon any thing we *do* or *feel* as it were necessarily *previous* to Justification."

24. "Of the Effects of Justification.

I believe that Justification is the same thing as to be born of God. Yet a man may have a *strong assurance* that he is justified, and not be able to affirm, that he is born of God.

A man may be fully assured that his sins are forgiven, yet may not be able to tell the hour or day when he received this full assurance, because it may grow up in him by degrees.—Though he can remember, that from the time this full assurance was confirmed in him, he never lost it, no, not for a moment.

A man may have a weak faith at the same time that he hath peace with God, *not one uneasy thought;* and freedom from sin, *not one unholy desire.*"

"A man may be justified (i. e. born of God) who has not a clean heart (i. e. is not sanctified.)

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He may be justified (i. e. born of God) and not have the indwelling of the Spirit."

25. I entirely agree, "That the foregoing creed is a very *extraordinary and odd composition.*" But it is not mine. I neither composed it, nor believe it: as I doubt not every impartial reader will be fully convinced, when we shall have gone over it, once more step by step.

The parts which I do believe I shall barely repeat: on the others it will be needful to add a few words.

Of the Assurance of Justification.

"I believe that conversion (meaning thereby Justification) is an instantaneous work; and that the moment a man has living faith in Christ, he is converted or justified. (So the proposition must be expressed to make it sense.) Which faith he cannot have, without knowing that he has it."

"Yet I believe, he may not know that he has it till long after." This I deny: I believe no such thing.

"I believe the moment a man is justified, he hath peace with God:

"Which he cannot have, without knowing that he has it."

"Yet I believe, he may not know that he has it till long after." This again I deny. I believe it not. Nor Michael Linner neither. To clear whom entirely, one need only read his own words.

"About fourteen years ago, I was more than ever convinced, that I was wholly different from what God required me to be. I consulted his word again and again; but it spoke nothing but condemnation; till at last I could not read, nor indeed do any thing else, having no hope and no spirit left in me. I had been in this state for several days, when being musing by myself, those words came strongly into my mind, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all who believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' I thought, *all?* Then I am one. Then he is given for me. But I am a sinner. And he came to save sinners. Immediately my burden dropped off, and my heart was at rest.

"But the full assurance of faith I had not yet, nor for the two years I continued in Moravia. When I was driven out thence by the Jesuits, I retired hither, and was, soon after, received into the church. And here, after some time, it pleased our Lord to manifest himself more clearly to my soul; and give me that full sense of my acceptance in him, which excludes all doubt and fear.

"Indeed the leadings of the Spirit are different in different souls. His more usual method, I believe, is to give in one and the same moment, forgiveness of sins, and a full assurance of that forgiveness. Yet in many he works as he did in me: giving first the remission of sins, and, after some weeks, or months, or years, the full assurance of it."*

All I need observe is, that the *first sense of forgiveness* is often mixed with doubt or fear, as the very term implies.

Therefore, instead of "he may not know that he has peace with

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God till long after," it should be, (to agree with Michael Linner's words,) "he may not have, till long after, that full assurance of faith, which excludes all doubt and fear."

"I believe, to be justified is the same as to be born of God.

"And he that is born of God, sinneth not.

"Which deliverance from sin he cannot have, without knowing that he has it."

"Yet I believe he may not know it till long after." This also I utterly deny.

26. Of the Conditions of Justification.

1. "I believe that *Christ formed in us*, ought to be insisted on, as necessary to our justification."

I no more believe this, than Christian David does, whose words concerning it are these:

"It pleased God to show me, that Christ in us, and Christ for us, ought to be both insisted on:"

But I clearly saw *we ought not to insist* on any thing *we feel*, any more than any thing we do, as if it were *necessarily* previous to our justification.

"And before a man can expect to be justified, he should be humble and penitent, and have a broken and contrite heart; that is, should have *Christ formed in him*." No; that is quite another thing. I believe every man is penitent, before he is justified: he repents, before he believes the gospel. But it is never *before* he is justified that Christ is *formed in him*.

"And that this penitence and contrition is the work of the Holy Ghost."

"Yet I believe that all this is nothing towards, and has no influence on our justification."

Christian David's words are, "Observe, this is not the foundation. It is not this by which (for the sake of which) you are justified. This is not the righteousness, this is no part of the righteousness, by which you are reconciled to God. You grieve for your sins. You are deeply humbled. Your heart is broken. Well: but all this is nothing to your justification." The words immediately following fix the sense of this otherwise exceptionable sentence; "The remission of your sins is not owing to this cause, either in whole or in part. Your humiliation has no influence on that." Not *as a cause;* so the very last words explain it.

"Again, I believe, that in order to obtain justification, I must go straight to Christ, with all my ungodliness, and plead nothing else."

"Yet I believe, we should not insist upon any thing we do or feel, as if it were necessarily previous to justification." No, nor any thing else. So the whole tenor of Christian David's words implies.

Of the Effects of Justification.

27. "I believe a man may have a strong assurance he is justified, and not be able to affirm he is a child of God."

Feder's words are these: "I found my heart at rest, in good hope.

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that my sins were forgiven; of which I had a strong assurance six weeks after." True, *comparatively stronger*, though still mixed with doubt and fear. "But I dare not affirm I am a child of God." I see no inconsistency in all this. Many such instances I know at this day. I myself was one for some time.

"A man may be fully assured that his sins are forgiven, yet may not be able to tell the day when he received this full assurance; because it grew up in him." (Of this also I know a few other instances.) "But from the time this full assurance was confirmed in him, he never lost it." Very true, and, I think, consistent.

Neusser's own words are, "In him I found true rest to my soul, being fully assured, that all my sins were forgiven. Yet I cannot tell the hour or day, when I first received that full assurance. For it was not given me at first, neither at once;" (not in its fulness) "but grew up in me by degrees. And from the time it was confirmed in me, I have never lost it, having never since doubted, no, not for a moment."

"A man may have a weak faith, at the same time that he has peace with God, and no unholy desires.

"A man may be justified, who has not a clean heart."

28. [11.] Not in the full sense of the word. This I do verily believe is sound divinity, agreeable both to Scripture and experience. And I believe it is consistent with itself. As to the "hundred other absurdities which might be fully and fairly made out," it will be time enough to consider them when they are produced.

29. [12, 13.] But whether I have succeeded in attempting to reconcile these things or not, I verily think Mr. Tucker has. I desire not a more consistent account of my principles, than he has himself given in the following words:

"Our spiritual state should be considered, and distinctly, under each of these views.

1. "Before justification; in which state we may be said to be unable to do any thing acceptable to God: because then we can do nothing but come to Christ: which ought not to be considered as doing any thing, but as supplicating (or waiting) to receive a power of doing for the time to come."

"For the preventing grace of God, which is common to all, is sufficient to bring us to Christ; though it is not sufficient to carry us any further, till we are justified."

2. "After Justification. The moment a man comes to Christ (by faith) he is justified, and born again; that is, he is born again in the imperfect sense (for there are two [if not more] degrees of regeneration.) And he has power over all the stirrings and motions of sin, but not a total freedom from them. Therefore he hath not yet, in the full and proper sense, a new and clean heart. But being exposed to various temptations, he may, and will fall again from this condition, if he doth not attain to a more excellent gift."*

* "Mr. Charles Wesley, (the note says,) was not persuaded of the truth of the Moravian faith, till some time after his brother's return from Germany." There is a

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3. "Sanctification; the last and highest state of perfection in this life. For then are the faithful born again in the full and perfect sense. Then is there given unto them a new clean heart, and the struggle between the old and new man is over."*

30. [14.] That I may say many things which have been said before, and perhaps by Calvin or Arminius, by Montanus or Barclay, or the Archbishop of Cambray, is highly probable. But it cannot thence be inferred, that I hold "a medley of all their principles; Calvinism, Arminianism, Montanism, Quakerism, Quietism, all thrown together." There might as well have been added, Judaism, Mahometanism, Paganism. It would have made the period rounder, and been full as easily proved, I mean asserted; for other proof is not yet produced.

31. I pass over the smaller mistakes which occur in the fifteenth and sixteenth paragraphs, together with the prophecy or prognostication, concerning the approaching divisions and downfal of the Methodists. What follows to the end, concerning the ground of our hope, is indeed of greater importance. But we have not as yet the strength of the cause. The dissertation promised is still behind. Therefore as my work is great, and my time short, I waive that dispute for the present. And perhaps when I shall have received farther light, I may be convinced, that "Gospel-holiness (as Mr. Tucker believes) is a necessary qualification antecedent to justification." This appears to me now to be directly opposite to the gospel of Christ. But I will endeavour, impartially to consider, what shall be advanced in defence of it. And may He, who knoweth my simpleness, teach me his way, and give me a right judgment in all things!

great mistake in this. I returned not from Germany till Saturday, September the 16th. Whereas my brother was fully persuaded of the truth of the Moravian faith (so called) on Wednesday, May 3, preceding. The note adds, "This (i. e. justifying faith) he received but very lately." This also is a mistake. What we believe to be justifying faith he received May 21, 1738. See Vol. I.

* The next note runs thus: Mr. Wesley has such a peculiar turn and tendency towards inconsistencies in his principles, that in his preface to Haliburton's Life, (wrote February 9, 1738-9,) just after his return, (from Germany,) he contradicts all that he has said elsewhere for this sinless perfection, viz. "But it may be said, The gospel-covenant does not promise entire freedom from sin." What do you mean by the word sin? The infection of nature? Or those numberless weaknesses and follies, sometimes (improperly) termed sins of infirmity? If you mean only this, you say most true. We shall not put off these but with our bodies. But if you mean, it does not promise entire freedom from sin, in its proper sense, or from committing sin; this is by no means true, unless the Scripture be false. For thus it is written, "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin:" (Unless he lose the Spirit of Adoption, if not finally, yet for a while, as did this child of God) "for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." He cannot sin, so long as he "keepeth himself," for then "the wicked one toucheth him not."

The question is not, Whether this be right or wrong: but whether it contradicts any thing I had said elsewhere. Thrice I have spoken expressly on this subject; in a sermon, and in two prefaces. If in any of these I have contradicted what I said before, I will own the former assertion as a mistake.

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AN

EARNEST APPEAL

TO MEN OF REASON AND RELIGION.

Doth our Law judge any Man before it hear him, and know what he doth? JOHN vii. 51.

ALTHOUGH it is with us a "very small thing to be judged of you, or of man's judgment," seeing we know God will "make our INNOCENCY as clear as the light, and our JUST DEALING as the noon-day;" yet are we ready to give any that are willing to hear, a plain account both of our principles and actions: "as having renounced the hidden things of shame," and desiring nothing more, "than by manifestation of the truth to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

2. We see (and who does not?) the numberless follies and miseries of our fellow-creatures. We see on every side, either men of no religion at all, or men of a lifeless, formal religion. We are grieved at the sight, and should greatly rejoice, if by any means we might convince some that there is a better religion to be attained, a religion worthy of God that gave it. And this we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind, the loving God with all our heart, and soul, and strength, as having first loved *us*, as the Fountain of all the good we have received, and of all we ever hope to enjoy; and the loving every soul which God hath made, every man on earth, as our own soul.

3. This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never-failing remedy, for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and vices of men. Wherever this is, there are virtue and happiness, going hand in hand. There is humbleness of mind, gentleness, long-suffering, the whole image of God, and at the same time a peace that passeth all understanding, and joy unspeakable and full of glory.

> "Eternal sunshine of the spotless mind;
> Each prayer accepted, and each wish resign'd:
> Desires compos'd, affections ever even,
> Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to heaven."

4. This religion we long to see established in the world, a religion of love, and joy, and peace, having its seat in the heart, in the inmost soul, but ever showing itself, by its fruits, continually springing forth not only in all innocence, (for love worketh no ill to his neighbour,)

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but likewise in every kind of beneficence, spreading virtue and happiness all around it.

5. This religion have we been following after for many years, as many know, if they would testify: but all this time, seeking wisdom we found it not; we were spending our strength in vain. And being now under full conviction of this, we declare it to all mankind: for we desire not that others should wander out of the way, as we have done before them; but rather that they may profit by our loss, that they may go, (though we did not, having then no man to guide us,) the straight way to the religion of love, even by faith.

6. Now faith (supposing the Scripture to be of God) is πραγματων ελεγχος ου βλεπομενων, *the demonstrative evidence of things unseen, the supernatural evidence of things invisible,* not perceivable by eyes of flesh, or by any of our natural senses or faculties. Faith is that divine evidence, whereby the spiritual man discerneth God and the things of God. It is with regard to the spiritual world, what sense is with regard to the natural. It is the spiritual sensation of every soul that is born of God.

7. Perhaps you have not considered it in this view; I will then explain it a little further.

Faith, according to the scriptural account, is the eye of the new-born soul. Hereby every true believer in God "seeth him who is invisible." Hereby (in a more particular manner, since life and immortality have been brought to light by the gospel) he "seeth the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; and "beholdeth what manner of love it is, which the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we (who are born of the Spirit) should be called the sons of God."

It is the ear of the soul, whereby a sinner "hears the voice of the Son of God and lives:" even that voice which alone wakes the dead, "Son thy sins are forgiven thee."

It is (if I may be allowed the expression) the palate of the soul: for hereby a believer "tastes the good word, and the powers of the world to come;" and hereby he both tastes and sees that "God is gracious, yea and merciful to him a sinner."

It is the feeling of the soul, whereby a believer perceives, through "the power of the Highest overshadowing him," both the existence and the presence of Him, in whom "he lives, moves, and has his being;" and indeed the whole invisible world, the entire system of things eternal. And hereby, in particular, he feels "the love of God shed abroad in his heart."

8. "By this faith we are saved" from all uneasiness of mind, from the anguish of a wounded spirit, from discontent, from fear and sorrow of heart, and from that inexpressible listlessness and weariness, both of the world and of ourselves, which we had so helplessly laboured under for many years; especially when we were out of the hurry of the world, and sunk into calm reflection. In this we find that love of God, and of all mankind, which we had elsewhere sought in vain. This we know and feel, and therefore cannot but

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declare, saves every one that partakes of it, both from sin and misery, from every unhappy and every unholy temper.

> "Soft peace she brings, wherever she arrives,
> She builds our quiet as she forms our lives;
> Lays the rough paths of peevish nature even,
> And opens in each breast a little heaven."

9. If you ask, "Why then have not all men this faith? All at least who conceive it to be so happy a thing? Why do they not believe immediately?"

We answer, (on the Scripture hypothesis,) "It is the gift of God." No man is able to work it in himself. It is a work of Omnipotence. It requires no less power thus to quicken a dead soul, than to raise a body that lies in the grave. It is a new creation, and none can create a soul anew but he who at first created the heavens and the earth.

10. May not your own experience teach you this? Can you give yourself this faith? Is it now in your power to see, or hear, or taste, or feel God? Have you already, or can you raise in yourself any perception of God, or of an invisible world? I suppose you do not deny that there is an invisible world: you will not charge it in poor old Hesiod, to Christian prejudice of education, when he says, in those well known words,

> "Millions of unseen creatures walk the earth
> Unseen, whether we wake, or if we sleep."

Now, is there any power in your soul, whereby you discern either these, or him that created them? Or can all your wisdom and strength open an intercourse between yourself and the world of spirits? Is it in your power to burst the veil that is on your heart, and let in the light of eternity? You know it is not. You not only do not, but cannot (by your own strength) thus believe. The more you labour so to do, the more you will be convinced "it is the gift of God."

11. It is the *free gift* of God, which he bestows not on those who are *worthy* of his favour, not on such as are *previously holy*, and so *fit* to be crowned with all the blessings of his goodness: but on the ungodly and unholy: on those who till that hour were *fit* only for everlasting destruction: those in whom was no good thing, and whose only plea was, "God, be merciful to me a sinner." No merit, no goodness in man precedes the forgiving love of God. His pardoning mercy supposes nothing in us but a sense of mere sin and misery: and to all who see and feel, and own their wants, and their utter inability to remove them, God freely gives faith, for the sake of him "in whom he is always well pleased."

12. This is a short, rude sketch of the doctrine we teach. These are our fundamental principles; and we spend our lives in confirming others herein, and in a behaviour suitable to them.

Now, if you are a reasonable man, although you do not believe the Christian system to be of God, lay your hand upon your breast, and calmly consider, What is it that you can here condemn? What

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evil have we done to *you*, that *you* should join the common cry against us? Why should *you* say, "Away with such fellows from the earth: it is not fit that they should live?"

13. It is true, your judgment does not fall in with ours. We believe the Scripture to be of God. This you do not believe. And how do you defend yourself against them who urge you with the guilt of unbelief? Do you not say, "Every man *must* judge according to the light he has, and that if he be true to this, he ought not to be condemned?" Keep then to this, and turn the tables. *Must* not *we* also judge according to the light we have? You can in nowise condemn *us*, without involving *yourself* in the same condemnation. According to the light *we* have, we cannot but believe the Scripture is of God; and, while we believe this, we dare not turn aside from it, to the right hand or to the left.

14. Let us consider this point a little farther. You yourself believe there is a God. You have the witness of this in your own breast. Perhaps sometimes you tremble before him. You believe there is such a thing as right and wrong, that there is a difference between moral good and evil. Of consequence, you must allow there is such a thing as conscience: I mean, that every person capable of reflection, is conscious to himself, when he looks back on any thing he has done, whether it be good or evil. You must likewise allow, that every man is to be guided by his own conscience, not another's. Thus far, doubtless, you may go, without any danger of being a *volunteer* in faith.

15. Now then, be consistent with yourself. If there be a God, who being just and good, (attributes inseparable from the very idea of God,) is "a rewarder of them that diligently seek him," ought we not to do whatever we believe will be acceptable to so good a Master? Observe: if we *believe*, if we are fully persuaded of this in our own mind, ought we not thus to seek him, and that with all diligence? Else how should we expect any reward at his hands?

16. Again: ought we not to do what we believe is morally good, and to abstain from what we judge is evil? By good, I mean conducive to the good of mankind, tending to advance peace, and good-will among men, promotive of the happiness of our fellow-creatures; and by evil, what is contrary thereto. Then surely you cannot condemn our endeavouring after our power, to make mankind happy; (I now speak only with regard to the present world,) our striving, as we can, to lessen their sorrows, and to teach them, in whatsoever state they are, therewith to be content.

17. Yet again. Are we to be guided by *our own* conscience, or by that of other men? *You* surely will not say, that any man's conscience can preclude *mine*. You, at least, will not plead for robbing *us*, of what you strongly claim for yourselves. I mean, the right of private judgment, which is indeed unalienable from reasonable creatures. *You* well know, that unless we faithfully follow the dictates of *our own* mind, we cannot have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.

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18. Upon your own principles, therefore, you must allow us to be, at least, *innocent*. Do you find any difficulty in this? You speak much of prepossession and prejudice; beware you are not entangled therein yourselves. Are you not prejudiced against *us*, because we believe and strenuously defend that system of doctrines which you oppose? Are you not enemies to *us*, because you take it for granted we are so to *you?* Nay, God forbid! I once saw one, who, from a plentiful fortune, was reduced to the lowest extremity. He was lying on a sick-bed, in violent pain, without even convenient food, or one friend to comfort him; so that when his merciful landlord, to complete all, sent one to take his bed from under him, I was not surprised at his attempt to put an end to so miserable a life. Now, when I saw that poor man, weltering in his blood, could I be angry at him? Surely no. No more can I at *you*. I can no more hate than I can envy you. I can only lift up my heart to God for *you*, (as I did then for him,) and with silent tears, beseech the Father of mercies, that he would look on you in your blood, and say unto you, *Live*.

16. "Sir, (said that unhappy man, at my first interview with him,) I scorn to deceive you or any man. You must not tell me of your Bible; for I don't believe one word of it. I know there is a God, and believe he is all and in all, the *Anima Mundi*, the

'Vastam
Mens agitans molem, et magno se corpore miscens.'

But farther than this, I believe not; all is dark; my thought is lost. But I hear (added he) you preach to a great number of people every night and morning. Pray, what would you do with them? Whither would you lead them? What religion do you preach? What is it good for?" I replied, "I do preach to as many as desire to hear, every night and morning. You ask, 'What I would do with them?' I would make them virtuous and happy, easy in themselves, and useful to others. 'Whither would I lead them?' To heaven, to God the Judge, the lover of all; and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant. 'What religion do I preach?' The religion of love: the law of kindness brought to light by the gospel. 'What is this good for?' To make all who receive it enjoy God and themselves: to make them like God; lovers of all; contented in their lives; and crying out at their death, in calm assurance, 'O grave, where is thy victory! Thanks be unto God, who giveth *me* the victory, through my Lord Jesus Christ.'"

20. Will you object to such a religion as this; that it is not reasonable? Is it not reasonable then to love God? Hath he not given you life, and breath, and all things? Does he not still continue his love to you, filling your heart with food and gladness? What have you which you have not received of him? And does not love demand a return of love? Whether, therefore, you *do* love God or not, you cannot but own it is reasonable so to do; nay, seeing he is the Parent of all good, to love him with all your heart.

21. Is it not reasonable also to love our neighbour? Every man

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whom God hath made? Are we not brethren? The children of one Father? Ought we not then to love one another? And, should we only love them that love us? Is that acting like our Father which is in heaven? He causeth the sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. And can there be a more equitable rule of our love, than "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?" You will *plead* for the reasonableness of this; as also for that golden rule, (the only adequate measure of brotherly love, in all our words and actions,) "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them."

Is it not reasonable then, that "as we have opportunity, we should do good to all men?" Not only friends, but enemies, not only to deserving, but likewise to the evil and unthankful. Is it not right that all our life should be one continued labour of love? If a day passes without doing good, may one not well say with Titus, **Amici, diem perdidi!* And is it enough, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit those who are sick or in prison? Should we have no pity for those,

> "Who sigh beneath guilt's horrid stain,
> The worst confinement, and the heaviest chain?"

Should we shut up our compassion toward those who are of all men most miserable, because they are miserable by their own fault? If we have found a medicine to heal even that sickness, should we not, as we have freely received it, freely give? Should we not pluck them as brands out of the fire? The fire of lust, anger, malice, revenge? Your inmost soul answers, It should be done; it is reasonable in the highest degree. Well, this is the sum of our preaching, and of our lives, our enemies themselves being the judges. If therefore you allow, that it is reasonable to love God, to love mankind, and to do good to all men, you cannot but allow, that religion which we preach and live, to be agreeable to the highest reason.

23. Perhaps "all this you can bear. It is tolerable enough: and if we spoke only of being *saved by love*, you should have no great objection: but you do not comprehend what we say of being *saved by faith*." I know you do not. You do not in any degree comprehend what we mean by that expression; have patience then, and I will tell you yet again. By those words, *we are saved by faith*, we mean, that the moment a man receives that faith which is above described, he is saved from doubt and fear, and sorrow of heart, by a peace that passes all understanding; from the heaviness of a wounded spirit, by joy unspeakable; and from his sins, of whatsoever kind they were; from his vicious desires, as well as words and actions, by the love of God and of all mankind, then shed abroad in his heart.

24. We grant nothing is more unreasonable, than to imagine that such mighty effects as these can be wrought by that poor, empty, insignificant thing which the world *calls* faith. But supposing there be such a faith on the earth, as that which the Apostle speaks

* *My friends, I have lost a day!*

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of, such an intercourse between God and the soul, what is too hard for such a faith? You may easily conceive, that "all things are possible to him that thus believeth:" to him that thus *walks with God*, that is now a citizen of heaven, an inhabitant of eternity. If therefore you will contend with *us*, you must change the ground of your attack. You must flatly deny, there is any faith upon earth: but perhaps this you might think too large a step. You cannot do this, without a secret condemnation in your own breast. O that you would at length cry to God for that heavenly gift! whereby alone this truly reasonable religion, this beneficent love to God and man can be planted in your heart.

25. If you say, "But those that profess this faith, are the most unreasonable of all men;" I ask, "Who are those that profess this faith?" Perhaps you do not personally know such a man in the world. Who are they that so much as profess to have *this evidence* of things not seen? That profess to *see him that is invisible?* To *hear the voice* of God, and to have *his Spirit* ever "witnessing with their spirits, that they are the children of God?" I fear you will find few that even profess *this faith*, among the large numbers of those who are called believers.

26. "However, there are enough that profess themselves Christians." Yea, too many, God knoweth; too many that confute their vain professions, by the whole tenor of their lives. I will allow all you can say on this head, and perhaps more than all. It is now some years since I was engaged unawares in a conversation with a strong reasoner, who at first urged the wickedness of the American Indians, as a bar to our hope of converting them to Christianity. But when I mentioned their temperance, justice, and veracity, (according to the accounts I had then received,) it was asked, "Why, if those heathens are such men as these, what will they gain by being made Christians? What would they gain by being *such Christians* as we see every where round about us?" I could not deny, they would lose, not gain, by such a Christianity as this. Upon which she added, "Why, what else do you mean by Christianity?" My plain answer was, What do you apprehend to be more valuable than good sense, good nature, and good manners? All these are contained, and that in the highest degree, in what I mean by Christianity. Good sense (so called) is but a poor dim shadow of what Christians call faith. Good nature is only a faint, distant resemblance of Christian charity. And good manners, if of the most finished kind that nature assisted by art can attain to, is but a dead picture of that holiness of conversation, which is the image of God visibly expressed. All these put together by the art of God, I call Christianity. "Sir," if this be Christianity, (said my opponent in amaze,) I never saw a Christian in my life."

27. Perhaps, the case is the same with *you*. If so, I am grieved for you, and can only wish, till you do see a living proof of this, that you would not say, *see a Christian*. For this is scriptural Christianity, and this alone. Whenever therefore you see an unreasona-

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ble man, you see one who perhaps calls himself by that name, but *is* no more a *Christian* than he is an *angel*. So far as he departs from true, genuine reason, so far he departs from Christianity. Do not say, this is only asserted, not proved. It is undeniably proved by the original charter of Christianity. We appeal to this, to the written word. If any man's temper, or words, or actions, are contradictory to right reason; it is evident to a demonstration, they are contradictory to this. Produce any possible or conceivable instance, and you will find the fact is so. The lives, therefore, of those who are *called* Christians, is no just objection to Christianity.

28. We join with you then in desiring a religion founded on reason, and every way agreeable thereto. But one question still remains to be asked, What do you mean by *reason?* I suppose you mean the eternal reason, or, the nature of things: the nature of God and the nature of man, with the relations necessarily subsisting between them. Why, this is the very religion *we* preach: a religion evidently founded on, and every way agreeable to eternal reason, to the essential nature of things. Its foundation stands on the nature of God and the nature of man, together with their mutual relations. And it is every way suitable thereto: to the nature of God; for it begins in knowing him, and where, but in the true knowledge of God, can you conceive true religion to begin? It goes on in loving him and all mankind, (for you cannot but imitate whom you love:) it ends in serving him; in doing his will; in obeying him whom we know and love.

29. It is every way suited to the nature of man: for it begins in man's knowing himself; knowing himself to be what he really is, foolish, vicious, miserable. It goes on to point out the remedy for this, to make him truly wise, virtuous, and happy, as every thinking mind (perhaps from some implicit remembrance of what it originally was) longs to be.

It finishes all, by restoring the due relations between God and man; by uniting for ever the tender Father, and the grateful, obedient son; the great Lord of all, and the faithful servant, doing not his own will, but the will of him that sent him.

30. But perhaps by reason you mean, the faculty of reasoning, of inferring one thing from another. There are many, it is confessed, (particularly those who are styled Mystic Divines,) that utterly decry the use of reason, thus understood, in religion: nay, that condemn all reasoning concerning the things of God, as utterly destructive of true religion. But we can in nowise agree with this. We find no authority for it in holy writ. So far from it, that we find there both our Lord and his Apostles continually reasoning with their opposers. Neither do we know, in all the productions of ancient and modern times, such a chain of reasoning or argumentation, so close, so solid, so regularly connected, as the Epistle to the Hebrews. And the strongest reasoner whom we have ever observed (excepting only Jesus of Nazareth) was that Paul of Tarsus; the same who has left that plain direction for all Christians: "In ma-

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lice," or wickedness, "be ye children; but in understanding," or reason, "be ye men."

31. We therefore not only allow, but earnestly exhort all who seek after true religion, to use all the reason which God hath given them, in searching out the things of God. But your *reasoning justly*, not only on this, but on any subject whatsoever, presupposes a *true judgment* already formed, whereon to ground your argumentation. Else, you know, you will stumble at every step: because *ex falso non sequitur verum*. It is impossible, if your premises are false, to infer from them true conclusions.

32. You know likewise, that before it be possible for you to form a *true judgment* of them, it is absolutely necessary, that you should have a *clear apprehension* of the things of God, and that your ideas thereof should be all *fixed*, *distinct*, and *determinate*. And seeing our *ideas* are not innate, but must all originally come from our *senses*, it is certainly necessary that you have *senses* capable of discerning objects of this kind. Not those only which are called *natural senses*, which in this respect profit nothing, as being altogether incapable of discerning objects of a spiritual kind, but *spiritual senses*, exercised to discern spiritual good and evil. It is necessary that you have *the hearing ear*, and the *seeing eye*, emphatically so called; that you have a new class of senses opened in your soul, not depending on organs of flesh and blood, to be *the evidence* of things not seen, as your bodily senses are of visible things; to be the avenues to the invisible world, to discern spiritual objects, and to furnish you with ideas of what the outward "eye hath not seen, neither the ear heard."

33. And till you have these *internal senses*, till the eyes of your understanding are opened, you can have no proper *apprehension* of divine things, no just *idea* of them. Nor consequently, till then, can you either *judge truly*, or *reason justly* concerning them: seeing your reason has no ground whereon to stand, no materials to work upon.

34. To use the trite instance. As you cannot *reason* concerning colours, if you have no *natural sight*, because all the *ideas* received by your other senses are of a different kind; so that neither your *hearing*, nor any *other sense*, can supply your want of *sight*, or furnish your reason in this respect with matter to work upon: so you cannot *reason* concerning spiritual things, if you have no *spiritual sight*; because all your ideas received by your *outward senses* are of a different kind. Yea, far more different from those received by faith or *internal sensation*, than the idea of colour from that of sound. These are only different species of one genus, namely, sensible ideas, received by external sensation: whereas the ideas of faith differ *toto genere* from those of *external sensation*. So that it is not conceivable that *external sensation* should supply the want of *internal senses*; or furnish your *reason* in this respect with matter to work upon.

35. What then will your reason do here? How will it pass from things natural to things spiritual! From the things that are seen to those that are not seen! From the visible to the invisible world!

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What a gulf is here! By what art will reason get over the immense chasm? This cannot be till the Almighty come in to succour, and give you that faith you have hitherto despised. Then upborne as it were upon eagles' wings, you shall soar away into the regions of eternity; and your enlightened reason shall explore even "the deep things of God," God himself "revealing them to you by his Spirit."

36. I expected to have received much light on this head, from a treatise lately published, and earnestly recommended to me, I mean, *Christianity not founded on Argument*. But on a careful perusal of that piece, notwithstanding my prejudice in its favour, I could not but perceive, that the great design uniformly pursued throughout the work, was to render the whole of the Christian institution both odious and contemptible. In order to this, the author gleans up with great care and diligence, the most plausible of those many objections that have been raised against it by late writers, and proposes them with the utmost strength of which he was capable. To do this with the more effect, he *personates* a Christian: he *makes a show* of defending an avowed doctrine of Christianity, namely, the supernatural influence of the Spirit of God; and often, for several sentences together, (indeed in the beginning of almost every paragraph,) speaks so *like a Christian*, that not a few have received him according to his wish. Meanwhile, with all possible *art* and *show of reason*, and in the most laboured language, he pursues his point throughout, which is to prove, "that Christianity is contrary to reason;" or, "that no man acting according to the principles of reason, can possibly be a Christian."

37. It is a wonderful proof of the power that smooth words may have even on serious minds, that so many have mistook such a writer as this for a friend of Christianity: since almost every page of his tract is filled with gross falsehood and broad blasphemy: and these supported by such *exploded* fallacies, and *common place* sophistry, that a person of two or three years' standing in the university, might give them a sufficient answer, and make the author appear as *irrational* and contemptible as he labours to make Christ and his Apostles.

38. I have hitherto spoken to those, chiefly, who do not receive the Christian system as of God. I would add a few words to another set of men; (though not so much with regard to *our* principles or practice, as with regard to *their own*:) to you who *do* receive it, who believe the Scripture, but yet do not take upon you the character of *religious men*. I am therefore obliged to address myself to you, likewise, under the character of *men of reason*.

39. I would only ask, Are you such indeed? Do you answer the character under which you appear? If so, you are consistent with yourselves. Your principles and practice agree together.

Let us try whether this be so or not. Do you take the name of God in vain? Do you remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy? Do you not speak evil of the ruler of your people? Are you not a drunkard, or a glutton, faring as sumptuously as you can every day? Making a god of your belly? Do you not avenge yourself? Are you not a whoremonger or adulterer? Answer plainly to your own heart, before God the Judge of all.

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Why then do you say, you truly believe the Scripture? If the Scripture be true, you are lost. You are in the broad way that leadeth to destruction. Your damnation slumbereth not. You are heaping up to yourself wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God. Doubtless, if the Scripture be true, (and you remain thus,) it had been good for you if you had never been born.

40. How is it that you call yourselves men of reason? Is reason inconsistent with itself? You are the farthest of all men under the sun from any pretence to that character. A common swearer, a sabbath-breaker, a whoremonger, a drunkard, who says he believes the Scripture is of God, is a monster upon earth, the greatest contradiction to his own, as well as to the reason of all mankind. In the name of God, (that worthy name whereby you are *called*, and which you daily cause to be blasphemed,) turn either to the right hand or to the left. Either profess you are an Infidel, or be a Christian. Halt no longer thus between two opinions. Either cast off the Bible, or your sins. And in the mean time, if you have any spark of your boasted reason left, do not *count us your enemies* (as I fear you have done hitherto, and as thousands do wherever we have declared, "they who do such things shall not inherit eternal life,") *because we tell you the truth:* seeing these are not our words, but the words of him that sent us. Yea, though in doing this, we use *great plainness of speech*, as becomes the ministry we have received. "For we are not as many who corrupt" (cauponize, soften, and thereby adulterate) "the word of God. But as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ."

41. But it may be, you are none of these. You abstain from all such things. You have an unspotted reputation. You are a man of honour, or a woman of virtue. You scorn to do an unhandsome thing, and are of an unblameable life and conversation. You are harmless (if I understand you right) and useless from morning to night. You do no hurt,—and no good to any one, no more than a straw floating upon the water. Your life glides smoothly on from year to year; and from one season to another, having no occasion to work,

> "You waste away
> In gentle inactivity the day."

42. I will not now shock the easiness of your temper, by talking about a future state. But suffer me to ask you a question about present things. Are you now happy? I have seen a large company of *reasonable creatures* called *Indians*, sitting in a row on the side of a river, looking sometimes at one another, sometimes at the sky, and sometimes at the bubbles on the water. And so they sat (unless in the time of war) for a great part of the year, from morning to night. These were doubtless much at ease. But can you think they were happy? And how little happier are you than they?

43. You eat, and drink, and sleep, and dress, and dance, and sit

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down to play. You are carried abroad. You are at the masquerade, the theatre, the opera-house, the park, the levee, the drawing-room. What do you do there? Why sometimes you talk: sometimes you look at one another. And what are you to do to-morrow? The next day? The next week? The next year? You are to eat, and drink, and sleep, and dance, and dress, and play again. And you are to be carried abroad again, that you may look at one another! And is this all? Alas, how little more happiness have you in this, than the Indians in looking at the sky or water! Ah, poor dull round! I do not wonder that Col. M——, (or any man of reflection,) should prefer death itself, even in the midst of his years, to such a life as this! and should frankly declare, "that he chose to go out of the world, because he found nothing in it worth living for."

44. Yet it is certain there is business to be done: and many we find in all places, (not to speak of the vulgar, the drudges of the earth,) who are continually employed therein. Are you of that number? Are you engaged in trade, or some other reputable employment? I suppose, profitable too; for you would not spend your time, and labour, and thought, for nothing. You are then making your fortune: you are getting money. True: but money is not your ultimate end. The treasuring up gold and silver, for its own sake, all men own, is as foolish and absurd, as grossly unreasonable, as the treasuring up spiders, or the wings of butterflies. You consider this but as a means to some further end. And what is that? Why, the enjoying yourself, the being at ease, the taking your pleasure, the living like a gentleman. That is plainly, either the whole, or some part of the happiness above described. Supposing then your end to be actually attained, suppose you have your wish, before you drop into eternity: go and sit down with Thleeanowhee and his companions on the river side. After you have toiled for fifty years, you are just as happy as they.

45. Are you, can you, or any reasonable man, be *satisfied* with this? You are not. It is not possible you should. But what else can you do? You *would* have something better to employ your time; but you know not where to find it upon earth. And indeed it is obvious, that the Earth, as it is now constituted, even with the help of all European arts, does not find sufficient employment, to take up half the waking hours of half its inhabitants! What then can you do? How can you employ the time that lies so heavy upon your hands? This very thing which you seek, declare we unto you. The thing *you* want is the religion *we* preach. That alone leaves no time upon our hands. It fills up all the blank spaces of life. It exactly takes up all the time we have to spare, be it more or less: so that "he that hath much, hath nothing over, and he that has little, has no lack."

46. Once more. Can you (or any man of reason,) think, you were made for the life you now lead? You cannot possibly think so; at least, not till you tread the Bible under foot. The oracles of God bear thee witness in every page, (and thine own heart agreeth there-

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to,) that thou wast made in the image of God, an incorruptible picture of the God of glory. And what art thou even in thy present state? An everlasting spirit, going to God. For what end then did he create thee, but to dwell with him above this perishable world, to know him, to love him, to do his will, to enjoy him for ever and ever! O look more deeply into thyself! and into that Scripture, which thou professest to receive as *the word of God*, as *right concerning all things*. There thou wilt find a nobler, happier state described, than it ever yet entered into thy heart to conceive. But God hath now revealed it to all those who "rejoice evermore, and pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks," and "do his will on earth as it is done in heaven." For this thou wast made. Hereunto also thou art called. O be not disobedient unto the heavenly calling! At least, be not angry with those who would fain bring thee to be a living witness of that religion, "whose ways are" indeed "ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peace."

47. Do you say in your heart, "I know all this already? I am not barely a man of reason. I am a religious man: for I not only avoid evil and do good, but use all the means of grace. I am constantly at church and at the sacrament too. I say my prayers every day. I read many good books. I fast every *Thirtieth of January, and Good Friday.*" Do you indeed? Do you do all this? This you may do: You may go thus far, and yet have *no religion* at all; *no such religion* as avails before God. Nay, much farther than this, than you have ever gone yet, or so much as thought of going. For you may "give all your goods to feed the poor," yea, "your body to be burned, and yet" very possibly, if St. Paul be a judge, "have no charity," no true religion.

48. This religion which alone is of value before God, is the very thing you want. You want (and in wanting this, you want all) the religion of love. You do not love your neighbour as yourself, no more than you love God with all your heart. Ask your own heart now, if it be not so? It is plain you do not love God. If you did, you would be happy in him. But you know you are not happy. Your *formal* religion no more makes you happy, than your neighbour's *gay* religion does him. O how much have you suffered for want of plain dealing! Can you now bear to hear the naked truth? You have *the form of godliness*, but not the *power*. You are a mere whited wall. Before the Lord your God, I ask you, Are you not? Too sure. For your "inward parts are very wickedness." You love "the creature more than the Creator." You are "a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God." A lover of God! You do not love God at all, no more than you love a stone. You love the world; therefore "the love of the Father is not in you."

49. You are on the brink of the pit, ready to be plunged into everlasting perdition. Indeed you have a zeal for God; but not according to knowledge. O how terribly have you been deceived! Posting to hell, and fancying it was heaven. See at length that *outward religion* without *inward*, is nothing; is far worse than nothing, being in-

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deed no other than a solemn mockery of God. And *inward religion you have not.* You have not the faith *that worketh by love.* Your *faith* (so called) is no living, saving principle. It is not the Apostle's faith, "the substance" (or *subsistence*) "of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." So far from it, that *this* faith is the very thing which you call *enthusiasm.* You are not content with being without it, unless you blaspheme it too. You even revile that *life which is hid with Christ in God;* all seeing, tasting, hearing, feeling God. These things are *foolishness unto you.* No marvel; "for they are spiritually discerned."

50. Oh! no longer shut your eyes against the light. Know you have a name that you live, but are dead. Your soul is utterly dead in sin; dead in pride, in vanity, in self-will, in sensuality, in love of the world. You are utterly dead to God. There is no intercourse between your soul and God. "You have neither seen him," (by faith, as our Lord witnessed against them of old time,) "nor heard his voice at any time." You have no spiritual "senses exercised to discern spiritual good and evil." You are angry at infidels, and are all the while as mere an infidel before God as they. You have "eyes that see not, and ears that hear not." You have a *callous, unfeeling* heart.

51. Bear with me a little longer: my soul is distressed for you. "The god of this world hath blinded your eyes," and you are "seeking death in the error of your life." Because you do not commit gross sin, because you give alms, and go to the Church and Sacrament, you imagine that you are serving God; yet in very deed you are serving the Devil. For you are doing still your own will, not the will of God your Saviour. You are pleasing yourself in all you do. Pride, vanity, and self-will, (the genuine fruits of an earthly, sensual, devilish heart,) pollute all your words and actions. You are in darkness, in the shadow of death. Oh! that God would say to you in thunder, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."

52. But, blessed be God! He hath not yet left himself without witness!

> "All are not lost! There be, who faith prefer,
> Though few, and piety to God!"

Who know the power of faith, and are no strangers to that inward, vital religion, *the mind that was in Christ,* "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Of you who have "tasted the good word of God, and the power of the world to come," we would be glad to learn, if we have *erred from the faith,* or walked contrary to *the truth as it is in Jesus.* "Let the righteous smite me friendly, and reprove me;" if haply that which is amiss may be done away, and what is wanting supplied, till we all come to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

53. Perhaps the first thing that now occurs to your mind, relates to the doctrine which we teach. You have heard, that we say, "Men may live without sin." And have you not heard, that the

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Scripture says the same? (we mean without committing sin.) Does not St. Paul say plainly, that those who believe, do not continue in sin?—That they cannot "live any longer therein?" Rom. vi. 1, 2. Does not St. Peter say, "He that suffereth in the flesh, hath ceased from sin?—that he no longer should live—to the desires of men, but to the will of God." 1 Pet. iv. 1, 2. And does not St. John say most expressly, "He that committeth sin is of the Devil:—For this purpose the Son of God was manifest, that he might destroy the works of the Devil? Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot commit sin, because he is born of God." 1 John iii. 8, &c. And again, "We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not." ch. v. 18.

54. You see then, it is not we that say this, but the Lord. These are not our words but his. And who is he that replieth against God? Who is able to make God a liar? Surely he will be justified in his saying, and clear when he is judged! Can you deny it? Have you not often felt a secret check, when you were contradicting this great truth? And how often have you wished for what you were taught to deny? Nay, can you help wishing for it at this moment? Do you not now earnestly desire to cease from sin? To commit it no more? Does not your soul pant after this glorious liberty of the sons of God? And what strong reason have you to expect it? Have you not had a foretaste of it already? Do you not remember the time when God first lifted up the light of his countenance upon you? Can it ever be forgotten? The day when the candle of the Lord first shone upon your head?

"Butter and honey did you eat,
And lifted up on high,
You saw the clouds beneath your feet,
And rode upon the sky.
Far, far above all earthly things,
Triumphantly you rode;
You soar'd to heaven on eagles' wings,
And found, and talk'd with God."

You then had power not to commit sin. You found the Apostle's words strictly true, "he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." But those whom you took to be experienced Christians, telling you, "This was only the time of your espousals: this could not last always; you must come down from the mount," and the like, shook your faith. You looked at men more than God, and so became weak, and like another man. Whereas, had you then had any to guide you according to the truth of God, had you then heard the doctrine which now you blame, you would never have fallen from your steadfastness; but have found, that in this sense also, the gifts and callings of God are without repentance.

55. Have you not another objection, nearly allied to this, namely, that we preach perfection? True; but what perfection? The term you cannot object to; because it is scriptural. All the difficulty is, to fix the meaning of it according to the word of God. And this we

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have done again and again, declaring to all the world, that Christian Perfection does not imply an exemption from ignorance or mistake, or infirmities, or temptations: but that it does imply, the being so crucified with Christ, as to be able to testify, "I live not, but Christ liveth in me," (Gal. ii. 23;) and hath "purified my heart by faith." (Acts xv. 9.) It does imply "the casting down every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." It does imply, "the being holy, as he that called us is holy, in all manner of conversation." (2 Cor. x. 5. 1 Peter i. 15.) And, in a word, "the loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and serving him with all our strength."

56. Now, is it possible for any who believe the Scripture, to deny one tittle of this? You cannot.—You dare not.—You would not for the world.—You know it is the pure word of God.—And this is the whole of what we preach; this is the height and depth of what we (with St. Paul) call Perfection: a state of soul devoutly to be wished, by all who have tasted of the love of God. O pray for it without ceasing. It is the one thing you want. Come with boldness to the throne of grace, and be assured that when you ask this of God, you shall have the petition you ask of him. We know indeed that to man, to the natural man, this is impossible. But we know also, that as no work is impossible with God, so all things are possible to him that believeth.

57. For we are saved by faith. But have you not heard this urged as another objection against us, that we preach salvation by faith alone? And does not St. Paul do the same thing? *By grace*, saith he, *ye are saved, through faith.* Can any words be more express? And elsewhere, *Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved.* Acts xvi. 31. What we mean by this (if it has not been sufficiently explained already) is, that we are saved from our sins, only by a confidence in the love of God. As soon as we "behold what manner of love it is which the Father hath bestowed upon us, we love him (as the Apostle observes) because he first loved us." And then is that commandment written in our heart, that *he who loveth God, should love his brother also:* from which love of God and man, meekness, humbleness of mind, and all holy tempers, spring. Now these are the very essence of salvation, of Christian salvation from sin. And from these, outward salvation flows; that is, holiness of life and conversation. Well, and are not these things so? If you know in whom you have believed, you need no further witnesses.

58. But perhaps you doubt, whether that faith whereby we are thus saved, implies such a trust and confidence in God as we describe: "You cannot think faith implies assurance: an assurance of the love of God to our souls, of his being now reconciled to us, and having forgiven all our sins." And this we freely confess, that if number of voices be to decide the question, we must give it up at once; for you have on your side, not only some who desire to be Christians indeed, but all nominal Christians in every place, and the

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Romish church, one and all. Nay, these last are so vehement in your defence, that in the famed council of Trent, they have decreed, "If any man hold (*fiduciam*) trust, confidence, or assurance of pardon to be essential to faith, let him be accursed."

59. Thus does that council anathematize the Church of England. For she is convicted hereof, by her own confession. The very words in the Homily on Salvation are, "Even the devils believe, that Christ was born of a virgin: that he wrought all kinds of miracles, declaring himself very God; that for our sakes he suffered a most painful death, to redeem us from death everlasting. These articles of our faith, the devils believe; and so they believe all that was written in the Old and New Testament. And yet for all this faith, they be but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true, Christian faith." "The right and true Christian faith is, not only to believe the Holy Scriptures and the Articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation through Christ." Or, (as it is expressed a little after,) "A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God."

60. Indeed the Bishop of Rome saith, "If any man hold this, let him be Anathema Maran-atha." But it is to be hoped, Papal Anathemas do not move you. You are a member of the Church of England. Are you? Then the controversy is at an end. Then hear the Church.—"Faith is a sure trust which a man hath in God, that his sins are forgiven." Or if you are not, whether you hear our Church or not, at least, hear the Scriptures. Hear believing Job, declaring his faith, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Hear Thomas, (when having seen, *he believed*,) crying out, *My Lord and my God.* Hear Saint Paul clearly describing the nature of his faith, "The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." Hear (to mention no more) all the believers who were with Paul when he wrote to the Colossians, bearing witness, "We give thanks unto the Father, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son; *in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.*" chap. i. ver. 12, 13, 14.

61. But what need have we of distant witnesses? You have a witness in your own breast. For am I not speaking to one that loves God? How came you then to love him at first? Was it not because you knew that he loved you? Did you, could you love God at all, till you tasted and saw that he was gracious? That he was merciful to you a sinner? What avails then controversy or strife of words? Out of thy own mouth! You own, you had no love to God till you were sensible of his love to you. And whatever expressions any sinner that loves God uses to denote God's love to him, you will always, upon examination, find, that they directly or indirectly imply forgiveness. Pardoning love is still at the root of all. He who was offended, is now reconciled. The new song which

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God puts in every mouth, is always to that effect, "O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away. Behold, God is my salvation. I will trust and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song: he is also become my salvation." Isa. xii. 1, 2.

62. A confidence, then, in a pardoning God, is essential to true faith. The forgiveness of sins is one of the first of those unseen things, whereof faith is the evidence. And if you are sensible of this, will you quarrel with us concerning an indifferent circumstance of it? Will you think it an important objection that we assert, that this faith is usually given in a moment? First, let me entreat you to read over that authentic account of God's dealings with men, the Acts of the Apostles. In this treatise you will find how he wrought from the beginning on those who received remission of sins by faith. And can you find one of these (except perhaps St. Paul) who did not receive it in a moment? But abundance you find of those who did, besides Cornelius and the three thousand. And to this also agrees the experience of those who now receive the heavenly gift. Three or four exceptions only have I found in the course of several years. But all the rest of those, who from time to time among us have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, were, in a moment, brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

63. And why should it seem a thing incredible to you, who have known the power of God unto salvation; (whether he hath wrought thus in your soul or not; "for there are diversities of operations, but the same spirit,") that "the dead should hear the voice of the Son of God," and in that moment live? Thus he useth to act, to show that when he willeth, to do is present with him. "Let there be light, (said God,) and there was light. He spake the word, and it was done. Thus the heavens and the earth were created, and all the hosts of them." And this manner of acting in the present case, highly suits both his power and love. There is therefore no hinderance on God's part; since *as his Majesty is, so is his mercy.* And whatever hinderance there is on the part of man, when God speaketh, it is gone. Only *ask* then, O sinner, *and it shall be given thee,* even the faith that brings salvation; and that, without any merit or good work of thine; for, "it is not of works, lest any man should boast." No; it is of grace, of grace alone. For "unto him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness."

64. "But, by talking thus you encourage sinners." I do encourage them—to repent: and do not you? Do not you know, how many heap sin upon sin, purely for want of such encouragement! Because they think "they can never be forgiven; there is no place for repentance left?" Does not your heart also bleed for them? What would you think too dear to part with? What would you not do? What would you not suffer, to bring one such sinner to repentance? Could not your love endure all things for them? "Yes

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—if I believed it would do them good; if I had any hope they would ever be better." Why do you not believe it would do them good? Why have you not a hope that they will be better? Plainly, because you do not love them enough; because you have not that charity, which not only endureth, but at the same time believeth and hopeth all things.

65. But that you may see the whole strength of this objection, I will show you without any disguise or reserve, how I encourage the very chief of sinners; my usual language to them runs thus:

O ye that deny the Lord that bought you, yet hear the word of the Lord. You seek rest, but find none. Even in laughter, your heart is in heaviness. How long spend ye your labour for that which is not bread, and your strength for that which satisfieth not? You know your soul is not satisfied. It is still an aching void. Sometimes you find (in spite of your principles) a sense of guilt, an awakened conscience. That grisly phantom, religion, (so you describe her) will now and then haunt you still. Righteousness looking down from heaven, is indeed to us no unpleasing sight. But how does it appear to you.

Horribili super aspectu mortalibus astans?

How often are you in fear of the very things you deny! How often in racking suspense! "What if there be an hereafter! A judgment to come! An unhappy eternity!" Do you not start at the thoughts? Can you be content to be always thus? Shall it be said of you also,

> "Here lies a dicer long in doubt
> If death could kill the soul or not?
> Here ends his doubtfulness; at last
> Convinc'd. But, O the die is cast!"

Or, are you already convinced, there is no hereafter? What a poor state then are you in now? Taking a few more dull turns upon earth, and then dropping into nothing! What kind of spirit must you be of, if you can sustain yourself under the thought! Under the expectation of being in a few months swept away by the stream of time, and then for ever

> "Swallow'd up and lost
> In the wide womb of uncreated night!"

But neither indeed are you certain of this; nor of any thing else. "It may be so; it may not. A vast scene is behind. But clouds and darkness rest upon it." All is doubt and uncertainty. You are continually tossed to and fro, and have no firm ground for the sole of your foot. O let not the poor wisdom of man any longer exalt itself against the wisdom of God. You have fled from him long enough: at length suffer your eyes to be opened by him that made them. You want rest to your soul. Ask it of him, "who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not!" You are now a mere riddle to yourself, and your condition full of darkness and perplexity. You are one among many restless inhabitants, of a miserable, disordered world, "walking in a vain shadow and disquieting

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yourself in vain." But the light of God will speedily disperse the anxiety of your vain conjectures. By adding heaven to earth, and eternity to time; it will open such a glorious view of things, as will lead you, even in the present world, to a peace which passeth all understanding.

66. O ye gross, vile, scandalous sinners, hear ye the word of the Lord. "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn and live." O make haste; delay not the time. "Come, and let us reason together. Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall be as wool."—"Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments, red in his apparel?" It is he on whom the Lord "hath laid the iniquities of us all!" Behold, behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away thy sins! See the only begotten Son of the Father, *full of grace and truth!* He loveth *thee.* He gave himself for *thee.* Now, his bowels of compassion yearn over *thee!* O believe in the Lord Jesus, and *thou* shalt be saved! *Go in peace, sin, no more!*

67. Now cannot *you* join in all this? Is it not the very language of your heart? O when will you take knowledge, that *our* whole concern, our constant labour is, to bring all the world to the religion which you feel, to solid, inward, vital religion! What *power* is it, then, that keeps us asunder? "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? If it be, give me thy hand. Come with me and see," and rejoice in *my zeal for the* Lord. No difference between us (if thou art a child of God) can be so considerable as our agreement is. If we differ in smaller things, we agree in that which is greatest of all. How is it possible, then, that you should be induced, to think or speak evil of us? How could it ever come into your mind, to oppose us or weaken our hands? How long shall we complain of the wounds which we receive in the house of our friends? Surely the children of this world are still "wiser in their generation than the children of light." Satan is not divided against himself: why are they, who are on the Lord's side? How is it that *wisdom is* not *justified of her* own *children?*

68. Is it because you have heard, "That we only make religion a cloak for covetousness? And because you have heard abundance of particulars alleged in support of that general charge?" It is probable you may also have heard, "How much we have gained by preaching already!" and, to crown all, "That we are only Papists in disguise, who are undermining and destroying the Church!"

69. "You have heard this." Well: and can you believe it? Have you, then, never heard the 5th chapter of St. Matthew? I would to God you could believe this! What is written there? How readest thou? Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my name's sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you;"—namely,

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by reviling them, and saying *all manner of evil* of them *falsely*. Do not you know that this (as well as all other scriptures) must needs be fulfilled. If so, take knowledge, that this day also it is fulfilled in your ears. For our Lord's sake, and for the sake of his gospel which we preach, *men do revile us and persecute us*, and (blessed be God who giveth us to rejoice therein) *say all manner of evil of us falsely*. And how can it be otherwise? "The disciple is not above his Master. It is enough for the disciple, if he be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord. If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household!"

70. This only we confess, that "we preach *inward* salvation, *now* attainable by faith." And *for preaching this*, (for *no other crime* was *then* so much pretended,) we were forbid to preach any more in any of those churches, where, till then, we were gladly received. This is a notorious fact. Being thus hindered from preaching in the places we should first have chosen, we now declare the "grace of God, which bringeth salvation," in all places of his dominion: as well knowing that God "dwelleth not in temples made with hands." This is the real, and it is the only real ground of complaint against us. And this we avow before all mankind, we do preach this salvation by faith. And not being suffered to preach it in the usual places, we declare it wherever a door is opened, either on a mountain or a plain, or by a river side, (for all which we conceive we have sufficient precedent,) or in a prison, or, as it were, in the house of Justus, or the school of one Tyrannus. Nor dare we refrain. A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me; and "wo is me, if I preach not the gospel."

71. Here we allow the fact, but deny the guilt. But in every other point alleged, we deny the fact, and call upon the world to prove it, if they can. More especially we call upon those who, for many years saw our manner of life at Oxford. These well know that after the most straitest sect of our religion, we lived Pharisees: and that the grand objection to us for all those years, was the being righteous overmuch: the reading, fasting, praying, denying ourselves; the going to church, to the Lord's table; the relieving the poor, visiting those that were sick and in prison; instructing the ignorant, labouring to reclaim the wicked—more than was necessary for salvation. These were our open, flagrant crimes, from the year 1729 to the year 1737; touching which our Lord shall judge in that day.

72. But waiving the things that are past: which of you now convinceth us of sin? Which of you (I here more especially appeal to my brethren the clergy) can personally convict us of any ungodliness or unholiness of conversation? Ye know in your own hearts (all that are candid men, all that are not utterly blinded with prejúdice) that we "labour to have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man." Brethren, I would to God that in this ye were even as we. But indeed (with grief I speak it) ye are not. There are among yourselves ungodly and unholy men; openly, undeniably such: drunkards, gluttons, returners of evil for evil, liars, swearers,

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profaners of the day of the Lord. Proof hereof is not wanting, if ye require it. Where then is your zeal against these? A clergyman so drunk he can scarcely stand or speak, may, in the presence of a thousand people,* set upon another clergyman of the same church, both with abusive words and open violence. And what follows? Why, the one is still allowed to dispense the sacred signs of the body and blood of Christ. But the other is not allowed to receive them. —Because he is a field preacher!

73. O ye pillars and fathers of the church, are these things well-pleasing to him, who hath made you overseers over that flock which he hath purchased with his own blood? O that ye would suffer me to boast myself a little! Is there not a cause? Have not ye compelled me? Which of your clergy are more unspotted in their lives, which more unwearied in their labours, than those whose "names ye cast out as evil," whom ye count "as the filth and off-scouring of the world?" Which of them is more zealous *to spend and to be spent*, for the lost sheep of the house of Israel? Or who among them is more ready to "be offered up for their flock upon the sacrifice and service of their faith?"

74. Will ye say, (as the historian of Cataline) *Si sic pro patria!* If this were done in defence of the church, and not in order to undermine and destroy it! That is the very proposition I undertake to prove. That "we are now defending the church, even the Church of England, in opposition to all those who either secretly undermine, or more openly attempt to destroy it?"

75. That we are Papists, (we, who are daily and hourly preaching that very doctrine, which is solemnly anathematized by the whole Church of Rome) is such a charge, that I dare not waste my time in industriously confuting it. Let any man of common sense only look on the title pages of the sermons we have lately preached at Oxford, and he will need nothing more to show him the weight of this senseless, shameless accusation; unless he can suppose the governors both of Christ-church and Lincoln-college, nay, and all the University to be *Papists* too.

76. You yourself can easily acquit us of this: but not of the other part of the charge. You still think we are secretly undermining, if not openly destroying, the church. What do you mean by the church? A visible church (as our Article defines it) is, *A company of faithful (or believing) people: cœtus credentium.* This is the essence of a church: and the properties thereof are (as they are described in the words that follow) "That the pure word of God be preached therein, and the sacraments duly administered." Now, then, (according to this authentic account) what is *The Church of England?* What is it indeed, but the *faithful people*, the *true believers of England?* It is true, if these are scattered abroad, they come under another consideration. But when they are visibly joined, by assembling together to hear the pure word of God preached,

* At Epworth, in Lincolnshire.

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and to eat of one bread, and drink of one cup, they are then properly the visible Church of England.

77. It were well if this were a little more considered by those, who so vehemently cry out, *The Church! the Church!* (as those of old, *The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!*) not knowing what they speak, nor whereof they affirm. A provincial or national church, according to our Article, is the true believers of that province or nation. If these are dispersed up and down, they are only a part of the invisible church of Christ. But if they are visibly joined by assembling together to hear his word and partake of his supper, they are then a visible church, such as the Church of England, France, or any other.

78. This being premised, I ask, How do we undermine or destroy the church? The provincial, visible Church of England? The Article mentions three things as essential to a visible church: 1st, Living faith, without which indeed there can be no church at all, neither visible or invisible; 2dly, Preaching (and consequently hearing) the pure Word of God, else the faith would languish and die; and, 3dly, A due administration of the sacraments, the ordinary means whereby God increaseth faith. Now come close to the question; in which of these points do we undermine or destroy the church? Do we shut the door of faith? Do we lessen the number of believing people in England? Only remember what faith is, according to our homilies: (viz. "A sure trust and confidence in God that, through the merits of Christ, my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favour of God.") And we appeal to all mankind, Do we destroy this faith, which is the life and soul of the church? Is there, in fact, less of this faith in England, than there was before we went forth? I think this is an assertion which the father of lies himself will scarce dare to utter or maintain.

With regard then to this first point, it is undeniable, we neither undermine nor destroy the church. The second thing is, the preaching and hearing the pure word of God. And do we hinder this? Do we hinder any minister from preaching the pure word of God? If any preach not at all, or not the pure word of God, is the hinderance in us or in themselves? Or, do we lessen the number of those that hear the pure word of God? Are, then, the hearers thereof (whether read or preached) *fewer* than they were in times past? Are the usual places of public worship *less frequented* by means of our preaching? Wheresoever our lot has been cast for any time, are the churches *emptier* than they were before? Surely none that has any regard left either for truth or modesty, will say that *in this point* we are enemies to, or destroyers of, the church.

The third thing requisite (if not to the *being*, at least) to the *well-being* of a church, is the due administration of the sacraments, particularly that of the Lord's-supper. And are we, in *this* respect, underminers or destroyers of the church? Do we either by our example or advice, draw men away from the Lord's-table? Where we have laboured most, are there the fewest communicants? How

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does the fact stand in London, Bristol, Newcastle? O that you would no longer shut your eyes against the broad light which encompasses you on every side!

79. I believe you are sensible by this time, not only how weak this objection is, but likewise how easy it would be, terribly to retort every branch of it upon most of those that make it: whether we speak of *true* living faith, of preaching the *pure* word of God, or of the *due* administration of the sacraments, both of baptism and the Lord's-supper. But I spare you. It sufficeth that our God knoweth, and will make manifest in that day, whether it be by reason of *us* or *you*, that *men abhor the offering of the* Lord.

80. Others object, "That we do not observe *the laws of the Church*, and thereby undermine it." What laws? The rubricks or canons? In every parish where I have been curate yet, I have observed the rubricks with a scrupulous exactness, not for wrath, but for conscience' sake. And this, so far as belongs to an unbeneficed minister, or to a private member of the church, I do now. I will just mention a few of them, and leave you to consider, which of us has observed or does observe them most.

1. Days of fasting or abstinence to be observed:—The forty days of Lent; the Ember days at the four seasons; the three Rogation days; all Fridays in the year, except Christmas-Day.

2. "So many as intend to be partakers of the holy communion, shall signify their names to the curate, at least some time the day before: and if any of these be an open and notorious evil liver, the curate shall advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's-table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.

3. "Then (after the *Nicene* creed) the curate shall declare unto the people, what holydays or fasting-days, are in the week following to be observed.

4. "The minister shall first receive the communion of both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the bishops, priests, and deacons, in like manner, if any be present, and after that, to the people.

5. "In cathedral and collegiate churches, and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the communion with the priest, every Sunday at the least.

6. "The children to be baptized, must be ready at the font, immediately after the last lesson.

7. "The curates of every parish shall warn the people, that without great necessity, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses.

8. "The curate of every parish shall diligently upon Sundays and holydays, after the second Lesson at evening prayer, openly in the Church, instruct and examine so many children as he shall think convenient, in some part of the catechism.

9. "Whensoever the bishop shall give notice for children to be brought unto him for their confirmation, the curate of every parish

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shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop."

81. Now the question is not, whether these rubricks ought to be observed, (you take this for granted in making the objection) but whether in fact they have been observed by you or me, most? Many can witness I have observed them punctually, yea, sometimes at the hazard of my life: and as many, I fear, that you have not observed them at all, and that several of them you never pretended to observe. And is it you that are accusing me, for not observing the rubricks of the church? What grimace is this! "O tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"

82. With regard to the canons, I would, in the first place, desire you to consider two or three plain questions.

1st. Have you ever read them over? 2dly, How can these be called "The canons of the Church of England?" Seeing they were never legally established by the Church? Never regularly confirmed in any full convocation? 3dly, By what right am I required to observe such canons as were never legally established? And then I will join issue with you in one question more, viz. Whether you or I have observed them most? To instance only in a few.

Can. 29. No person shall be admitted godfather or godmother to any child, before the said person hath received the holy communion.

Can. 59. Every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, upon every Sunday and Holyday, before Evening Prayer, shall, for half an hour, or more, examine and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish.

Can. 64. Every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, shall declare to the people every Sunday, whether there be any holydays or fasting-days, the week following.

Can. 68. No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child that is brought to the church to him upon Sundays or holydays to be christened, or to bury any corpse that is brought to the church or church-yard.

(N. B. Inability to pay fees does not alter the case.)

Can. 75. No ecclesiastical persons shall spend their time idly, by day or by night, playing at dice, cards, or tables.

Now, let the clergyman who has observed only these five canons for one year last past, and who has read over all the canons in his congregation; (as the King's ratification straitly enjoins him to do once every year) let him, I say, cast the first stone at us, for not observing the Canons (so called) of the Church of England.

83. "However, we cannot be," it is said "friends to the Church, because we do not *obey the Governors of it*, and *submit ourselves* (as at our ordination we promised to do) *to all their godly admonitions and injunctions.*" I answer, in every individual point of an indifferent nature, we do and will (by the grace of God) obey the governors of the Church. But the *testifying* the *gospel of the grace of* God, is not

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a point of an indifferent nature. *The ministry which we have received of the* Lord Jesus, we are at all hazards to fulfil. It is *the burthen of the* Lord which is laid upon us here; and we are *to obey God rather than man.* Nor yet do we, in any ways, violate the promise which each of us made, when it was said unto him, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We then promised to *submit* (mark the words) *to the* godly *admonitions and injunctions of our ordinary.* But we did not, could not promise to obey *such* injunctions, as we know *are contrary to the word of* God.

84. "But why then," say some, "do you leave the Church?" *Leave the Church!* What can you mean? Do we leave so much as the *Church walls?* Your own eyes tell you, we do not. Do we leave the *ordinances of the Church?* You daily see and know the contrary. Do we leave the *fundamental doctrine of the Church,* namely, Salvation by Faith? It is our constant theme, in public, in private, in writing, in conversation. Do we leave the *practice of the Church,* the standard whereof are the ten commandments? Which are so essentially in-wrought in her constitution, (as little as you may apprehend it) that whosoever breaks one of the least of these, is no member of the Church of England. I believe you do not care to put the cause on this issue. Neither do you mean this by *leaving the Church.* In truth, I cannot conceive what you mean. I doubt you cannot conceive yourself. You have retailed a sentence from somebody else, which you no more understand than he. And no marvel; for it is a true observation,

"Nonsense is never to be understood."

85. Nearly related to this is that other objection, that we *divide the Church.* Remember the Church is, *The faithful people,* or true believers. Now how do we *divide these?* Why, by our societies." Very good. Now the case is plain. "We *divide* them," you say, "by *uniting them together.*" Truly, a very uncommon way of *dividing!* "O, but we divide those who are thus united with each other, from the rest of the Church." By no means. Many of them were before *joined to all their brethren* of the Church of England (and many were not, until they knew us) by *assembling themselves together,* to hear the word of God, and to eat of one bread, and drink of one cup. And do they now *forsake that assembling* themselves together? You cannot, you dare not say it. You know they are more diligent therein than ever: it being one of the fixed rules of our societies, "That every member attend the ordinances of God," i. e. *that he do not divide from the Church.* And if any member of the Church do thus divide from or leave it, he hath no more place among us.

86. I have considered this objection the more at large, because it is of most weight with sincere minds. And to all these, if they have fairly and impartially weighed the answer as well as the objection, I believe it clearly appears, that we are neither *undermining* nor *destroying,* neither *dividing* nor *leaving* the Church. So far from it,

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that we have great heaviness on her account, yea, continual sorrow in our hearts. And our prayer to God is, that he would repair the breaches of Sion, and build the walls of Jerusalem, that this our desolate church may flourish again, and be the praise of the whole earth.

87. But perhaps you have heard, that "we in truth regard no church at all: that gain is the true spring of all our actions: that I, in particular, am well paid for my work, having thirteen hundred pounds a year (as a Reverend Author accurately computed it) at the Foundry alone, over and above what I received from Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle, and other places: and that whosoever survives me, will see I have made good use of my time; for I shall not die a beggar."

88. I freely own, this is one of the best advised objections which has ever yet been made; because it not only puts us upon proving a negative, (which is seldom an easy task,) but also one of such a kind as scarcely admits of any demonstrative proof at all. But for such proof as the nature of the thing allows, I appeal to my manner of life which hath been from the beginning. Ye who have seen it (and not with a friendly eye) for these twelve or fourteen years last past, or for any part of that time, Have ye ever seen any thing like the love of gain therein? Did I not continually remember the words of the Lord Jesus, *It is more blessed to give than to receive?* Ye of Oxford, Do ye not know these things are so? What gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take any thing? From whom did I covet silver, or gold, or apparel? To whom did I deny any thing which I had even to the hour that I departed from you?—Ye of Epworth and Wroote, among whom I ministered for (nearly) the space of three years, what gain did I seek among you? Or of whom did I take or covet any thing?—Ye of Savannah and Frederica, among whom God afterwards proved me, and showed me what was in my heart, what gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take any thing? Or whose food and apparel did I covet (for silver or gold had ye none, no more than I myself for many months,) even when I was in hunger and nakedness? Ye yourselves, and the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, know that I lie not.

89. "But," it is said, "things are fairly altered now. Now I cannot complain of wanting any thing; having the yearly income of a bishop of London, over and above what I gain at other places." At what other places, my friend? Inform yourself a little better, and you will find, that both at Newcastle, Bristol, and Kingswood, (the only places beside London, where any collection at all is made) the money collected is both received and expended by the stewards of those several societies, and never comes into my hands at all, neither first nor last. And you, or any who desire it, shall read over the accounts kept by any of those stewards, and see with your own eyes, that by all these societies, I gain just as much as you do.

90. The case in London stands thus. In November 1739, two gentlemen, then unknown to me (Mr. Ball and Mr. Watkins) came

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and desired me once and again, to preach in a place called the Foundry near Moorfields. With much reluctance I at length complied. I was soon after pressed to take that place into my own hands. These who were the most earnest therein, lent me the purchase-money, which was 115*l.* Mr. Watkins and Mr. Ball then delivered me the names of several subscribers, who offered to pay, some four, or six, some ten shillings a year towards the re-payment of the purchase-money, and the putting the buildings into repair. This amounted one year to near 200*l.*, the second to about 140*l.*, and so the last.

91. The United Society begun a little after, whose weekly contribution (chiefly for the poor) is received and expended by the stewards, and comes not into my hands at all. But there is also a quarterly subscription of many of the society, which is nearly equal to that above mentioned.

92. The uses to which these subscriptions have been hitherto applied, are, 1st, The payment of that 115*l.*; 2dly, The repairing (I might almost say rebuilding) that vast, uncouth heap of ruins at the Foundry; 3dly, The building galleries both for men and women; 4thly, The enlarging the society room to near thrice its first extent. All taxes and occasional expenses are likewise defrayed out of this fund. And it has been hitherto so far from yielding any overplus, that it has never sufficed for these purposes yet. So far from it, that I am still in debt on these accounts near 300*l.* So much have I hitherto gained by preaching the gospel! Besides a debt of 150*l.* still remaining on account of the schools built at Bristol; and another of above 200*l.* on account of that new building at Newcastle. I desire any reasonable man would now sit down and lay these things together, and let him see, whether, allowing me a grain of common sense, (if not of common honesty,) he can possibly conceive, that a view of *gain* would induce me to act in this manner.

93. You can never reconcile it with any degree of common sense, that a man who wants nothing, who has already all the necessaries, all the conveniences, nay, and many of the superfluities of life, and these not only independent of any one, but less liable to contingencies than even a gentleman's freehold estate;—that such an one should calmly and deliberately throw up his ease, most of his friends, his reputation, and that way of life which of all others is most agreeable both to his natural temper and education; that he should toil day and night, spend all his time and strength, knowingly destroy a firm constitution, and hasten into weakness, pain, diseases, death,——to gain a debt of six or seven hundred pounds!

94. But supposing the balance on the other side, let me ask you one plain question. For what gain (setting conscience aside) will you be obliged to act thus? To live exactly as I do? For what price will you preach (and that with all your might, not in an *easy, indolent, fashionable* way) eighteen or nineteen times every week? And this throughout the year? What shall I give you, to travel seven or eight hundred miles, in all weathers, every two or three months?

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For what salary will you abstain from all other diversions, than the doing good, and the praising God? I am mistaken if you would not prefer strangling to such a life, even with thousands of gold and silver.

95. And what is the comfort you have found out for me in these circumstances? Why, that "I shall not die a beggar." So now I am supposed to be heaping up riches, "that I may leave them behind me." Leave them behind me! For whom? My wife and children? Who are they? They are yet unborn. Unless you mean the children of faith whom God hath given me. But my heavenly Father feedeth them. Indeed if I lay up riches at all, it must be *to leave them behind me;* seeing my fellowship is a provision for life. But I cannot understand this. What comfort would it be to my soul, now launched into eternity, that I had *left behind me* gold as the dust, and silver as the sand of the sea? Will it follow me over the great gulf? Or can I go back to it? Thou, that liftest up thy eyes in hell, what do thy riches profit thee now? Will all thou once hadst under the sun, gain thee a drop of water to cool thy tongue? O the comfort of *riches* left *behind*, to one who is tormented in that flame!—You put me in mind of those celebrated lines, (which I once exceedingly admired) addressed by way of consolation to the soul of a poor self-murderer:

> "Yet shall thy grave with rising flowers be drest,
> And the green turf lie light upon thy breast!
> Here shall the year its earliest beauties show;
> Here the first roses of the Spring shall blow:
> While angels, with their silver wings o'ershade
> The place, now sacred by thy relics made."

96. I will now simply tell you my sense of these matters, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear. Food and raiment I have; such food as I choose to eat, and such raiment as I choose to put on. I have a place where to lay my head. I have what is needful for life and godliness. And I apprehend this is all the world can afford. The kings of the earth can give me no more. For, as to gold and silver, I count it dung and dross: I trample it under my feet. I (yet not I, but by the grace of God that is in me) esteem it just as mire in the streets. I desire it not; I seek it not: I only fear, lest any of it should cleave to me, and I should not be able to shake it off, before my spirit returns to God. It must indeed pass through my hands; but I will take care (God being my helper) that the mammon of unrighteousness shall only pass through; it shall not rest there. None of the accursed thing shall be found in my tents, when the Lord calleth me hence. And hear ye this, all you who have discovered the treasures which I am to leave behind me: if I leave behind me ten pounds (above my debts and the little arrears of my fellowship) you and all mankind bear witness against me, that I lived and died a thief and a robber.

97. Before I conclude, I cannot but entreat you who know God, to review the whole matter from the foundation. Call to mind what

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the state of religion was, in our nation, a few years since. In whom did you find the *holy tempers* that were in Christ? Bowels of mercies, lowliness, meekness, gentleness, contempt of the world, patience, temperance, long-suffering? A burning love to God, rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks; and a tender love to all mankind, covering, believing, hoping, enduring all things? Perhaps you did not know one such man in the world. But how many, that had *all unholy tempers!* What vanity and pride, what stubbornness and self-will, what anger, fretfulness, discontent, what suspicion and resentment, what inordinate affections, what irregular passions, what foolish and hurtful desires might you find, in those who were called *the best* of men! In those who made the strictest profession of religion! And how few did you know who went so far as the *profession* of religion, who had even the *form of godliness!* Did you not frequently bewail, wherever your lot was cast, the general want of even *outward religion!* How few were seen at the public worship of God! How much fewer at the Lord's table? And was even this little flock zealous of good works, careful, as they had time, to do good to all men? On the other hand, did you not with grief observe, *outward irreligion* in every place? Where could you be for one week, without being an eye or an ear witness, of cursing, swearing, or profaneness, of sabbath-breaking or drunkenness, of quarrelling or brawling, of revenge or obscenity? Were these things done in a corner? Did not gross iniquity of all kinds overspread our land as a flood? Yea, and daily increase, in spite of all the opposition which the children of God did or could make against it?

98. If you had been then told, that the jealous God would soon arise and maintain his own cause; that he would pour down his Spirit from on high, and renew the face of the earth; that he would shed abroad his love in the hearts of the outcasts of men, producing all holy and heavenly tempers, expelling anger, and pride, and evil desire, and all unholy and earthly tempers; causing outward religion, the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love, to flourish and abound; and wherever it spread, abolishing outward irreligion, destroying all the works of the Devil: if you had been told, that this living knowledge of the Lord would, in a short space, overspread our land; yea, and daily increase, in spite of all the opposition which the Devil and his children did or could make against it: Would you not vehemently have desired to see that day, that you might bless God and rejoice therein?

99. Behold the day of the Lord is come. He is again visiting and redeeming his people. Having eyes, see ye not? Having ears, do ye not hear? Neither understand with your hearts? At this hour the Lord is rolling away our reproach. Already his standard is set up. His Spirit is poured forth on the outcasts of men, and his love shed abroad in their hearts. Love of all mankind, meekness, gentleness, humbleness of mind, holy and heavenly affections, do take place of hate, anger, pride, revenge, and vile or vain affections. Hence, wherever the power of the Lord spreads, springs outward

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religion in all its forms. The houses of God are filled; the table of the Lord is thronged on every side. And those who thus show their love of God, show they love their neighbour also, by being careful to maintain good works, by doing all manner of good (as they have time) to all men. They are likewise careful to abstain from all evil. Cursing, Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, with all other (however fashionable) works of the Devil, are not once named among them. All this is plain, demonstrable fact. For this also is not done in a corner. Now do you acknowledge the day of our visitation? Do you bless God and rejoice therein?

100. What hinders? Is it this, that men say all manner of evil of those whom God is pleased to use as instruments in his work? O ye fools, did ye suppose the Devil was dead? Or that he would not fight for his kingdom? And what weapons shall he fight with if not with lies? Is he not a liar, and the father of lies? Suffer ye then thus far. Let the Devil and his children say all manner of evil of us. And let them go on deceiving each other, and being deceived. But ye need not be deceived also. Or if you are, if you will believe all they say; be it so, that we are weak, silly, wicked men; without sense, without learning, without even a desire or design of doing good: yet I insist upon the fact. Christ is preached, and sinners are converted to God. This none but a madman can deny. We are ready to prove it by a cloud of witnesses. Neither, therefore, can the inference be denied, that God is now visiting his people. O that all men may know in this their day, the things that make for their peace!

101. Upon the whole, to men of the world I would still recommend the known advice of Gamaliel: "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this work be of men, it will come to naught: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." But unto you whom God hath chosen out of the world, I say ye are our brethren, and of our Father's house, it behooveth you, in whatsoever manner ye are able, *to strengthen our hands in God.* And this ye are all able to do; to wish us good luck in the name of the Lord, and to pray continually, that none of *these things may move us,* and that "we may not count our lives dear unto ourselves, so that we may finish our course with joy, and the ministry which we have received of the Lord Jesus!"

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A FARTHER APPEAL

TO MEN OF REASON AND RELIGION.

Let the Righteous smite me friendly and reprove me.—Ps. cxli. 5.

PART I.

IN a former Treatise I declared, in the plainest manner I could, both my principles and practice; and answered some of the most important, as well as the most common objections to each. But I have not yet delivered my own soul. I believe it is still incumbent upon me to answer other objections, particularly such as have been urged by those who are esteemed religious or reasonable men.

These partly relate to the doctrines I teach, partly to my manner of teaching them, and partly to the effects which are supposed to follow from teaching these doctrines in this manner.

I. 1. I will briefly mention what those doctrines are, before I consider the objections against them. Now all I teach respects either the nature and condition of justification, the nature and condition of salvation, the nature of justifying and saving faith, or the Author of faith and salvation.

2. First, The nature of Justification. It sometimes means *our acquittal at the last day. But this is altogether out of the present question: that justification whereof our Articles and Homilies speak, meaning present forgiveness, pardon of sins, and consequently acceptance with God; who therein† *declares his righteousness* or mercy, by or *for the remission of the sins that are past*, saying, *I will be merciful to thy unrighteousness, and thine iniquities I will remember no more.*

I believe, ‡the condition of this, is faith: I mean not only, that without faith we cannot be justified; but also, that as soon as any one has true faith, in that moment he is justified.

§Good works follow this faith, but cannot go before it: much less can sanctification, which implies, a continued course of good works, springing from holiness of heart. But it is allowed, that entire ‖sanctification goes before our justification at the last day.

It is allowed also, that ¶repentance, and **fruits meet for repentance, go before faith. Repentance absolutely must go before faith: fruits meet for it, if there be opportunity. By repentance, I mean

* *Matt.* xii. 37. † *Rom.* iii. 25. ‡ *Rom.* iv. 5, &c. § *Luke* vi. 43.
‖ *Heb.* xii. 14. ¶ *Mark* i. 15. ** *Matt.* iii. 8.

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conviction of sin, producing real desires and sincere resolutions of amendment: and by *fruits meet for repentance*, *forgiving our brother, †ceasing from evil, doing good, ‡using the ordinances of God, and in general §obeying him according to the measure of grace which we have received. But these, I cannot as yet, term *good works*; because they do not spring from faith and the love of God.

3. By salvation I mean, not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell, or going to heaven: but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity; a recovery of the divine nature; the renewal of our souls after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy, and truth. This implies all holy and heavenly tempers, and by consequence all holiness of conversation.

Now, if by salvation we mean a present salvation from sin, we cannot say, holiness is the condition of it. For it is the thing itself. Salvation, in this sense, and hollness, are synonymous terms. We must therefore say, "We are saved by faith." Faith is the sole condition of this salvation. For without faith we cannot be thus saved. But whosoever believeth, is saved already.

Without faith we cannot be thus saved. For we cannot rightly serve God, unless we love him. And we cannot love him, unless we know him: neither can we know God, unless by faith. Therefore, salvation by faith, is only in other words, the love of God by the knowledge of God: or, the recovery of the image of God, by a true, spiritual acquaintance with him.

4. Faith, in general, is a divine, supernatural ελεγχος‖ of things not seen, not discoverable by our bodily senses, as being either past, future, or spiritual. Justifying faith implies, not only a divine ελεγχος, that God was in Christ "reconciling the world unto himself," but a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for my sins, that he loved me and gave himself for me. And the moment a penitent sinner believes this, God pardons and absolves him.

And as soon as his pardon or justification is witnessed to him by the Holy Ghost, he is saved. He loves God and all mankind. He has *the mind that was in* Christ, and power to *walk as he also walked*. From that time, unless he make shipwreck of the faith, salvation gradually increases in his soul. For "so is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground—And it springeth up, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

5. The first sowing of this seed, I cannot conceive to be other than instantaneous: whether I consider experience, or the word of God, or the very nature of the thing.—However, I contend not for a circumstance, but the substance; if you can attain it another way, do. Only see that you do attain it; for if you fall short, you perish everlastingly.

This beginning of that vast, inward change, is usually termed,

* *Matt.* vi. 14, 15. † *Luke* iii. 4. 9, &c. ‡ *Matt.* vii. 7. § *Matt.* xxv. 29.
‖ *Evidence*, or *Conviction.*

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The New-Birth. Baptism is the outward sign of this inward grace, which is supposed by our Church to be given with and through that sign to all infants, and to those of riper years, if they repent and believe the gospel. But how extremely idle are the common disputes on this head! I tell a sinner, "You must be born again." "No," say you, "he was born again in baptism: therefore he cannot be born again now." Alas! what trifling is this! What if he was then a child of God? He is now manifestly a child of the Devil: for the works of his father he doth. Therefore, do not play upon words. He must go through an entire change of heart. In one not yet baptized, you yourself would call that change, The New-Birth. In him, call it what you will; but remember meantime, that if either he or you die without it, your baptism will be so far from profiting you, that it will greatly increase your damnation.

6. The Author of faith and salvation is God alone. It is he that works in us both to will and to do. He is the sole Giver of every good gift, and the sole Author of every good work. There is no more of power than of merit in man; but as all merit is in the Son of God, in what he has done and suffered for us, so all power is in the Spirit of God. And therefore every man, in order to believe unto salvation, must receive the Holy Ghost. This is essentially necessary to every Christian, not in order to his working miracles, but in order to faith, peace, joy, and love, the ordinary fruits of the Spirit.

Although no man on earth can explain the *particular manner*, wherein the Spirit of God works on the soul, yet whosoever has these fruits, cannot but know and *feel* that God has wrought them in his heart.

Sometimes, he acts more particularly on the understanding, opening or *enlightening* it, (as the Scripture speaks) and *revealing*, unveiling, discovering to us *the deep things of God.*

Sometimes he acts on the wills and affections of men: withdrawing them from evil, inclining them to good, inspiring (breathing, as it were) good thoughts into them: so it has frequently been expressed, by an easy, natural metaphor, strictly analogous to רוח, πνευμα, *Spiritus*, and the words used in most modern tongues also, to denote the Third Person in the ever-blessed Trinity. But, however it be expressed, it is certain, all true faith, and the whole work of salvation, every good thought, word, and work, is altogether by the operation of the Spirit of God.

II. 1. I now come to consider the principal objections, which have lately been made against these doctrines.

I know nothing material which has been objected, as to the nature of justification: but many persons seem to be very confused in their thoughts concerning it, and speak as if they had never heard of any justification antecedent to that of the last day. To clear up this, there needs only a closer inspection of our Articles and Homilies; wherein justification is always taken, for the present remission of our sins.

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But many are the objections which have been warmly urged, against the condition of justification, faith alone: particularly in two treatises, the former entitled, *The Notions of the Methodists* fully *disproved:* the second, *The Notions of the Methodists* farther *disproved.* In both of which it is vehemently affirmed, 1. That this is not a Scriptural doctrine. 2. That it is not the doctrine of the Church of England.

It will not be needful to name the former of these any more; seeing there is neither one text produced therein, to prove this doctrine unscriptural, nor one sentence from the Articles or Homilies, to prove it contrary to the doctrine of the Church. But so much of the latter as relates to the merits of the *cause*, I will endeavour to consider calmly. As to what is *personal*, I leave it as it is. *God, be merciful to me a sinner!*

2. To prove this doctrine unscriptural, that "Faith alone is the condition of justification," you allege, that "sanctification, according to Scripture, must go before it:" to evince which, you quote the following texts, which I leave as I find them: * "Go, disciple all nations—teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded them." † "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." ‡ "Preach repentance and remission of sins." § "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, for the remission of sins." ‖ "Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." ¶ "By one offering, he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." You add, "St. Paul taught ** 'Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ;' and calls †† 'Repentance from dead works, and faith toward God," *first principles.*

You subjoin, "But ye are washed," says he, "but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified. By *washed* is meant their baptism; and by their baptism is meant, first their sanctification, and then their justification." This is a flat begging the question; you take for granted, the very point which you ought to prove. "St. Peter also," you say, "affirms, that *baptism doth save us* or justify us." Again, you beg the question: you take for granted what I utterly deny, viz. that *save* and *justify* are here synonymous terms. Till this is proved, you can draw no inference at all; for you have no foundation whereon to build.

I conceive these and all the Scriptures which can be quoted to prove sanctification antecedent to justification, if they do not relate to our final justification, prove only, what I have never denied, that repentance, or conviction of sin, and fruits meet for repentance, precede that faith whereby we are justified: but by no means, that the love of God, or any branch of true holiness, must or can precede faith.

3. It is objected, secondly, That justification by faith alone, is not the doctrine of the Church of England.

* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. † Mark xvi. 16. ‡ Luke xxiv. 47. § Acts ii. 38. ‖ Chap. iii. 19. ¶ Heb. x. 14. ** Acts xx. 21. †† Heb. vi. 1.

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"You believe," says the writer above mentioned, "that no good work can be previous to justification, nor consequently a condition of it. But God be praised, our Church has nowhere delivered such abominable doctrine." Page 14.

"The clergy contend for inward holiness, as previous to the first justification.—This is the doctrine they universally inculcate, and which you cannot oppose without contradicting the doctrine of our Church." Page 26.

"All your strongest persuasives to the love of God, will not blanch over the deformity of that doctrine, that men may be justified—by faith alone—unless you publicly recant this horrid doctrine, your faith is vain." Page 27.

"If you will vouchsafe to purge out this venomous part of your principles, in which the *wide, essential, fundamental, irreconcilable difference*, as you very justly term it, mainly consists, then there will be found so far no disagreement between you and the Clergy of the Church of England." Ibid.

4. In order to be clearly and fully satisfied, what the doctrine of the Church of England is, as it stands opposed to the doctrine of the Antinomians, on the one hand, and to that of justification by works on the other, I will simply set down what occurs on this head, either in her Liturgy, Articles, or Homilies.

"Spare thou them, O God, which *confess their faults:* restore thou them that are *penitent*, according to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu, our Lord."

"He pardoneth and absolveth all them that *truly repent*, and *unfeignedly believe* his holy gospel."

"Almighty God, who dost forgive the sins of them that are *penitent*, create and make in us new and contrite hearts; that we *worthily lamenting our sins*, and *acknowledging our wretchedness*, may obtain of thee perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Collect for Ash-Wednesday.

"Almighty God—hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with *hearty repentance and true faith*, turn unto him." Communion-Office.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ hath left power to absolve all sinners who *truly repent* and *believe* in him." Visitation of the sick.

"Give him unfeigned *repentance* and steadfast *faith*, that his sins may be blotted out." Ibid.

"He is a merciful receiver of all true penitent sinners, and is ready to pardon us, if we come unto him with faithful repentance." Commination Office.

Infants indeed, our Church supposes to be justified in baptism, although they cannot then either believe or repent, but she expressly requires both repentance and faith, in those who come to be baptized when they are of riper years.

As earnestly therefore as our Church inculcates, Justification by Faith alone, she nevertheless suposes repentance to be previous to faith, and *fruits meet for repentance;* yea, and universal holiness to be

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previous to final justification, as evidently appears from the following words:

"Let us beseech him—that the rest of our life may be pure and holy, so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy." Absolution.

"May we seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly wisdom here, which may in the end bring us to life everlasting." Visitation of the Sick.

"Raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness,—that at the last day we may be found acceptable in thy sight." Burial Office.

"If we from henceforth walk in his ways,—seeking always his glory, Christ will set us on his right hand." Commination Office.

5. We come next to the Articles of our Church: the former part of the ninth runs thus:

Of Original or Birth-Sin.

"Original sin—is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man—whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit: and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation."

ART. X. *Of Free-Will.*

"The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will."

ART. XI. *Of the Justification of Man.*

"We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification."

I believe this Article relates to the *meritorious cause* of justification, rather than to the condition of it. On this therefore I do not build any thing concerning it, but on those that follow.

ART. XII. *Of Good Works.*

"Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins—yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith: insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree may be known by the fruit."

We are taught here, 1. That good works in general, follow after justification. 2. That they spring out of a true and lively faith, that faith whereby we are justified. 3. That true, justifying faith may be as evidently known by them, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

Does it not follow, That the supposing any good work to go be-

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fore justification, is fully as absurd as the supposing an apple or any other fruit to grow before the tree?

But let us hear the Church, speaking yet more plainly.

ART. XIII. *Of Works done before Justification.*

"Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, (i. e. before justification, as the title expresses it,) are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ—yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not they have the nature of sin."

Now, if all works done before justification, have the nature of sin, (both because they spring not of faith in Christ, and because they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done,) what becomes of sanctification previous to justification? It is utterly excluded: seeing whatever is previous to justification, is not good or holy, but evil and sinful.

Although therefore our Church does frequently assert, that we ought to repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, if ever we would attain to that faith, whereby alone we are justified; yet she never asserts (and here the hinge of the question turns) that these are good works, so long as they are previous to justification. Nay, she expressly asserts the direct contrary, viz. That they have all the nature of sin. So that this "horrid, scandalous, wicked, abominable, venomous, blasphemous doctrine," is nevertheless the doctrine of the Church of England.

6. It remains, to consider what occurs in the Homilies, first with regard to the meritorious cause of our justification, agreeable to the 11th, and then with regard to the condition of it, agreeable to the 12th and 13th Articles.

"These things must go together in our justification; upon God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, the satisfaction of God's justice: and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ." Homily on Salvation, part I. "So that the grace of God doth not shut out the justice (or righteousness) of God in our justification; but only shutteth out the righteousness of man—as to deserving our justification." "And therefore St. Paul declareth nothing on the behalf of man, concerning his justification, but only a true faith." "And yet that faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, to be joined with faith (that is, afterwards; see below) in every man that is justified—Neither doth faith shut out the righteousness of our good works, necessarily to be done afterwards. But it excludeth them so, that we may not do them to this intent, to be made just, (or, to be justified) by doing them. "That we are *justified by faith alone*, is spoken, to take away clearly all *merit* of our works, and wholly to ascribe the *merit and deserving* of our justification unto Christ only." Ibid. Part II. "The true meaning of this saying, We be *justified by faith only*, is this, We be justified by the *merits* of Christ only, and not of our own works." Ibid. Part III.

7. Thus far touching the meritorious cause of our Justification;

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referred to in the 11th Article. The 12th and 13th are a summary of what now follows, with regard to the condition of it.

"Of (justifying) true faith, three things are specially to be noted, 1. That it bringeth forth good works. 2. That without it can no good works be done. 3. What good works it doth bring forth." *Sermon on Faith.* Part I.

"Without faith can no good work be done, acceptable and pleasant unto God. For as a branch cannot bear fruit of itself, saith our Saviour Christ, except it abide in the vine, so cannot you, except you abide in me. Faith giveth life to the soul; and they be as much dead to God that lack faith, as they be to the world, whose bodies lack souls. Without faith all that is done of us, is but dead before God. Even as a picture is but a dead representation of the thing itself, so be the works of all unfaithful (unbelieving) persons before God. They be but shadows of lively and good things, and not good things indeed. For true faith doth give life to the works, and without faith no work is good before God." Ibid. Part III.

"We must set no good works before faith, nor think that before faith a man may do any good works. For such works are as the course of a horse that runneth out of the way, which taketh great labour, but to no purpose." Ibid. "Without faith we have no virtues, but only the shadows of them. All the life of them that lack the true faith is sin." Ibid. "As men first have life, and after be nourished, so must our faith go before, and after be nourished with good works. And life may be without nourishment, but nourishment cannot be without life." Homily of Works annexed to Faith. Part I.

"I can show a man, that by faith without works lived and came to heaven. But without faith never man had life. The thief on the cross only believed, and the most merciful God justified him. Truth it is, if he had lived and not regarded faith and the works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this I say, faith by itself saved him. But works by themselves never justified any man." "Good works go not before, in him which shall afterwards be justified. But good works do follow after, when a man is first justified." Homily on Fasting. Part I.

8. From the whole tenor, then, of her Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, the doctrine of the church of England appears to be this:

1. That no good work, properly so called, can go before Justification.

2. That no degree of true Sanctification can be previous to it.

3. That, as the *meritorious cause* of Justification is the life and death of Christ; so the condition of it is faith. Faith alone; and,

4. That both inward and outward holiness, are consequent on this faith, and are the ordinary, stated condition, of final Justification.

9. And what more can you desire, who have hitherto opposed *Justification by Faith alone*, merely upon a principle of conscience; because you were zealous for holiness and good works? Do I not

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effectually secure these from contempt, at the same time that I defend the doctrines of the Church? I not only allow, but vehemently contend, that none shall ever enter into glory, who is not holy on earth, as well in heart, as in all manner of conversation. I cry aloud, *Let all that have believed, be careful to maintain good works:* and *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from all iniquity.* I exhort even those who are conscious they do not believe, *Cease to do evil, learn to do well; the kingdom of heaven is at hand;* therefore *repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance.* Are not these directions the very same in substance, which you yourself would give to persons so circumstanced? What means then the endless *strife of words?* Or, *what doth your arguing prove?*

10. Many of those, who are perhaps as zealous of good works as you, think I have allowed you too much.--Nay, my brethren, how can we help allowing it, if we allow the Scriptures to be from God? For is it not written, and do not yourselves believe, *without holiness no man shall see the Lord?* And how then, without fighting about words, can we deny, that holiness is a condition of final acceptance? And, as to the first, acceptance or pardon, does not all experience as well as Scripture prove, that no man ever yet truly believed the gospel, who did not first repent? That none was ever yet truly convinced of righteousness, who was not first convinced of sin? Repentance therefore in this sense, we cannot deny to be necessarily previous to faith. Is it not equally undeniable, that the running back into known, wilful sin, (suppose it were drunkenness or uncleanness,) stifles that repentance or conviction? And can that repentance come to any good issue in his soul, who resolves not to forgive his brother? or who obstinately refrains from what God convinces him is right, whether it be prayer or hearing his word? Would you scruple yourself to tell one of these, "Why if you will thus drink away all conviction, how should you ever truly know your want of Christ? Or consequently, believe in him?—If you will not forgive your brother his trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses—If you will not ask, how can you expect to receive?—If you will not hear, how can faith come by hearing?—It is plain, you grieve the Spirit of God; you will not have him to reign over you. For "unto him that hath, shall be given: but from him that hath not," i. e. uses it not, "shall be taken away even that which he hath. Would you scruple on a proper occasion to say this? You cannot scruple it, if you believe the Bible. But in saying this, you allow all which I have said, viz. That previous to justifying faith, there must be repentance, and, if opportunity permit, fruits meet for repentance.

11. And yet I allow you this, that although both repentance and the fruits thereof are in some sense necessary before Justification, yet neither the one nor the other is necessary in the same sense or in the same degree with faith. Not in the same degree. For in whatever moment a man believes, (in the Christian sense of the word,) he is justified, his sins are blotted out, *his faith is counted to*

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him for righteousness. But it is not so, at whatever moment he repents, or brings forth any or all the fruits of repentance. Faith alone therefore justifies; which repentance alone does not; much less any outward work. And consequently, none of these are necessary to justification, in the same degree with faith.

Nor in the same sense. For none of these has so direct, immediate a relation to justification as faith. This is proximately necessary thereto: repentance, remotely, as it is necessary to the increase or continuance of faith. And even in this sense, these are only necessary, on supposition—if there be time and opportunity for them: for in many instances there is not: but God cuts short his work, and faith prevents the fruits of repentance. So that the general proposition is not overthrown, but clearly established by these concessions; and we conclude still, both on the authority of Scripture and the Church, that faith alone is the proximate condition of Justification.

III. 1. I was once inclined to believe that none would openly object, against what I have any where said of the *Nature of Salvation.* How greatly then was I surprised some months ago, when I was shown a kind of Circular Letter, which one of those whom the Holy Ghost hath made overseers of his church, I was informed, had sent to all the clergy of his diocess! Part of it ran (nearly, if not exactly) thus: "There is great indiscretion in preaching up a sort of religion, as the true and only Christianity, which in their own account of it consists in an enthusiastic ardour, to be understood or attained by very few, and not to be practised without breaking in upon the common duties of life." O my Lord, what manner of words are these? Supposing candour and love out of the question, are they words of truth? I dare stake my life upon it, there is not one true clause in all this paragraph. The propositions contained therein, are these:—1. That the Religion I preach consists in an Enthusiastic Ardour: 2. That it can be attained by very few: 3. That it can be understood by very few: 4. That it cannot be practised without breaking in upon the common duties of life: 5. And that all this may be proved by my own account of it.

I earnestly entreat your Grace, to review my own account of it, as it stands in any of my former writings: or to consider the short account which is given in this. And if you can thence make good any one of those propositions, I do hereby promise before God and the world, that I will never preach more.

At present, I do not well understand what your Grace means by "An Enthusiastic Ardour." Surely you do not mean, the love of God! No, not though a poor pardoned sinner should carry it so far, as to love the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength! But this alone is the Ardour which I preach up, as the foundation of the true and only Christianity. I pray God so to fill your whole heart therewith, that you may praise him for ever and ever. But why should your Grace believe, that the love of God, can be attained by very few? Or that it can be understood by

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very few? All who attain it, understand it well. And did not he, who is loving to every man, design, that every man should attain true love? O that all would know in this their day, the things that make for their peace! And cannot the love both of God and our neighbour be practised, without breaking in upon the common duties of life? Nay, can any of the common duties of life, be rightly practised without them? I apprehend not. I apprehend I am then laying the true, the only foundation for all those duties, when I preach, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself.*

2. With this Letter was sent (I believe to every Clergyman in the Diocess) the Pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the Conduct and Behaviour of a certain Sect, usually distinguished by the name of Methodists.* It has been generally supposed to be written by a person, who is every way my superior. Perhaps one reason why he did not inscribe his name was, that his greatness might not make me afraid: and that I might have liberty to stand as it were, on even ground, while I answer for myself. In considering, therefore, such parts of these Observations, as naturally fall in my way, I will take that method which, I believe, that Author desires, using no ceremony at all; but speaking as to an equal, that it may the more easily be discerned, where the truth lies.

The first Query relating to Doctrine, is this:

"Whether Notions in Religion may not be heightened to such extremes, as to lead some into a disregard of religion itself, through despair of attaining such exalted heights? And whether others who have imbibed those Notions, may not be led by them, into a disregard and disesteem of the common duties and offices of life? To such a degree, at least, as is inconsistent with that attention to them, and that diligence in them, which Providence has made necessary to the well-being of private families and public societies, and which Christianity does not only require in all stations, and in all conditions, but declares at the same time, that the performance even of the lowest offices in life, as unto God, (whose providence has placed people in their several stations) is truly a serving of Christ, and will not fail of its reward in the next world?"

You have interwoven so many particulars in this general question, that I must divide and answer them one by one.

Q. 1. Whether Notions in Religion may not be heightened to such extremes as to lead some into a disregard of Religion itself?

A. They may. But that I have so heightened them, lies upon you to prove.

Q. 2. Whether others may not be led into a disregard of Religion, through despair of attaining such exalted heights?

A. What heights? The loving God with all our heart? I believe this is the most exalted height in man or angel. But I have not heard, that any have been led into a disregard of Religion, through despair of attaining this.

Q. 3. Whether others who have imbibed these notions, may not

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be led by them into a disregard and disesteem, of the common duties and offices of life?

A. My notions are, "True Religion is the loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves; and in that love abstaining from all evil, and doing all possible good to all men." Now, it is not possible in the nature of things, that any should be led by these Notions, into either a disregard or disesteem of the common duties and offices of life.

Q. 4. But may they not be led by them into such a degree at least, of disregard for the common duties of life, as is inconsistent with that attention to them, and diligence in them, which Providence has made necessary?

A. No. Quite the reverse. They lead men to discharge all those duties with the strictest diligence and closest attention.

Q. 5. Does not Christianity require this attention and diligence in all stations and in all conditions?

A. Yes.

Q. 6. Does it not declare, that the performance even of the lowest offices of life, as unto God, is truly a serving of Christ? And will not fail of its reward in the next world?

A. It does. But whom are you confuting? Not me. For this is the Doctrine I preach continually.

Query the second. "Whether the enemy of Christianity may not find his account, in carrying Christianity, which was designed for a rule to all stations, and all conditions, to such heights as make it fairly practicable by a very few, in comparison, or rather by none?"

I answer, 1. The height to which we carry Christianity (as was but now observed) is this, *thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself.* 2. The Enemy of Christianity cannot find his account, in our carrying it to this height. 3. You will not say on reflection, that Christianity, even in this height, is practicable by very few, or rather by none: you yourself will confess, this is a rule (as God designed it should) for all stations, and all conditions.

Query the third. "Whether, in particular, the carrying the Doctrine of Justification by Faith alone to such a height, as not to allow that a careful and sincere observance of moral duties is so much as a condition of our acceptance with God, and of our being justified in his sight: whether this, I say, does not naturally lead people to a disregard of those duties, and a low esteem of them; or rather to think them no part of the Christian Religion?"

I trust Justification by Faith alone, has been so explained above, as to secure, not only a high esteem, but also a careful and sincere observance of all moral duties.

Query the fourth. "Whether a due and regular attendance on the public offices of Religion, paid by good men in a serious and composed way, does not better answer the true ends of devotion, and is not a better evidence of the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, than those sudden agonies, roarings and screamings, tremblings, droppings

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down, ravings and madnesses, into which their hearers have been cast?"

I must answer this Query likewise, part by part.

Q. 1. Whether a due and regular attendance on the public offices of Religion, paid in a serious and composed way, by good (i. e. well-meaning) men, does not answer the true ends of Devotion?

A. I suppose by Devotion you mean public worship; by the true ends of it, the love of God and man: and by a due and regular attendance on the public offices of Religion, paid in a serious and composed way, the going as often as we have opportunity to our Parish Church, and to the Sacrament there administered.—If so, the question is, "Whether this attendance on those offices, does not produce the love of God and man?" I answer, sometimes it does; and sometimes it does not. I myself thus attended them for many years; and yet am conscious to myself, that during that whole time, I had no more of the love of God than a stone. And I know many hundreds, perhaps thousands of serious persons, who are ready to testify the same thing.

Q. 2. But is not this a better evidence of the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, than those sudden agonies?

A. All these persons, as well as I, can testify also, that this is no evidence at all of the co-operation of the Holy Spirit. For some years I attended these public offices, because I would not be punished for non-attendance. And many of these attended them, because their parents did before them, or because they would not lose their character. Many more, because they confounded the means with the end, and fancied this *opus operatum* would bring them to heaven. How many thousands are now under this strong delusion! Beware, you bring not their blood on your own head!

Q. 3. However, does not this attendance better answer those ends, than those roarings, screamings, &c.?

I suppose you mean, "Better than an attendance on that preaching, which has often been accompanied with these." I answer. 1. There is no manner of need to set the one in opposition to the other: seeing we continually exhort all who attend on our preaching, to attend the offices of the Church. And they do pay a more regular attendance there, than ever they did before. 2. Their attending the Church did not, in fact, answer those ends at all, till they attended this preaching also. 3. It is the preaching remission of sins through Jesus Christ, which alone answers the true ends of Devotion. And this will always be accompanied with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit; though not always with sudden agonies, roarings, screamings, tremblings, or droppings down. Indeed if God is pleased at any time to permit any of these, I cannot hinder it. Neither can this hinder the work of his Spirit in the soul: which may be carried on either with or without them. But, 4. I cannot apprehend it to be any reasonable proof, that "this is not the work of God," that a convinced sinner should fall into an extreme agony, both of body and soul, (Journal 3, 1 Edit. duod. p. 26.) That another should roar for the

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disquietness of her heart; (p. 40.) that others should scream or cry with a loud and bitter cry, "What must we do to be saved?" (p. 50.) that others should exceedingly tremble and quake. (p. 58.) And others, in a deep sense of the majesty of God, should fall prostrate upon the ground. (p. 59.) Indeed by picking out one single word from a sentence, and then putting together what you had gleaned in sixty or seventy pages, you have drawn a terrible group, for them who look no farther than those two lines in the Observations. But the bare addition of half a line to each word, just as it stands in the place from which you quoted it, reconciles all both to Scripture and Reason, and the spectre-form vanishes away.

You have taken into your account, ravings and madnesses too. As instances of the former, you refer to the case of *John Haydon*, (p. 44) and of *Thomas Maxfield*, (p. 50.) I wish you would calmly consider, the reasoning of one on that head, who is not prejudiced in my favour. "What influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body, I pretend not to explain. But I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself, on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction."

For instances of madness you may refer to page 88. 90, 91, 92, 93. The words in page 88, are these: "I could not but be under some concern, with regard to one or two persons, who were tormented in an unaccountable manner, and seemed to be indeed lunatic as well as sore-vexed. Soon after I was sent for to one of these, who was so strangely torn of the Devil, that I almost wondered her relations did not say, Much religion *hath made thee mad.* We prayed God to *bruise Satan* under her feet. Immediately *we had the petition we asked of him.* She cried out vehemently, 'He is gone, he is gone,' and was filled with the spirit of *Love, and of a sound mind.* I have seen her many times since strong in the Lord. When I asked abruptly, 'What do you desire now?' She answered, 'Heaven.' I asked, 'What is in your heart?' She replied, 'God.' I asked, 'But how is your heart when any thing provokes you?' She said, 'By the grace of God, I am not provoked at any thing. All the things of this world pass by me as shadows.' Are these the words of one that is beside herself? Let any man of reason judge!

Your next instance, p. 60, stands thus:—"About noon I came to Usk, where I preached to a small company of poor people, on, *The Son of man is come to save that which was lost.* One gray-headed man wept and trembled exceedingly; and another who was there, (I have since heard) as well as two or three who were at the *Devauden, are gone quite distracted;* that is, (observe, the following are my express words, in which I immediately specify what it was which *some accounted distraction,*) 'They mourn and refuse to be comforted, till they have *Redemption through his blood.*'"

If you think the case mentioned, p. 92, 93, to be another instance of madness, I contend not. It was because I did not understand

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that uncommon case, that I prefaced it with this reflection. "The fact I nakedly relate, and leave every man to his own judgment upon it." Only be pleased to observe, that this madness, if such it were, is no more chargeable upon me than upon you. For the subject of it had no relation to, connexion or communication with me, nor had I ever seen her before that hour.

5. Query the fifth. "Whether those exalted strains in religion, and an imagination of being already in a state of perfection, are not apt to lead men to spiritual pride, and to a contempt of their fellow Christians; while they consider them as only going on in what they call the *low* and *imperfect* way, (i. e. as growing in grace and goodness only by degrees) even though it appeared by the lives of those who are considered by them as in that low and imperfect way, that they are persons who are gradually working out their salvation, by their own honest endeavours, and through the ordinary assistance of God's grace; with an humble reliance upon the merits of Christ for the pardon of their sins, and the acceptance of their sincere, though imperfect services?"

I must divide this query too, but first permit me to ask, what do you mean by those exalted strains in religion? I have said again and again, I know no more exalted strain, than "I will love thee, O Lord, my God:" especially according to the propriety of David's expression, ארחמך יהוה. *Ex intimis visceribus diligam te, Domine. I will love thee, O Lord, from my inmost bowels or soul.* This premised, let us go on step by step.

Q. 1. Whether the preaching of "loving God from our inmost bowels," is not apt to lead men to spiritual pride, and to contempt of their fellow Christians?

A. No: but so far as it takes place, it will humble them to the dust.

Q. 2. Whether an imagination of being already in a state of perfection is not apt to lead men into this spiritual pride?

A. 1. If it be a false imagination, it is spiritual pride. 2. But true Christian Perfection is no other than humble love.

Q. 3. Do not men who imagine they have attained this, despise others, as only going on in what they account the low and imperfect way, that is, as growing in grace and goodness by degrees?

A. 1. Men who only imagine they have attained this, may probably despise those that are going on in any way. 2. But the growing in grace and goodness by degrees, is no mark of a *low* and *imperfect* way. Those who are fathers in Christ, grow in grace, by degrees, as well as the new-born babes.

Q. 4. Do they not despise those who are working out their salvation, with an humble reliance upon the merits of Christ for the pardon of their sins, and the acceptance of their sincere though imperfect services?

A. 1. They who really love God, despise no man. But, 2, they grieve to hear many thus talk of relying on Christ, who though perhaps they are grave, honest, moral men, yet by their own words ap-

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pear not to love God at all: whose souls cleave to the dust, who love the world; who have no part of the mind in them that was in Christ.

6. Query the sixth. "Whether the same exalted strains and notions do not tend to weaken the natural and civil relations among men, by leading the inferiors into whose heads those notions are infused to a disesteem of their superiors; while they consider them as in a much lower dispensation than themselves; though those superiors are otherwise sober and good men, and regular attendants on the ordinances of religion?"

I have mentioned before what those exalted notions are: these do not tend to weaken either the natural or civil relations among men; or to lead inferiors to a disesteem of their superiors, even where those superiors are neither good nor sober men.

7. Query the seventh. "Whether a gradual improvement in grace and goodness is not a better foundation of comfort, and of an assurance of a gospel new-birth, than that which is founded on the doctrine of a sudden and instantaneous change; which, if there be any such thing, is not easily distinguished from fancy and imagination; the workings whereof we may well suppose to be more strong and powerful, while the person considers himself in the state of one who is admitted as a candidate for such a change, and is taught in due time to expect it?

Let us go one step at a time.

Q. 1. Whether a gradual improvement in grace and goodness is not a good foundation of comfort?

A. Doubtless it is, if by grace and goodness be meant the knowledge and love of God through Christ.

Q. 2. Whether it be not a good foundation of an assurance of a Gospel New-Birth?

A. If we daily grow in this knowledge and love, it is a good proof that we are born of the Spirit. But this does in nowise supersede the previous witness of God's Spirit with ours, that we are the children of God. And this is properly the foundation of the assurance of faith.

Q. 3. Whether this improvement is not a better foundation of comfort and of an assurance of a Gospel New-Birth, than that which is founded on the doctrine of a sudden and instantaneous change?

A. A better foundation than that—That! What? To what substantive does this refer? According to the Rules of Grammar, (for all the other substantives are in the Genitive Case, and consequently to be considered as only parts of that which governs them) you must mean, "A better foundation than that foundation which is founded on this doctrine." As soon as I understand the question, I will endeavour to answer it.

Q. 4. Can that sudden and instantaneous change be easily distinguished from fancy and imagination?

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A. Just as easily as light from darkness; seeing it brings with it a peace that passeth all understanding, a joy unspeakable and full of glory, the love of God and all mankind filling the heart, and power over all sin.

Q. 5. May we not well suppose the workings of imagination to be more strong and powerful in one who is taught to expect such a change?

A. Perhaps we may.—But still the tree is known by its fruits. And such fruits as those above mentioned, imagination was never yet strong enough to produce, nor any power save that of the Almighty.

8. There is only one clause in the eighth Query, which is under our present inquiry.

"They make it their principal employ, wherever they go, to instil into people a few *favourite tenets* of their own; and this with such diligence and zeal as if the whole of Christianity depended upon them, and all efforts toward the true Christian life, without a belief of those tenets, were vain and ineffectual."

I plead guilty to this charge. I do make it my principal, nay, my whole employ, and that wherever I go, to instil into the people a few favourite tenets. (Only be it observed they are not my own, but his that sent me.) And it is undoubtedly true, that this I do, (though deeply conscious of my want, both of zeal and diligence) as if the whole of Christianity depended upon them, and all efforts without them were void and vain. I frequently sum them all up in one, In Christ Jesus, (i. e. according to his gospel) "neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love." But many times I instil them one by one, under these, or the like expressions, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength: thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; *as thy own soul, as Christ loved us.*" "God is love: and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." "While we have time let us do good unto all men; especially unto them that are of the household of faith." "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them." These are my favourite tenets, and have been for many years. O that I could instil them into every soul throughout the land! Ought they not to be instilled with such diligence and zeal, as if the whole of Christianity depended upon them? For who can deny, that all efforts toward a Christian life, without more than a bare belief, without a thorough experience and practice of these, are utterly vain and ineffectual?

9. Part of your ninth Query is to the same effect:

"A few young heads set up their own schemes, as the great standard of Christianity; and indulge their own notions to such a degree, as to perplex, unhinge, terrify, and distract the minds of multitudes of people, who have lived from their infancy under a

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gospel-ministry, and in the regular exercise of a gospel-worship. And all this, by persuading them, that they neither are, nor can be true Christians, but by adhering to their doctrines."

What do you mean by their own schemes? Their own notions? Their doctrines? Are they not yours too? Are they not the schemes, the notions, the doctrines of Jesus Christ? The great, fundamental truths of his gospel? Can you deny one of them, without denying the Bible?—It is hard for you to kick against the pricks!

"They persuade (you say) multitudes of people, that they cannot be true Christians, but by adhering to their doctrines." Why, who says they can? Whosoever he be, I will prove him to be an Infidel. Do you say, that any man can be a true Christian, without loving God and his neighbour? Surely you have not so learned Christ! It is your doctrine, as well as mine, and St. Paul's, "Though I speak with the tongue of men and angels; though I have all knowledge, and all faith; though I give all my goods to feed the poor, yea, my body to be burned, and have not love, I am nothing." Whatever public worship, therefore, people may have attended, or whatever ministry they have lived under from their infancy, they must at all hazards, be convinced of this, or they perish for ever: yea, though that conviction at first unhinge them ever so much; though it should, in a manner, distract them for a season. For it is better that they should be perplexed and terrified now, than they should sleep on and awake in hell.

10. In the 10, 12, and 13th Queries, I am not concerned. But you include me also, when you say in the 11th, "They absolutely deny, that recreations of any kind, considered as such, are or can be innocent."

I cannot find any such assertion of mine, either in the place you refer to, or any other. But what kinds of recreation are innocent, it is easy to determine by that plain rule, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God." I am now to take my leave of you for the present. But first I would earnestly entreat you to acquaint yourself what our doctrines are, before you make any farther observations upon them. Surely, touching the nature of salvation we agree, that "pure religion and undefiled is this, to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction," to do all possible good, from a principle of love to God and man: and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, inwardly and outwardly to abstain from all evil.

11. With regard to the condition of salvation, it may be remembered, that I allow, not only faith, but likewise holiness or universal obedience, to be the ordinary condition of final salvation: and that when I say, faith alone is the condition of present salvation, what I would assert is this: 1. That without faith no man can be saved from his sins, can be either inwardly or outwardly holy. And, 2. That at what time soever faith is given, holiness commences in the soul. For that instant, the love of God, (which is the source of holiness) is shed abroad in the heart.

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But it is objected by the author of *The Notions of the Methodists disproved*, St. James says, "Can faith save him?" I answer, Such a faith as is without works cannot bring a man to heaven. But this is quite beside the present question.

You object, 2. St. Paul says, "That faith is made perfect by love," St. James, "That faith made perfect by works, *is the condition of salvation.*" You mean final salvation. I say so too: but this also is beside the question.

You object, 3. "That the belief of the gospel," is called "the obedience of faith." Rom. i. 5. And, 4. That what Isaiah terms believing, St. Paul terms obeying. Suppose I grant you both the one and the other, what will you infer?

You object, 5. That in one Scripture our Lord is styled "The Saviour of them that believe:" and in another, "The Author of eternal salvation, to all them that obey him." 6. That to the Galatians St. Paul writes, "Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love:" and to the Corinthians, "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the commandments of God." And hence you conclude, "There are several texts of Scripture, wherein unbelief and disobedience are equivalently used." Very true: but can you conclude from thence, that we are not *saved by faith alone?*

12. You proceed to answer some texts which I had quoted. The first is Ephesians ii. 8, "By grace ye are saved through faith." "But (say you) faith does not mean here, that grace especially so called, but includes also obedience." But how do you prove this? That circumstance you had forgot: and so run off with a comment upon the context; to which I have no other objection, than that it is nothing at all to the question. Indeed, some time after, you add, "It is plain then that good works are always, in St. Paul's judgment, joined with faith." (So undoubtedly they are, that is, as an effect is always joined with its cause.) "And therefore we are not saved by faith alone." I cannot possibly allow the consequence. You afterwards cite two more texts, and add, "You see mere faith cannot be a condition of justification." You are out of your way. We are no more talking now of justification than of final salvation.

In considering Acts xvi. 31, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved," you say again, "Here the word *believe* does not signify faith only.—Faith necessarily produces charity and repentance; therefore, these are expressed by the word *believe.*" i. e. Faith necessarily produces holiness. Therefore holiness is a condition of holiness. I want farther proof. That Paul and Silas spake unto him the word of the Lord; and that his faith did in the same hour work by love, I take to be no proof at all.

You then undertake to show, that confessing our sins is a condition of justification, and that a confidence in the love of God, is not a condition; some of your words are, "This, good Sir, give me leave to say, is the greatest nonsense and contradiction possible. It is impossible you can understand this jargon yourself, and therefore you

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labour in vain to make it intelligible to others. You soar aloft on eagles' wings, and leave the poor people to gape and stare after you." This is very pretty and very lively. But it is nothing to the purpose. For we are not now speaking of justification: neither have I said one word of "The condition of justification" in the whole Tract to which you here refer.

"In the next place, (say you) if we are saved (finally you mean) only by a confidence in the love of God"—Here I must stop you again; you are now running beside the question, on the other hand. The sole position which I here advance is this: true believers are saved from inward and outward sin by faith. By faith alone, the love of God and all mankind is shed abroad in their hearts, bringing with it the mind that was in Christ, and producing all holiness of conversation.

IV. 1. I am now to consider, What has been lately objected, with regard to the nature of saving faith.

The author last mentioned "cannot understand how those texts of St. John are at all to the purpose." 1 John iii. 1, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." And chap. iv. 19, "We love him, because he first loved us." I answer, 1. These texts were not produced in the Appeal by way of proof, but of illustration only. But, 2. I apprehend they may be produced as a proof both that Christian faith implies a confidence in the love of God, and that such a confidence has a direct tendency to salvation, to holiness both of heart and life. "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God!" Are not these words an expression of Christian faith! As direct a one as can well be conceived? And I appeal to every man, whether they do not express the strongest confidence of the love of God? Your own comment puts this beyond dispute: "Let us consider attentively, and with grateful hearts, the great love and mercy of God, in calling us to be his sons, and bestowing on us the privileges belonging to such." Do you not perceive that you have given up the cause? You have yourself taught us, that these words imply, "A sense of the great love and mercy of God, in bestowing upon us the privileges belonging to his sons." The Apostle adds, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." I suppose no one will say, either, that these words are not expressive of Christian faith; or, that they do not imply the strongest confidence in the love of God. It follows, "And every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure." Hence it appears, that this faith is a saving faith, that there is the closest connexion between this faith and holiness. This text therefore is directly to the purpose, in respect of both the propositions to be proved.

The other is, "We love him because he first loved us." And here also, for fear I should fail in the proof, you have drawn it up

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ready to my hands. "God sent his only Son—to redeem us from sin, by purchasing for us grace and salvation. By which grace we —through faith and repentance have our sins pardoned—And therefore we are bound to return the tribute of our love and gratitude, and to obey him faithfully as long as we live." Now, though we have our sins pardoned, if we do not know they are pardoned, this cannot bind us either to love or obedience. But if we do know it, and by that very knowledge or confidence in the pardoning love of God, are both bound and enabled to love and obey him, this is the whole of what I contend for.

2. You afterwards object against some other texts which I had cited, to illustrate the nature of saving faith. My words were, "Hear believing Job, declaring his faith, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' I here affirm two things, 1. That Job was then a believer. 2. That he declared his faith in these words. And all I affirm, you allow. Your own words are, 'God was pleased to bestow upon him a strong assurance of his favour—to inspire him with a prophecy of the resurrection, and that he should have a share in it.'"

I went on, "Hear Thomas, when having seen he believed, crying out, 'My Lord and my God.' Hereon you comment thus, 'The meaning of which is, that St. Thomas makes a confession both of his faith and repentance.' I agree with you. But you add, 'In St. Thomas's confession there is not implied an assurance of pardon.' You cannot agree with yourself in this; but immediately subjoin, 'If it did imply such an assurance, he might well have it, since he had an immediate revelation of it from God himself."

Yet a little before you endeavoured to prove that one who was not a whit behind the very chief apostles, had not such an assurance: where, in order to show that faith does not imply this, you said; "St. Paul methinks has fully determined this point, (1 Cor. iv. 4.) 'I know nothing by myself,' says he, 'yet am I not hereby justified.'—And if an Apostle so illuminated, does not think himself justified."—Then I grant, he has fully determined the point. But before you absolutely fix upon that conclusion, be pleased to remember your own comment that follows, on those other words of St. Paul: "The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." Your words are, "And no question a person endowed with such extraordinary gifts, might arrive at a very eminent degree of assurance."—So he did arrive at a very eminent degree of assurance, though he did not think himself justified!

I can scarcely think you have read over that chapter to the Colossians: else surely you would not assert, that "those words on which the stress lies, (viz. *Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sin*) do not relate to Paul and Timothy who wrote the Epistle, but to the Colossians, to whom they wrote." I need be at no pains to answer this; for presently after your own words are, "He hath made us, meaning the Colossians, as well as himself, meet to be inheritors."—

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3. You may easily observe, that I quoted the Council of Trent by memory, not having the book then by me. I own, and thank you for correcting my mistake; but in correcting one, you make another. For the decrees of the sixth session were not "published on the 13th of January;" but the session itself began on that day.

I cannot help reciting your words, although they are not exactly to the present question.

"The words of the 12th Canon of the Council of Trent are, 'If any man shall say that justifying faith is nothing else but a confidence in the Divine mercy, remitting sins for Christ's sake, and that this confidence is that alone by which we are justified, let him be accursed.' You add, "This, Sir, I am sure, is true doctrine, and perfectly agreeable to the doctrine of our Church. And so you are not only anathematized by the Council of Trent, but also condemned by our own Church. Our Church holds no such scandalous and disgraceful opinion."—According to our Church, no man can have "the true faith, who has not a loving heart."—"Therefore faith is not a confidence that any man's sins are actually forgiven, and he reconciled to God." What have the premises to do with the conclusion?

4. To decide this, let our Church speak for herself. Whether she does not suppose and teach, that every particular believer knows that his sins are forgiven, and that he himself is reconciled to God.

First then, Our Church supposes and teaches every particular believer to say concerning himself, "In my baptism, I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. And I thank God who hath called me to that state of salvation. And I pray God that I may continue in the same, to my life's end." Now does this person know what he says to be true? If not, it is the grossest hypocrisy. But if he does, then he in particular is reconciled to God.

The next words I shall quote may be a comment on these: may God write them in our hearts!

"A true Christian man is not afraid to die, who is the very member of Christ, the temple of the Holy Ghost, the son of God, and the very inheritor of the everlasting kingdom of heaven. But plainly contrary, he not only puts away the fear of death, but wishes, desires, and longs heartily for it." *Sermon against the fear of death.* Part I. Now can this be, unless he has a sure confidence that he, in particular, is reconciled to God? "Men commonly fear death, 1. Because of leaving their worldly goods and pleasures. 2. For fear of the pains of death; and, 3. For fear of perpetual damnation. But none of these causes trouble good men, because they stay themselves by the true faith, perfect charity, and sure hope of endless joy and bliss everlasting." Ibid. Part II. All these therefore have great cause to be full of joy, and not to fear death nor everlasting damnation. For death cannot deprive them of Jesus Christ, death cannot take him from us, nor us from him. Death not only cannot harm us, but also shall profit us and join us to God more per-

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fectly. And thereof a Christian heart may surely be certified. It is God, saith St. Paul, "which hath given us an earnest of his Spirit. As long as we be in the body, we are in a strange country. But we have a desire rather to be at home with God." Ibid. He that runneth may read in all these words, the confidence which our Church supposes every particular believer to have, that he himself is reconciled to God.

To proceed, "The only instrument of salvation required on our part is faith; that is, a sure trust and confidence, that God both hath and will forgive our sins, that he hath accepted us again into his favour, for the merits of Christ's death and passion." Second Sermon on the Passion. "But here, we must take heed that we do not halt with God, through an inconstant, wavering faith. Peter coming to Christ upon the water, because he fainted in faith, was in danger of drowning. So we, if we begin to waver or doubt, it is to be feared lest we should sink as Peter did: not into the water, but into the bottomless pit of hell-fire. Therefore I say unto you, that we must apprehend the merits of Christ's death by faith, and that with a strong and steadfast faith: nothing doubting, but that Christ by his own oblation hath taken away our sins, and hath restored us again to God's favour." Ibid.

5. If it be still said, That the Church speaks only of men in general, but not of the confidence of this or that particular person: even this last, poor subterfuge, is utterly cut off by the following words: "Thou, O man, hast received the body of Christ which was once broken, and his blood which was shed for the remission of thy sin. Thou hast received his body, to have within thee the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for to endow thee with grace, and to comfort thee with their presence. Thou hast received his body, to endow thee with everlasting righteousness, and to assure thee of everlasting bliss." Sermon on the Resurrection. I shall add but one passage more, from the first part of the Sermon on the Sacrament.

"Have a sure and constant faith, not only that the death of Christ is available for all the world, but that he hath made a full and sufficient sacrifice for thee, a perfect cleansing of thy sins, so that thou mayest say with the Apostle, he loved thee and gave himself for thee. For this is, to make Christ thine own, and to apply his merits unto thyself."

Let every reasonable man now judge for himself, which is the sense of our Church as to the nature of saving faith. Does it not abundantly appear, that the Church of England supposes every particular believer, to have a sure confidence, that his sins are forgiven, and he himself reconciled to God? Yea, and how can the absolute necessity of this faith, this unwavering confidence, be more strongly or peremptorily asserted, than it is in those words: "If we begin to waver or doubt, it is to be feared lest we sink as Peter did: not into the water; but into the bottomless pit of hell-fire?"

6. I would willingly dismiss this writer here. I had said in the Earnest Appeal (what I am daily more and more confirmed in)

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that this faith is usually given in a moment. This you greatly dislike. Your argument against it, if put into form, will run thus:

"They, who first apprehended the meaning of the words delivered, then gave their assent to them, then had confidence in the promises, to which they assented, and lastly, loved God, did not receive faith in a moment." But the believers mentioned in the Acts, first apprehended the meaning of the words, then gave their assent, then had confidence in the promises, and, lastly, loved God: therefore "The believers mentioned in the Acts did not receive faith in a moment."

I deny the major. They might first apprehend, then assent, then confide, then love, and yet receive faith in a moment: in that moment wherein their general confidence became particular, so that each could say, "My Lord, and my God."

One paragraph more I will be at the pains to transcribe. "You insinuate, that the sacraments are only requisite to the well-being of a visible Church: whereas the Church declares, that the due administration of them, is an essential property thereof. I suppose you hinted this to gratify your loving disciples the Quakers." This is flat and plain. Here is a fact positively averred; and a reason also assigned for it. Now, do you take yourself to be a man of candour, I had almost said, of common honesty? My very words in the place referred to, are, "A visible church is a company of faithful people. This is the essence of it. And the properties thereof are, that the pure word of God be preached therein, and the sacraments duly administered."

7. Before I take my leave, I cannot but recommend to you that advice of a wise and good man:

> "Be calm in arguing; for fierceness makes
> Error a fault, and truth discourtesy."

I am grieved at your extreme warmth: you are in a thorough ill-humour from the very beginning of your book to the end. This cannot hurt me: but it may yourself. And it does not at all help your cause. If you denounce against me all the curses from Genesis to the Revelation, they will not amount to one argument. I am willing (so far as I know myself) to be reproved either by you or any other. But whatever you do, let it be done in love, in patience, in meekness of wisdom.

V. 1. With regard to the Author of faith and salvation, abundance of objections have been made: it being a current opinion, that "Christians are not now to receive the Holy Ghost."

Accordingly, whenever we speak of the Spirit of God, of his operations in the souls of men, of his revealing unto us the things of God, or inspiring us with good desires or tempers; whenever we mention the feeling his mighty power, working in us according to his good pleasure: the general answer we have to expect is, "This is all rank enthusiasm. So it was with the Apostles and first Christians. But only enthusiasts pretend to this now." Thus all the scriptures, abundance of which might be produced, are set aside at

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one stroke. And whoever cites them, as belonging to all Christians, is set down for an enthusiast.

The first Tract I have seen written expressly on this head, is remarkably entitled, "The Operations of the Holy Spirit imperceptible, and how men may know, when they are under the guidance and influence of the Spirit."

You begin, "As we have some among us who pretend to a more than ordinary guidance by the Spirit—[indeed I do not: I pretend to no other guidance, than is ordinarily given to all Christians] it may not be improper to discourse, on the operations of God's Holy Spirit.—To this end, be thou pleased, O gracious Fountain of Truth, to assist me with thy heavenly direction in speaking of thee."

Alas, Sir, what need have you to speak any more? You have already granted all I desire, viz. That "we may all now enjoy, and know that we do enjoy, the heavenly direction of God's Spirit." However, you go on, and observe that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, were granted to the first Christians only, but his ordinary graces to all Christians in all ages: both which you then attempt to enumerate: only suspending your discourse a little, when "some conceited enthusiasts" come in your way.

2. You next inquire, "After what manner these graces are raised in our souls?" And answer, "How to distinguish these heavenly motions from the natural operations of our minds, we have no light to discover: the Scriptures—declaring that the operations of the Holy Spirit, are not subject to any sensible feelings or perceptions. For what communication can there be between feelings which are properties peculiar to matter, and the suggestion of the Spirit?—— All reasonable Christians believe, that he works his graces in us in an imperceptible manner; and that there is no sensible difference between his and the natural operations of our minds."

I conceive this to be the strength of your cause. To support that conclusion, that the operations of the Spirit are imperceptible, you here allege, 1. "That all reasonable Christians believe this." So you say. But I want proof. 2. "That there can be no communications (I fear, you mistook the word) between the suggestions of the Spirit, and feelings which are properties peculiar to matter." How! Are the feelings now in question, properties peculiar to matter? The feeling of peace, joy, love? Or any feelings at all? I can no more understand the philosophy than the divinity of this. 3. "That the Scriptures declare, the operations of the Spirit are not subject to any sensible feelings." You are here disproving, as you suppose, a proposition of mine. But are you sure you understand it? By feeling, I mean, being inwardly conscious of. By the operations of the Spirit, I do not mean the manner in which he operates, but the graces which he operates in a Christian. Now be pleased to produce those Scriptures which declare, "That a Christian cannot feel or perceive these operations."

3. Are you not convinced, Sir, that you have laid to my charge things which I know not? I do not gravely tell you, as much an en-

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thusiast as you over and over affirm me to be, "That I sensibly feel, in your sense, the motions of the Holy Spirit." Much less do I "make this, any more than convulsions, agonies, howlings, roarings, and violent contortions of the body," either "Certain signs of men's being in a state of salvation," or "necessary in order thereunto." You might with equal justice and truth inform the world, and the Worshipful the Magistrates of Newcastle, that I make seeing the wind or feeling the light necessary to salvation. Neither do I "confound the extraordinary with the ordinary operations of the Spirit." And as to your last inquiry, "What is the best proof of our being led by the Spirit?" I have no exception to that just and scriptural answer, which you yourself have given, "A thorough change and renovation of mind and heart, and the leading a new and holy life."

4. "That I confound the extraordinary with the ordinary operations of the Spirit, and therefore am an enthusiast," is also strongly urged in a Charge delivered to his Clergy, and lately published by the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. An extract of the former part of this I subjoin in his Lordship's words. "I cannot think it improper to obviate the contagion of those enthusiastical pretensions, that have lately betrayed whole multitudes, either into presumption or melancholy. Enthusiasm indeed, when detected, is apt to create infidelity: and infidelity is so shocking a thing, that many rather run into the other extreme, and take refuge in enthusiasm. But infidelity and enthusiasm seem now to act in concert against our established religion. As infidelity has been sufficiently opposed, I shall now lay before you the weakness of those enthusiastical pretensions." Page 1, 2.

Now to confute effectually, and strike at the root of those enthusiastical pretensions; "First, I shall show, that it is necessary to lay down some method for distinguishing real from pretended inspiration." Page 3. 5. "Many expressions occur in the New Testament concerning the operations of the Holy Spirit. But men of an enthusiastical temper, have confounded passages of a quite different nature, and have jumbled together those that relate to the extraordinary operations of the Spirit, with those that relate to his ordinary influences. It is therefore necessary to use some method for separating those passages, relating to the operations of the Spirit, that have been so misapplied to the service of enthusiastical pretenders." Page 5, 6, 7.

"I proceed therefore to show, Secondly, That a distinction is to be made between those passages of Scripture about the blessed Spirit, that peculiarly belong to the primitive church, and those that relate to Christians in all ages." Page 7. "The exigencies of the apostolic age required the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. But these soon ceased. When therefore we meet in the Scripture with an account of those extraordinary gifts, and likewise with an account of his ordinary operations, we must distinguish the one from the other, and that not only for our own satisfaction, but as a means to stop the growth of enthusiasm." Page 8, 9, 10. "And such a distinc-

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tion ought to be made, by the best methods of interpreting the Scriptures: which most certainly are an attentive consideration of the occasion and scope of those passages, in concurrence with the general sense of the primitive church." P. 11.

"I propose, thirdly, to specify some of the chief passages of Scripture that are misapplied by modern enthusiasts, and to show that they are to be interpreted chiefly, if not only, of the apostolical church; and that they very little, if at all, relate to the present state of Christians." P. 12.

"I begin," says your Lordship, "with the original promise of the Spirit, as made by our Lord a little before he left the world." I must take the liberty to stop your Lordship on the threshold. I deny that this is the original promise of the Spirit. I expect his assistance in virtue of many promises, some hundreds of years prior to this. If you say, "However, this is the original or first promise of the Spirit, in the New Testament;" I answer, No, my Lord; those words were spoken long before: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Will you reply, "Well, but this is the original promise made by our Lord?" I answer, not so neither. For it was before this, Jesus himself stood and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink: he that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. And this he spake of the Spirit, which they should receive who believed on him," (ὃ ἐμελλον λαμβανειν οἱ πιστευοντες εἰς αὐτον.) If I mistake not, this may more justly be termed our Lord's original promise of the Spirit. And who will assert, that this, "is to be interpreted chiefly, if not only of the apostolical Church?"

5. Your Lordship proceeds: "It occurs in the 14th and 16th chapters of St. John's Gospel; in which he uses these words."—In what verses, my Lord? *Why is not this specified? Unless to furnish your Lordship with an opportunity of doing the very thing whereof you before complained, of "confounding passages of a quite contrary nature, and jumbling together those that relate to the extraordinary operations of the Spirit, with those that relate to his ordinary influences?"

You cite the words thus: "When the Spirit of Truth is come he will guide you into all Truth, and he will show you things to come." (These are nearly the words that occur, chap. xvi. ver. 13.) And again, "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." (These words occur in the 14th chapter, at the 26th verse.)

But, my Lord, I want the original promise still; the original (I mean) of those made in this very discourse. Indeed your margin tells us, where it is, (chap. xiv. ver. 16;) but the words appear not. Taken together with the context they run thus;—"If ye love me,

* I take it for granted, that the citation of texts in the margin, which is totally wrong, is a blunder of the Printer's.

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keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever: Even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him." Chap. xiv. ver. 15, 16, 17. My Lord, suffer me to inquire, why you slipped over this text? Was it not, I appeal to the Searcher of your heart, because you were conscious to yourself, that it would necessarily drive you to that unhappy dilemma, either to assert that for ever, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, meant only sixty or seventy years; or to allow that the text must be interpreted of the ordinary operations of the Spirit, in all future ages of the Church? And indeed that the promise in this text belongs to all Christians, evidently appears, not only from your Lordship's own concession, and from the text itself, for who can deny, that this Comforter, or Paraclete, is now given to all them that believe? but also from the preceding, as well as following, words. The preceding are, "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father" —None surely can doubt, but these belong to all Christians in all ages. The following words are, "Even the Spirit of Truth, whom the *world* cannot receive." True; the *world* cannot; but all Christians can, and will receive him for ever.

6. The second promise of the Comforter, made in this chapter, together with its context, stands thus:—"Judas saith unto him, (not Iscariot) Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?" ver. 22. "Jesus answered and said unto him, if any man love me, he will keep my word. And my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him," ver. 23. "He that loveth me not, keepeth not my word: and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me," ver. 24. "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet with you," ver. 25. "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," ver. 26.

Now, how does your Lordship prove that this promise belongs only to the Primitive Church? Why, 1. You say, "It is very clear from the bare recital of the words." I apprehend not. But this is the very question, which is not to be begged, but proved. 2. You say, "'The Spirit's bringing all things to their remembrance, whatsoever he had said unto them,' cannot possibly be applied to any other persons but the Apostles." "Cannot be applied!" This is a flat begging the question again, which I cannot give up without better reasons. 3. "The gifts of prophecy, and of being *guided into all truth, and taught all things*, can only be applied to the Apostles, and those of that age who were immediately inspired." Here your Lordship, in order the more plausibly to beg the question again, "jumbles together the extraordinary with the ordinary operations of the Spirit." The gift of prophecy, we know, is one of his extraordinary operations; but there is not a word of it in this text: nor, therefore, ought it to be "confounded with his ordinary operations,"

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such as the being guided into all truth, (all that is necessary to salvation) and taught all (necessary) things, in a due use of the means he hath ordained. ver. 26.

In the same manner, namely, in a serious and constant use of proper means, I believe the assistance of the Holy Ghost is given to all Christians, to bring all things needful to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ hath spoken to them in his word. So that I see no occasion to grant, without some kind of proof, (especially considering the occasion of this, and the scope of the preceding verses) that even "this promise cannot possibly be applied to any other persons but the Apostles."

7. In the same Discourse of our Lord, we have a third promise of the Comforter. The whole clause runs thus:

"If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but if I depart, I will send him unto you." Chap. xvi. ver. 7—13. "And when he is come, he will reprove (or *convince*) the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. Of sin, because they believe not on me: Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more: Of judgment, because the Prince of this world is judged. I have yet many things to say unto you; but ye cannot bear them now: But when he shall come, the Spirit of Truth, he will guide you into all truth—and he will show you things to come."

There is only one sentence here which has not already been considered, "He will show you things to come." And this, it is granted, relates to the gift of prophecy, one of the extraordinary operations of the Spirit.

The general conclusion which your Lordship draws, is expressed in these words. "Consequently all pretensions to the Spirit, in the proper sense of the words of this promise (i. e. of these several texts of St. John) are vain and insignificant, as they are claimed by modern Enthusiasts." And in the end of the same paragraph you add, "None but the ordinary operations of the Spirit are to be now expected, since those that are of a miraculous (or extraordinary) kind are not pretended to, even by modern Enthusiasts."

My Lord, this is surprising. I read it over and over, before I could credit my own eyes. I verily believe this one clause, with unprejudiced persons, will be an answer to the whole book. You have been vehemently crying out all along against those Enthusiastical Pretenders; nay, the very design of your book, as you openly declare, was "to stop the growth of their enthusiasm, who have had assurance, (as you positively affirm, page 6,) to claim to themselves the extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit." And here you as positively affirm, that those extraordinary operations "are not pretended to by them at all!"

8. Yet your Lordship proceeds, "The next passage of Scripture I shall mention as peculiarly belonging to the primitive times, though misapplied to the present state of Christians by modern enthusiasts,

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is what relates to the testimony of the Spirit, and praying by the Spirit, in the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans." Page 16.

I believe it incumbent upon me thoroughly to weigh the force of your Lordship's reasoning on this head. You begin, "After St. Paul had treated of that spiritual principle in Christians, which enables them to mortify the deeds of the body—he says, 'if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' This makes the distinction of a true Christian, particularly in opposition to the Jews." I apprehend it is just here, that your Lordship turns out of the way, when you say, "Particularly in opposition to the Jews." Such a particular opposition I cannot allow, till some stronger proof is produced, than St. Paul's occasionally mentioning six verses before, "the imperfection of the Jewish law."

Yet your Lordship's mind is so full of this, that after repeating the 14th and 15th verses ("as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God: for ye have not received the Spirit of Bondage again to fear: but ye have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father!") you add, "In the former part of this verse, the Apostle shows again the imperfection of the Jewish law." This also calls for proof: otherwise it will not be allowed, that he here speaks of the Jewish law at all; not, though we grant that "the Jews were subject to the fear of death, and lived, in consequence of it, in a state of bondage." For are not all unbelievers, as well as the Jews, more or less, in the same fear and bondage?

Your Lordship goes on, "In the latter part of the verse he shows the superiority of the Christian law to that of the Jews." Page 18. Where is the proof, my Lord? How does it appear that he is speaking either of the Christian or Jewish law, in those words, "Ye have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father!" However, you infer, "Christians then are the adopted Sons of God, in contradistinction to the Jews, as the former had the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which none of the latter had at that time: and the body of the Jews never had." No, nor the body of the Christians neither. So that if this be a proof against the Jews, it is the very same against the Christians.

I must observe farther on the preceding words, 1. That your Lordship begins here, to take the word *Christians* in a new and peculiar sense, for the whole body of the then Christian Church: 2. That it is a bad inference, "as, or because they had the gifts of the Holy Ghost, therefore they were the Sons of God." On the one hand, if they were the children of God, it was not, because they had those gifts. On the other, a man may have all those gifts, and yet be a child of the Devil.

9. I conceive not only that your Lordship has proved nothing hitherto, not one point that has any relation to the question; but that, strictly speaking, you have not attempted to prove any thing, having taken for granted whatever came in your way. In the same manner you proceed, "The Apostle goes on, 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God.'

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This passage, as it is connected with the preceding one, relates to the general adoption of Christians, or their becoming the sons of God instead of the Jews."—"This passage relates"—How is that proved? By its connexion with the preceding? In nowise, unless it be good arguing to prove *ignotum per ignotius*. It has not yet been proved, that the preceding passage itself has any relation to this matter.

Your Lordship adds, "But what was the ground of this preference that was given to Christians? It was plainly the (miraculous) gifts of the Spirit, which they had, and which the Jews had not." This preference given to Christians, was just before expressed by their becoming the sons of God instead of the Jews. Were the gifts of the Spirit then the ground of this preference? The ground of their becoming the sons of God? What an assertion is this! And how little is it mended, though I allow, that "these miraculous gifts of the Spirit, were a testimony that God acknowledged the Christians to be his people and not the Jews; (since the Christians who worked miracles, did it not by the works of the law, but by the hearing of faith?")

Your Lordship concludes, "From these passages of St. Paul compared together, it clearly follows, that the forementioned testimony of the Spirit, was the public testimony of miraculous gifts—and, consequently, the witness of the Spirit that we are the children of God, cannot possibly be applied, to the private testimony of the Spirit given to our own consciences, as is pretended by modern enthusiasts." Page 20.

If your conclusion, my Lord, will stand without the premises it may: but that it has no manner of connexion with them, I trust it does partly, and will more fully appear, when we view the whole passage to which you refer. And I believe that passage, with very little comment, will prove in direct opposition to that conclusion, that the testimony of the Spirit there mentioned, is not the public testimony of miraculous gifts, but must be applied to the private testimony of the Spirit, given to our own consciences.

10. St. Paul begins the eighth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, with the great privilege of every Christian believer, (whether Jew or Gentile before,) *There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus*, ingrafted into him by faith, *who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit*. For now every one of them may truly say, "The law (or power) of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus (given unto me for his sake) hath made me free from the law (or power) of sin and death. For that which the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son, in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin," did; when he condemned, (crucified, put to death, destroyed) sin in the flesh: "That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For they that are after the flesh, mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit." Verse 1—5.

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Is it not evident, that the Apostle is here describing a true Christian, a holy believer? In opposition, not particularly to a Jew, much less to the Jewish law; but to every unholy man, to all, whether Jews or Gentiles, who walk after the flesh? He goes on,

"For, to be carnally-minded is death; but to be spiritually-minded is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God; neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God." Verse 6, 7, 8.

The opposition between a holy and unholy man, is still glaring and undeniable. But can any man discern the least glimmering of opposition, between the Christian and the Jewish law?

The Apostle goes on, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. But if Christ be in you, the body is dead, because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit which dwelleth in you. Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God." Verse 9—14. Is there one word here, is there any, the least intimation of miraculous gifts, or of the Jewish law? It follows, "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again, to fear, (such as all sinners have, when they are first stirred up to seek God, and begin to serve him from a slavish fear of punishment;) but ye have received the Spirit of adoption (of free love) whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself (which God hath sent forth into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father,) beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Verse 15, 16.

I am now willing to leave it, without farther comment, to the judgment of every impartial reader, whether it does not appear from the whole scope and tenor of the text and context taken together, that this passage does not refer to the Jewish law, and to the public testimony of miracles: neither of which can be dragged in, without putting the utmost force on the natural meaning of the words. And if so, it will follow, that this witness of the Spirit is the private testimony given to our own consciences; which, consequently, all sober Christians may claim, without any danger of enthusiasm.

11. "But I go on" (says your Lordship, page 21,) "to the consideration of the other passages in the same chapter, relating to our praying by the Spirit, namely, at verse 26 and 27, which run thus, 'Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints, according to the will of God.'"

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Here is a circumstance highly needful to be observed, before we enter upon this question. Your Lordship undertakes to fix the meaning of an expression used by St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians. And in order thereto, you laboriously explain part of the eighth chapter to the Romans. My Lord, how is this? Will it be said, "Why this is often alleged to prove the wrong sense of that Scripture?" I conceive this will not salve the matter at all. Your Lordship had before laid down a particular method, as the only sure one whereby to distinguish what Scriptures belong to all Christians, and what do not. This method is, the considering the occasion and scope of those passages, by comparing the text and context together. You then propose, by the use of this method, to show, that several texts have been misapplied by enthusiasts. One of these is the 15th verse of the 14th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. And to show, that enthusiasts have misapplied this, you comment on the eighth chapter to the Romans!

However, let us weigh the comment itself. The material part of it begins thus: (p. 22.) "Now he adds another proof of the truth of Christianity: likewise the Spirit helpeth our infirmities (or our distresses, for ἀσθενειας signifies both." I doubt that: I require authority for it.) "And then he mentions, in what instances he does so, viz. In prayers to God about afflictions—." (In nothing else, my Lord? Did he help their infirmities, in no other instance than this?) "We know not, says he, what we should pray for as we ought. That is, whether it be best for us to bear afflictions, or to be delivered from them. But the Spirit, or the gift of the Spirit, instructs us how to pray in a manner agreeable to the will of God." The Spirit, or the gift of the Spirit! What marvellous reasoning is this! If these "are often put for each other," what then? How is that evinced to be the case here?

12. "The Apostle goes on, *The Spirit itself* (p. 23,) *maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered:* that is, the spiritual or inspired person prayed in that capacity for the whole assembly." "That is!" Nay, that is again the very point to be proved, else we get not one step farther. "The Apostle goes on thus, verse 27, *And he that* (p. 24,) *searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit* (that is, of the spiritual or inspired person) *because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the Will of God.* That is, God knows the intention of the spiritual person, who has the gift of prayer, which he uses for the benefit of the whole assembly; he, I say, leaves it entirely to God, whether it be best that they should suffer afflictions, or be delivered from them." Page 25.

My Lord, this is more astonishing than all the rest! I was expecting all along in reading the preceding pages (and so I suppose, was every thinking reader) when your Lordship would mention, that the person miraculously inspired for that intent, and praying κατα Θεον either for the support or deliverance of the people, should have the very petition which he asked of him. Whereas you intended no such thing! But shut up the whole with that lame and impo-

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tent conclusion, "He leaves it to God, whether it be best they should suffer afflictions, or be delivered from them." Had he then that miraculous gift of God, that he might do what any common Christian might have done without it? Why, any person in the congregation might have prayed thus: nay, could not pray otherwise, if he had the ordinary grace of God: "Leaving it to God, whether he should suffer afflictions still, or be delivered from them!" Was it only in the Apostolical age, that "the Spirit instructed Christians thus to pray?" Cannot a man pray thus, either for himself or others, unless he have the miraculous gift of prayer?—So, according to your Lordship's judgment, "To pray in such a manner as in the event to leave the continuance of our sufferings, or our deliverance from them, with a due submission, to the good pleasure of God," is one of those "extraordinary operations of the Spirit," which none now pretend to but "modern Enthusiasts!"

I beseech your Lordship to consider. Can you coolly maintain, that "the praying with a due submission to the Will of God," even in heavy affliction, is a miraculous gift? An extraordinary operation of the Holy Ghost? Is this peculiar to the primitive times? Is it what none but Enthusiasts now pretend to? If not, then your Lordship's own account of praying by the Spirit indisputably proves, that this is one of the ordinary privileges of all Christians, to the end of the world.

13. "I go on (your Lordship adds) to another passage of Scripture, that has been entirely (p. 27,) misapplied by modern Enthusiasts. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5, 'And my speech and my preaching were not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.' (p. 29.) It is only necessary to evince, that by the demonstration of the Spirit and of power is meant the demonstration of the truth of Christianity, that arises from the prophecies of the Old Testament and the miracles of Christ and his Apostles." Yes, it is necessary farther to evince, that these words have no other meaning. But, first, How will you evince, that they bear this? In order thereto, your Lordship argues thus:

"The former seems to be the demonstration of the Spirit, with regard to the prophetical testimonies of him.—And the demonstration of power, must signify the power of God, exerted in miracles." (p. 30.) "Must;" Why so? That δυναμις often signifies miraculous power is allowed—But what follows? That it must mean so in this place? That still remains to be proved. Indeed your Lordship says, this "appears from the following verse, in which is assigned the reason for using this method of proving Christianity to be true, viz. 'That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.' By 'the power of God' therefore must necessarily be understood, the miracles performed by Christ and his Apostles." By the illative particle, *therefore*, this proposition should be an inference from some other, but what other I cannot yet discern. So

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that, for the present, I can only look upon it, as a fresh instance of begging the question.

"He goes on in the 7th, 10th, and following verses, to explain this demonstration of the Spirit and of power." But he does not say one syllable therein, either of the ancient prophecies, or of miracles. Nor will it be easily proved, that he speaks either of one or the other, from the beginning of the chapter to the end.

After transcribing the 13th verse, "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual," your Lordship adds, "From which last passage it appears, that the words which the Holy Ghost is said to teach, must be the prophetical revelations of the Old Testament, which were discovered to the Apostles by the same Spirit." I cannot apprehend how this appears. I cannot, as yet, see any connexion at all between the premises and the conclusion.

Upon the whole, I desire any calm and serious man, to read over this whole chapter; and then he will easily judge, what is the natural meaning of the words in question: and whether (although it be allowed, that they were peculiarly fulfilled in the Apostles, yet) they do not manifestly belong, in a lower sense, to every true minister of Christ. For what can be more undeniable than this, that our preaching also is vain, unless it be attended with the power of that Spirit, who alone pierceth the heart? And that your hearing is vain, unless the same power be present to heal your soul, and to give you a faith which standeth not in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God?

14. "Another passage that" (your Lordship thinks) "has been misapplied by enthusiasts, but was really peculiar to the times of the Apostles, is 1 John ii. 20, and 27, (p. 35,) 'Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things—But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you: and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie. And even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.' Here the Apostle arms the true Christians against seducers, by an argument drawn from the unction from the Holy One, that was in, or rather among them: that is, from the immediate inspiration of some of their teachers." P. 37.

Here it rests upon your Lordship, to prove, (as well as affirm,) 1. That ἐν should be translated among: 2. That this unction from the Holy One means, "The inspiration of some of their teachers." The latter, your Lordship attempts to prove thus:

"The inspired teachers of old were set apart for that office, by an extraordinary effusion of the Holy Ghost: therefore (p. 38) the unction from the Holy One here, means such an effusion." I deny the consequence; so the question is still to be proved.

Your Lordship's second argument is drawn from the 26th verse of the 14th chapter of St. John's gospel. Proposed in form, it will stand thus: "If those words, 'He shall teach you all things,' relate only to a miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost, then these words,

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'The same anointing teacheth you of all things,' relate to the same miraculous gift:

But those words relate only to a miraculous gift:

Therefore, these relate to the same."

I conceive, it will not be very easy to make good the consequence in the first proposition. But I deny the minor also: the contradictory whereto, I trust, has appeared to be true.

I grant indeed, that these words were more eminently fulfilled in the age of the Apostles But this is altogether consistent with their belonging in a lower sense to all Christians in all ages, seeing they have all need of an unction from the Holy One, a supernatural assistance from the Holy Ghost, that they may know in the due use of all proper means, all things needful for their souls' health. Therefore it is no enthusiasm, to teach that the unction from the Holy One, belongs to all Christians in all ages.

15. There is one topic of your Lordship's yet untouched; that is, authority: one you have very frequently made use of, and wherein, probably, the generality of readers suppose your Lordship's great strength lies. And indeed when your Lordship first mentioned, (p. 11,) "The general sense of the primitive church," I presumed you would have produced so numerous authorities, that I should not easily be able to consult them all. But I soon found my mistake; your Lordship naming only Chrysostom, Jerome, Origen, and Athanasius.

However, though these four can no more be termed the primitive church, than the church universal, yet I consent to abide by their suffrage. Nay, I will go a step farther still. If any two of these affirm, that those seven texts belong only to the apostolic age, and not to the Christians of succeeding times, I will give up the whole cause.

But let it be observed; if they should affirm, that these primarily belong to the Christians of the apostolic age, that does not prove the point, because they may in a secondary sense belong to others notwithstanding: nor does any of them speak home to the question, unless he maintain in express terms, that these texts refer only to the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, and not at all to the state of ordinary Christians.

16. Concerning those three texts, John xiv. ver. 16 and 26; and John xvi. ver. 13, "I could easily add (says your Lordship*) the authorities of Chrysostom and the other commentators." St. Chrysostom's authority I will consider now, and that of the others when they are produced.

It is granted that he inteprets not only John xvi. 13, but also both the passages in the 14th chapter, as primarily belonging to the Apostles. Yet part of his comment on the 26th verse is as follows: "Such is that grace, (of the Comforter) that if it finds sadness, it takes it away; if evil desire, it consumes it. It casts out fear, and suffers him that receives it to be a man no longer, but translates him, as it were, into

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heaven. Hence none of them counted any thing his own, but continued in prayer, with gladness and singleness of heart. For this chiefly is there need of the Holy Ghost. For the fruit of the Spirit is joy, peace, faith, meekness. Indeed spiritual men often grieve; but that grief is sweeter than joy. For whatever is of the Spirit is the greatest gain, as whatever is of the world is the greatest loss. Let us, therefore, in keeping the commandments, (according to our Lord's exhortation, ver. 15,) secure the unconquerable assistance of the Spirit, and we shall be nothing inferior to angels."

St. Chrysostom here, after he had shown that the promise of the Comforter primarily belonged to the Apostles: (and who ever questioned it?) undeniably teaches, that in a secondary sense, it belongs to all Christians; to all spiritual men, all who keep the commandments. I appeal therefore to all mankind, whether his authority touching the promise of our Lord in these texts does not overthrow the proposition it was cited to prove?

Although your Lordship names no other author here, yet, page 42, you say, "The assigned sense of these passages was confirmed by the authority of Origen." It is needful therefore to add, what occurs in his works, with regard to the present question. He occasionally mentions this promise of our Lord, in four several places. But it is in one only that he speaks pertinently to the point in hand, (vol. II. p. 403, edit. bened.) where his words are these: "'When the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth, and he will teach you all things.' The sum of all good things consists in this, that a man be found worthy to receive the grace of the Holy Ghost. Otherwise, nothing will be accounted perfect in him who hath not the Holy Spirit." Do these words confirm that "sense of those passages which your Lordship had assigned?" Rather do they not utterly overturn it? And prove, (as above,) that although this promise of our Lord primarily belongs to the Apostles, yet in the secondary sense, it belongs (according to Origen's judgment) to all Christians in all ages?

17. The fourth text mentioned as belonging to the first Christians only, is Rom. viii. 15, 16, and, p. 26, it is said, "This interpretation is confirmed by the authority of the most eminent Fathers." The reader is particularly referred to Origen and *Jerome in locum*. But here seems to be a mistake of the name. *Jerome in locum* should mean, Jerome upon the place, upon Rom. viii. 15, 16. But I cannot perceive that there is one word upon that place in all St. Jerome's works. Nor indeed has Origen commented upon it any more than Jerome. But he occasionally mentions it in these words: "He is a babe who is fed with milk—but if he seeks the things that are above—without doubt he will be of the number of those, 'who receive not the Spirit of bondage again unto fear, but the Spirit of adoption,' through whom they 'cry, Abba, Father.'" Vol. I. p. 79. Again, "The fulness of time is come, when they who are willing, receive the adoption, as Paul teaches in these words, 'Ye have not received the Spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye have re-

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ceived the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father!' And it is written in the Gospel according to St. John, 'To as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in his name.'" Vol. I. p. 231, 232. Yet again, "Every one that is born of God, and doth not commit sin, by his very actions saith, *Our Father which art in heaven*, 'the Spirit itself bearing witness with their spirit that they are the children of God.'" Ibid. According to Origen therefore, this testimony of the Spirit is not any public testimony by miracles, peculiar to the first times, but an inward testimony, belonging in common to all that are born of God. And consequently the authority of Origen does not "confirm that interpretation" neither; but absolutely destroys it.

18. The last authority your Lordship appeals to on this text is, "That of the great John Chrysostom, who reckons the testimony of the Spirit of adoption by which we cry, Abba, Father! among the miraculous gifts of the Spirit." "I rather chose (your Lordship adds, p. 26.) to refer you to the words of St. Chrysostom, than to transcribe them here, as having almost translated them in the present account of the testimony of the Spirit."

However, I believe it will not be labour lost, to transcribe a few of those words. It is in his comment on the fourteenth verse, that he first mentions St. Paul's comparison between a Jew and a Christian. How fairly your Lordship has represented this, let every reader judge. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."—"Whereas the same title had been given of old to the Jews also,—He shows in the sequel, how great a difference there is between that honour and this. For though, says he, the titles are the same, yet the things are not. And he plainly proves it, by comparing both what they had received, and what they looked for. And first he shows what they had received, viz. *A Spirit of bondage*. Therefore he adds, 'Ye have not received the Spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption.' What means *the Spirit of fear?*——Observe their whole life, and you will know clearly. For punishments were at their heels, and much fear was on every side, and before their face. But with us it is not so. For our mind and conscience are cleansed, so that we do all things well, not for fear of present punishment, but through our love of God, and a habit of virtue. They, therefore, though they were called sons, yet were as slaves; but we, being made free, have received the adoption, and look not for a land of milk and honey, but for heaven."

"He brings also another proof, that *we have the Spirit of adoption, by which*, says he, *we cry, Abba, Father.*—This is the first word we utter, μετα τας θαυμασιας ωδινας εκεινας, και τον ξενον και παραδοξον λοχευματων τροπον: after those amazing throes, or birth-pangs, and that strange and wonderful manner of bringing forth.

"He brings yet another proof of the superiority of those who had this Spirit of adoption. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our

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spirit that we are the children of God.' I prove this, says he, not only from the voice itself, but also from the cause whence that voice proceeds. For the Spirit suggests the words while we thus speak, which he hath elsewhere expressed more plainly, 'God hath sent forth the Spirit of his son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father!' But what is, *The Spirit bearing witness with our spirit?* He means the Paraclete by the gift given unto us." But that this was an extraordinary gift, we have no intimation at all, neither before nor after. "And when the Spirit beareth witness, what doubt is left? If a man or an angel spake, some might doubt. But when the Most High beareth witness to us, who can doubt any longer?"

Now let any reasonable man judge how far your Lordship has "translated the words of St. Chrysostom! And whether he reckons the testimony of the Spirit among the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost?" Or among those ordinary gifts of the Spirit of Christ, which if a man have not, he is none of his.

19. The fifth text your Lordship quotes, as describing a miraculous gift of the Spirit, is 1 Cor. xiv. 15: to prove which, you comment on the 8th chapter to the Romans, particularly the 26th verse: and here again it is said, "That the interpretation assigned, is confirmed by several of the most eminent Fathers, more especially the great John Chrysostom as well as by Origen and Jerome upon the place." I cannot find St. Jerome to have written one line upon the place. And it is obvious, that St. Chrysostom supposes the whole context from the 17th to the 25th verse, to relate to all Christians in all ages. How this can be said to "confirm the interpretation assigned," I cannot conjecture. Nay, it is remarkable, that he expounds the former part of the 26th verse, as describing the ordinary privilege of all Christians. Thus far, therefore, he does not confirm, but overthrow "the interpretation before assigned." But in the middle of the verse he breaks off, and expounds the latter part, as describing one of the miraculous gifts. Yet I must do the justice to this venerable man to observe, he does not suppose that miraculous gift was given, only that the inspired might do what any ordinary Christian might have done without it. This interpretation even of the latter part of the verse, he does in nowise confirm. But that he might ask in every particular circumstance, the determinate thing which it was the will of God to give.

20. The third Father by whom it is said this interpretation is confirmed, is Origen. The first passage of his, which relates to Rom. viii 26, runs thus: (Vol. I. p. 199) "Paul perceiving how far he was, after all these things, from knowing to pray for what he ought as he ought, says, 'We know not what we should pray for as we ought.' But he adds, whence what is wanting may be had by one who indeed does not know, but labours to be found worthy of having the defect supplied. For he says, 'Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities. For we know not what we should pray for as we ought. But the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth

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the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit; because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." The Spirit which crieth, Abba, Father, in the hearts of the saints, knowing well our groanings in this tabernacle, making intercession for us to God, with groanings which cannot be uttered. To the same effect is that scripture, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, "I will pray with the Spirit, I will pray with the understanding also." For our understanding (or mind ὁ νοῦς) cannot pray, if the Spirit do not pray before it, and the understanding, as it were, listen to it." Again, (Vol. II. p. 146,) I would know, how the saints cry to God without a voice. The Apostle shows, God "hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father!" And he adds, "The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." And again, "He that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." Thus, therefore, the Spirit making intercession for us with God, the cry of the saints is heard without a voice." Once more in his Homily on Joshua, (Vol. II. p. 419,) "Jesus, our Lord, doth not forsake us; but although when we would pray, we know not what to pray for as we ought, yet the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. Now the Lord is that Spirit: the Spirit assists our prayers, and offers them to God with groanings which we cannot express in words."

I believe all rational men will observe from hence, that Origen is so far from confirming, that he quite overturns your Lordship's interpretation of the 16th as well as the 26th verse of this chapter: seeing, in his judgment, both that testimony of the Spirit, and this prayer belong to all Christians in all ages.

21. The sixth scripture which your Lordship has undertaken to show, "relates only to the Apostolic times," is 1 Cor. ii. 4. 5. And, this interpretation also, it is said, is confirmed by the authority of Chrysostom, Origen, and other ancient writers." (p. 33.) With those other "ancient writers" I have no concern yet. St. Chrysostom so far confirms this interpretation, as to explain that whole phrase, the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, of "the power of the Spirit shown by miracles." But he says not one word, of any "Proof of the Christian Religion, arising from the types and prophecies of the Old Testament." Origen has these words, (Vol. I. p. 321,) "Our word has a certain, peculiar demonstration, more divine than the Grecian, logical demonstration. This the Apostle terms, The demonstration of the Spirit and of power: of the Spirit, because of the prophecies, sufficient to convince any one, especially of the things that relate to Christ; of power, because of the miraculous powers, some footsteps of which still remain." Hence we may doubtless infer, That Origen judged this text to relate, in its primary sense, to the Apostles: but can we thence infer, that he did not judge it to belong, in a lower sense, to all true ministers of Christ? Let us hear him speaking for himself in the same Treatise,

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p. 377. "And my speech and my preaching were not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. Those who hear the word preached with power, are themselves filled with power," (N. B. Not the power of working miracles) which they demonstrate both in their disposition, and in their life, and in their striving for the truth unto death. But some, although they profess to believe, have not this power of God in them, but are empty thereof." Did Origen then believe, that the power mentioned in this text, belonged only to the Apostolical age? "See the force of the word, conquering believers by a persuasiveness attended with the power of God! I speak this to show the meaning of them that said, 'And my speech and my preaching were not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.' This divine saying means, That what is spoken is not sufficient of itself, although it be true and most worthy to be believed, to pierce a man's soul, if there be not also a certain power from God given to the speaker, and grace bloom upon what is spoken, and this grace cannot be but from God."

After observing, That this is the very passage which your Lordship mentions at the close of the other, but does not cite it, I desire every unprejudiced person to judge, whether Origen does not clearly determine, that the power, spoken of in this text, is, in some measure, given to all true ministers in all ages?

22. The last scripture which your Lordship affirms "to be peculiar to the times of the Apostles," is that in the first Epistle of St. John, concerning the unction of the Holy One. To confirm this interpretation, we are referred to the authority of Origen and Chrysostom, on the parallel passages in St. John's gospel, p. 42. But it has appeared, That both these Fathers suppose those passages to belong to all Christians. And consequently their authority (if these are parallel passages) stands full against this interpretation. Your Lordship subjoins, "I shall here only add that of the great Athanasius, who (in his epistle to Serapion) interprets the unction from the Holy One, not merely of divine grace, but of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit." Nay, it is enough, if he interprets it at all of ordinary grace, such as is common to all Christians. And this your Lordship allows he does. But I cannot allow that he interprets it of any thing else. I cannot perceive, that he interprets it at all "of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit." His words are, "The Holy Spirit is called, and is, the unction and the seal. For John writes, 'The anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you; and ye need not that any man should teach you, but as his anointing,' his Spirit. 'He teacheth you of all things.' Again, it is written in the prophet Isaiah, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me.' And Paul writes thus: 'In whom also ye were sealed.' And again, 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of

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God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.' This anointing is the breath of the Son, so that he who hath the Spirit may say, *We are the sweet smelling savour of Christ.* Because we are partakers of the Holy Spirit, we have the Son: and, having the Son, we have the Spirit, crying in our hearts, Abba, Father." And so, in his Oration against the Arians: "He sendeth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. His Son in us, invoking the Father, makes him to be called our Father. Certainly God cannot be called their Father, who have not the Son in their hearts."

Is it not easy to be observed here, 1. That Athanasius makes that testimony of the Spirit, common to all the children of God: 2. That he joins the anointing of the Holy One, with that seal of the Spirit wherewith all that persevere are sealed to the day of redemption: and, 3. That he does not, throughout this passage, speak of the extraordinary gifts at all?

Therefore, upon the whole, the sense of the primitive church, so far as it can be gathered from the authors above cited, is, "That although some of these scriptures primarily refer to those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, which were given to the Apostles and a few other persons in the Apostolic age: yet they refer also, in a secondary sense, to those ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit, which all the children of God do and will experience, even to the end of the world."

23. What I mean by the ordinary operations of the Holy Ghost, I sum up in the words of a modern writer:

"Sanctification being opposed to our corruption, and answering fully to the latitude thereof, whatsoever of holiness and perfection is wanting in our nature, must be supplied by the Spirit of God. Wherefore by nature we are totally void of knowing the will of God; this Spirit searcheth all things, yea, even the deep things of God, and revealeth them to the sons of men, so that thereby the darkness of their understanding is expelled, and they are enlightened with the knowledge of God. The same Spirit which revealeth the object of faith, generally to the universal Church, doth also illuminate the understanding of such as believe, that they may receive the truth. For faith is the gift of God, not only in the object, but also in the act. And this gift is a gift of the Holy Ghost working within us—And as the increase of perfection, so the original of faith is from the Spirit of God, by an internal illumination of the soul.

"The second part of the office of the Holy Ghost is, the renewing of man in all the parts and faculties of his soul. For our natural corruption consisting in an aversation of our wills, and a depravation of our affections, an inclination of them to the will of God is wrought within us by the Spirit of God.

"The third part of this office is, To lead, direct, and govern us in our actions and conversations. If we live in the Spirit, quickened by his renovation, we must also walk in the Spirit, following his direction, led by his manuduction. We are also animated and acted

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by the Spirit of God, who giveth both to will and to do: and *'as many as are thus led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God.' Moreover, that this direction may prove more effectual, we are guided in our prayers by the same Spirit: according to the promise, 'I will pour upon the House of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and supplication.' (Zech. xii. 10.) Whereas then 'this is the confidence which we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us:' and whereas 'we know not what we should pray for as we ought,† the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered:' and ‡'he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God.' From which intercession," made for all true Christians, "he hath the §name of the Paraclete given him by Christ, who said, "I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Paraclete.' For 'if any man sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous,' saith St. John: 'who maketh intercession for us,' saith St. Paul. (Rom. viii. 34.) And we have‖ another Paraclete, saith our Saviour: ¶'which also maketh intercession for us,' saith St. Paul. A Paraclete then, in the notion of the Scriptures, is an Intercessor."

"It is also the office of the Holy Ghost, to assure us of the adoption of sons, to create in us a sense of the paternal love of God towards us, to give us an earnest of our everlasting inheritance. 'The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.' For 'as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. And because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father.' **'For we have not received the Spirit of bondage again to fear, but we have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father: the Spirit itself bearing witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God.'

"As, therefore, we are born again by the Spirit, and receive from him our regeneration, so we are also by the same Spirit assured of our Adoption. Because being *sons we are also heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ*, by the same Spirit we have the pledge, or rather the earnest of our inheritance. For he which establisheth us in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also sealed us, and hath given us the earnest of his Spirit in our hearts: so that we are sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance. The Spirit of God, as given unto us in this life, is to be looked upon as an earnest, being part of that reward which is promised, and, upon performance of the covenant which God hath made with us, certainly to be received."

Your Lordship observed, that "the interpretation of those passages, which relate to the *unction from the Holy One*, depends on the

* *Rom.* viii. 14. † *Rom.* viii. 26. ‡ *Ver.* 27. § *John* xiv. 16. 26.
‖ *John* xiv. 16. ¶ *Rom.* viii. 27. ** *Ver.* 15, 16.

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sense of those other passages of Holy Scripture, particularly those in St. John's Gospel." Now if so, then these words fix the sense of six out of the seven texts in question; and every one of them, in the judgment of this writer, describes the *ordinary gifts* bestowed on all Christians.

It now rests with your Lordship, to take your choice; either to condemn or acquit both. Either your Lordship must condemn Bishop Pearson for an *enthusiast*, a man no ways inferior to Bishop Chrysostom: or you must acquit me: for I have his express authority on my side, concerning every text which I affirm to belong to all Christians.

24. But I have greater authority than this, and such as I reverence, only less than that of the Oracles of God. I mean that of our own Church. I shall close this head, by setting down what occurs in her authentic records, concerning either our *receiving the Holy Ghost*, or his ordinary operations in all true Christians.

In her daily service, she teaches us all to beseech God, "to grant us his Holy Spirit, that those things may please him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life may be pure and holy;" to pray for our sovereign Lord the King, that God would replenish him with the Grace of his Holy Spirit; for all the royal family, that they may be endued with his Holy Spirit, and enriched with his Heavenly Grace: for all the clergy and people, that he would send down upon them the healthful Spirit of his Grace: for the Catholic Church, that it may be guided and governed by his good Spirit: and for all therein who at any time make their common supplications unto him, that the fellowship or communication of the Holy Ghost may be with them all evermore.

Her collects are full of petitions to the same effect: "*Grant that we may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit. † Grant that in all our sufferings here, for the testimony of thy truth, we may by faith behold the glory that shall be revealed, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, may love and bless our persecutors. ‡ Send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of charity. § O Lord, from whom all good things do come, grant to us thy humble servants, that by thy *holy inspiration*, we may think those things that are good, and by thy merciful guidance may perform the same. || We beseech thee, leave us not comfortless, but send to us the Holy Ghost to comfort us. ¶ Grant us by the same spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and evermore to rejoice in his holy comfort. (N. B. The Church here teaches all Christians to claim *the Comforter*, in virtue of the promise made, John xiv.) ** Grant us, Lord, we beseech thee, the spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful. †† O God, forasmuch as without thee, we are not able to please thee, mercifully grant that thy Holy Spirit may in

* Collect for Christmas Day. † St. Stephen's Day. ‡ Quinquagesima Sunday.
§ Fifth Sunday after Easter. || Sunday after Ascension Day. ¶ Whitsunday.
** Ninth Sunday after Trinity. †† Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.

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all things direct and rule our hearts. * Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name. Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant (or this person) that he may be born again. —Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons, (N. B. already baptized) that they may continue thy servants. Almighty God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these persons by water and the Holy Ghost —Strengthen them with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them the manifold gifts of thy grace." *Office of Confirmation.*

From these passages it may sufficiently appear, for what purposes every Christian, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, does now *receive the Holy Ghost.* But this will be still more clear from those that follow: wherein the reader may likewise observe, a plain, rational sense of God's revealing himself to us, of the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and of a Believer's feeling in himself the mighty working of the Spirit of Christ.

25. "God gave them of old, grace to be his children, as he doth us now. But now, by the coming of our Saviour Christ, *we have received* more abundantly *the Spirit of God* in our hearts." *Homily on Faith.* Part II. "He died to destroy the rule of the Devil in us, and he rose again to send down his Holy Spirit, to rule in our hearts." *Homily on the Resurrection.* "We have the Holy Spirit in our hearts, as a seal and pledge of our everlasting inheritance." *Ibid.* "The Holy Ghost sat upon each of them, like as it had been cloven tongues of fire: to teach, that it is he that giveth eloquence and utterance in preaching the gospel; which engendereth a burning zeal towards God's word, and giveth all men a tongue, yea, a fiery tongue. (N. B. Whatever occurs in any of the Journals, of God's "giving me utterance," or "enabling me to speak with power," cannot therefore be quoted as Enthusiasm, without wounding the Church through my side.) So that if any man be a dumb Christian, not professing his faith openly, he giveth men occasion to doubt, lest he have not the grace of the Holy Ghost within him." *Homily on Whitsunday,* Part I.

"It is the office of the Holy Ghost to sanctify: which the more it is hid from our understanding," (i. e. the particular manner of his working) "the more it ought to move all men, to wonder at the secret and mighty workings of God's Holy Spirit which is within us. For it is the Holy Ghost that doth quicken the minds of men, stirring up godly motions in their hearts. Neither doth he think it sufficient inwardly to work the new-birth of man, unless he doth also dwell and abide in him. 'Know ye not,' saith St. Paul, 'that ye are the Temple of God, and that his Spirit dwelleth in you? Know ye not that your bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost which is within you?' Again he saith, 'Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit,' for why? 'The Spirit of God dwelleth in you.' To this,

* Communion Office.

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agreeth St. John, *'The anointing which ye have received,' (he meaneth the Holy Ghost) 'abideth in you.' And St. Peter saith the same, 'The Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you.' O what comfort is this to the heart of a true Christian, to think that the Holy Ghost dwelleth in him! 'If God be with us,' as the Apostle saith, 'who can be against us?' He giveth patience and joyfulness of heart, in temptation and affliction, and is therefore worthily called † *The Comforter*. He doth instruct the hearts of the simple, in the knowledge of God and his word; therefore he is justly termed ‡ *The Spirit of Truth*. And where the Holy Ghost doth instruct and teach, there is no delay at all in learning." *Ibid.*

From this passage I learn, 1. That every true Christian now *receives the Holy Ghost*, as *the Paraclete* or *Comforter* promised by our Lord, John xiv. 13. 2. That every Christian receives him as *the Spirit of Truth* (promised John xvi.) to *teach all things*. And, 3. That the anointing mentioned in the first Epistle of St. John, abides in every Christian.

26. "In reading of God's word, he profiteth most, that is most inspired with the Holy Ghost." *Homily on reading the Scripture*. Part I. "Human and worldly wisdom is not needful to the understanding of Scripture, but the revelation of the Holy Ghost, who inspireth the true meaning unto them that with humility and diligence search for it." *Ibid.* Part II. "Make him know and feel, that there is no other name under heaven given unto men, whereby we can be saved." "If we feel our conscience at peace with God, through remission of our sins,—all is of God." *Homily on Rogation Week*. Part II. "If you feel such a faith in you, rejoice in it, and let it be daily increasing by well-working." *Homily on Faith*. Part III. "The faithful may feel wrought tranquillity of conscience, the increase of faith and hope, with many other graces of God." *Homily on the Sacrament*. Part I. "Godly men feel inwardly God's Holy Spirit, inflaming their hearts with love." *Homily on certain places of Scripture*. Part I. "God give us grace, to know these things, and to feel them in our hearts! this knowledge and feeling is not of ourselves. Let us therefore meekly call upon the bountiful Spirit, the Holy Ghost, to inspire us with his presence, that we may be able to hear the goodness of God to our salvation. For without his lively inspiration, can we not so much as speak the name of the Mediator. 'No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' Much less should we be able to believe and know these great mysteries, that be opened to us by Christ. 'But we have received,' saith St. Paul, 'not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God;' for this purpose, 'that we may know the things which are freely given to us of God.' In the power of the Holy Ghost resteth all ability to know God and to please him. It is he that purifieth the mind by his secret working. He enlighteneth the heart, to conceive worthy thoughts of Almighty God. He sit-

* John ii. 27. † John xiv. 16. ‡ John xvi. 13.

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teth in the tongue of man, to stir him to speak his honour. He only ministereth spiritual strength to the powers of the soul and body. And if we have any gift, whereby we may profit our neighbour, all is wrought by this one and the self-same Spirit." *Homily for Rogation Week.* Part III.

27. Every proposition which I have any where advanced, concerning those operations of the Holy Ghost, which I believe are common to all Christians in all ages, is here clearly maintained by our own church. Under a full sense of this, I could not well understand for many years, how it was, that on the mentioning any of these great truths, even among men of education, the cry immediately arose, "an Enthusiast! an Enthusiast!" but I now plainly perceive, this is only an old fallacy in a new shape. To object Enthusiasm to any person or doctrine, is but a decent method of begging the question. It generally spares the objector the trouble of reasoning, and is a shorter and easier way of carrying his cause. For instance, I assert that "till a man *receives the Holy Ghost*, he is without God in the world; that he cannot know the things of God, unless God reveal them unto him by his Spirit: no, nor have even one holy or heavenly temper, without the inspiration of the Holy One." Now should one who is conscious to himself, that he has experienced none of these things, attempt to confute these propositions, either from Scripture or antiquity, it might prove a difficult task. What then shall he do? Why, cry out, "Enthusiasm! Enthusiasm!" and the work is done. But what does he mean by Enthusiasm? perhaps nothing at all: few have any distinct idea of its meaning. Perhaps, "something very bad," or "something I never experienced and do not understand." Shall I tell you then, what that "terrible something" is? I believe, thinking men mean by Enthusiasm, a sort of religious madness; a false imagination of being inspired by God: and by an Enthusiast, one that fancies himself under the influence of the Holy Ghost, when, in fact, he is not. Let him prove me guilty of this, who can. I will tell you once more the whole of my belief on these heads. And if any man will show me (by arguments, not hard names) what is wrong, I will thank God and him.

28. Every good gift is from God, and is given to man by the Holy Ghost. By nature there is in us no good thing. And there can be none, but so far as it is wrought in us by that good Spirit. Have we any true knowledge of what is good? This is not the result of our natural understanding. *The natural man discerneth not the things of the Spirit of God:* so that we never can discern them, until God *reveals them unto us by his Spirit. Reveals*, that is, unveils, uncovers; gives us to know what we did not know before. Have we love? *It is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.* He inspires, breathes, infuses into our soul, what of ourselves we could not have. Does our spirit rejoice in God our Saviour? It is *joy in* (or by) *the Holy Ghost.* Have we true inward peace? It is *the peace of God*, wrought in us by the same Spirit. Faith, peace,

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joy, love, are all his fruits. And as we are figuratively said, to see the light of faith, so by a like figure of speech we are said to feel, this peace, and joy, and love: that is, we have an inward experience of them, which we cannot find any fitter word to express.

The reasons why in speaking of these things I use those terms, (inspiration particularly) are, 1. Because they are scriptural. 2. Because they are used by our Church. 3. Because I know none better. The word "*influence* of the Holy Ghost," which I suppose you use, is both a far stronger and a less natural term than inspiration. It is far stronger; even as far as "flowing into the soul" is a stronger expression than "breathing upon it." And less natural; as breathing bears a near relation to spirit; to which flowing in, has only a distant relation. "But you thought I had meant immediate inspiration." So I do, or I mean nothing at all. Nor, indeed, such inspiration as is *sine mediis*. But all inspiration, though by means, is immediate. Suppose, for instance, you are employed in private prayer, and God pours his love into your heart. God then acts immediately on your soul: and the love of him which you then experience, is as immediately breathed into you by the Holy Ghost, as if you had lived 1700 years ago. Change the term. Say, "God then assists you to love him?" Well, and is not this immediate assistance? Say, "His Spirit concurs with yours." You gain no ground. It is immediate concurrence or none at all. God, a Spirit, acts upon your spirit. Make it out any otherwise if you can. I cannot conceive, how that harmless word, immediate, came to be such a bugbear in the world: "why, I thought you meant such inspiration as the Apostles had; and such receiving the Holy Ghost, as that was at the day of Pentecost." I do, in part: indeed I do not mean, that Christians now receive the Holy Ghost, in order to work miracles: but they do doubtless now receive, yea, *are filled with the Holy Ghost*, in order to be filled with the fruits of that blessed Spirit. And he inspires into all true believers now, a degree of the same peace, and joy, and love which the Apostles felt in themselves on that day, when they were first *filled with the Holy Ghost*.

29. I have now considered the most material objections I know, which have been lately made against the great doctrines I teach. I have produced, so far as in me lay, the strength of those objections, and then answered them, I hope, in the spirit of meekness. And now I trust it appears, that these doctrines are no other than the doctrines of Jesus Christ: that they are all evidently contained in the word of God, by which alone I desire to stand or fall: and that they are fundamentally the same with the doctrines of the Church of England, of which I do, and ever did profess myself a Member.

But there remains one objection, which though relating to the head of Doctrine, yet is independent on all that went before. And that is, "You cannot agree in your doctrines among yourselves. One holds one thing and one another. Mr. Whitefield anathematizes Mr. Wesley; and Mr. Wesley anathematizes Mr. Whitefield. And yet each pretends to be led by the Holy Ghost, by the infallible

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Spirit of God! Every reasonable man must conclude from hence, that neither the one nor the other is led by that Spirit." I need not say, how continually this has been urged, both in common conversation and from the press: I am grieved to add, and from the pulpit too; for if the argument were good, it would overturn the Bible. Nor, how great stress has been continually laid upon it: whoever proposes it, proposes it as demonstration, and generally claps his wings, as being quite assured, it will admit of no answer. And, indeed, I am in doubt, whether it does admit, I am sure it does not require, any other answer, than that coarse one of the countryman to the Romish Champion, "Bellarmine, thou liest." For every proposition contained herein, is grossly, shamelessly false. 1. "You cannot agree in your doctrines among yourselves."—Who told you so? All our fundamental doctrines, I have recited above. And in every one of these we do, and have agreed for several years. In these, we hold one and the same thing. In smaller points, each of us thinks, and lets think. 2. "Mr. Whitefield anathematizes Mr. Wesley." Another shameless untruth. Let any one read what Mr. Whitefield wrote, even in the heat of controversy, and he will be convinced of the contrary. 3. "And Mr. Wesley anathematizes Mr. Whitefield:" This is equally false and scandalous. I reverence Mr. Whitefield, both as a child of God, and a true Minister of Jesus Christ. 4. "And yet each pretends to be led by the Holy Ghost, by the infallible Spirit of God." Not in our private opinions: nor does either of us pretend to be any farther led by the Spirit of God, than every Christian must pretend to be, unless he will deny the Bible. For only as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God. Therefore, if you do not pretend to be led by him too, yea, if it be not so in fact, you are none of his. And now, what is become of your demonstration? Leave it to the carmen and porters, its just proprietors: to the zealous apple-women that cry after me in the street, "This is he that rails at the *Whole Duty* of Man." But let every one that pretends to learning or reason, be ashamed to mention it any more.

30. The first inference, easily deduced from what has been said, is, "That we are not false Prophets." In one sense of the word, we are no Prophets at all; for we do not foretell things to come. But in another, wherein every Minister is a Prophet, we are. For we do speak in the name of God. Now a false Prophet, in this sense of the word, is one, who declares as the Will of God, what is not so. But we declare, as has been shown at large, nothing else as the Will of God, but what is evidently contained in his written word, as explained by our own church. Therefore, unless you can prove the Bible to be a false book, you cannot possibly prove us to be false Prophets. The text which is generally cited on *this* occasion, is Matthew vii. ver. 15. But how unhappily chosen! In the preceding chapters, our Lord had been describing that righteousness which exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, and without which we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven: even the life of

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God in the soul; holiness of heart, producing all holiness of conversation. In this, he closes that rule which sums up the whole, with those solemn words, "Enter ye in at the strait gate:" (such indeed is that of universal holiness) "For wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction." The gate of hell is wide as the whole earth; the way of unholiness is broad as the great deep. "And many there be which go in thereat;" yea, and excuse themselves in so doing, "Because strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." It follows, *Beware of false Prophets;* of those who speak as from God, what God hath not spoken; those who show you any other way to life, than that which I have now shown. So that the false Prophets, here spoken of, are those who point out any other way to heaven than this; who teach men to find a wider gate, a broader way, than that described in the foregoing chapters. But it has been abundantly shown, that we do not. Therefore (whatever we are beside) we are not false Prophets.

Neither are we, as has been frequently and vehemently affirmed, *deceivers of the people.* If we teach "the truth as it is in Jesus," if we "speak as the oracles of God," it follows, that we do not deceive those that hear, though they should believe whatever we speak. "Let God be true and every man a liar:" every man that contradicts his truth. But he will be "justified in his saying, and clear when he is judged."

One thing more I infer, "That we are not Enthusiasts." This accusation has been considered at large: and the main arguments hitherto brought to support it, have been weighed in the balance and found wanting: particularly this, "That none but Enthusiasts suppose either that *promise of the Comforter, or the †witness of the Spirit, or ‡that unutterable prayer, or §the Unction from the Holy One, to belong, in common, to all Christians." O, my Lord, how deeply have you condemned the generation of God's children! Whom have you represented as rank, dreaming Enthusiasts? As either deluded or designing men? Not only Bishop Pearson, a man hitherto accounted both sound in heart, and of good understanding; but likewise Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, Bishop Latimer, Bishop Hooper; and all the venerable compilers of our Liturgy and Homilies: all the members of both the Houses of Convocation, by whom they were revised and approved: yea, King Edward, and all his *Lords* and Commons together, by whose authority they were established! And, with these modern Enthusiasts, Origen, Chrysostom, and Athanasius, are comprehended in the same censure!

I grant, a Deist might rank both us and them, in the number of religious madmen: nay, ought so to do, on his supposition, that the gospel is but a cunningly-devised fable. And on this ground, some of them have done so in fact. One of them was asking me, several years since, "What! are you one of the Knight-Errants? How, I

* *John* xiv. 16. 26. xvi. 13. † *Rom.* viii. 15, 16. ‡ *Rom.* viii. 26, 27. § 1 *John* ii. 20, 27.

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pray, got Quixotism into your head? You want nothing: you have a good provision for life; and are in a way of preferment; and must you leave all, to fight windmills; to convert savages in America?" I could only reply, "Sir, if the Bible is a lie, I am as very a madman as you can conceive. But if it be true, I am in my senses. I am neither madman nor Enthusiast." "For there is no man who hath left father or mother, or wife, or house, or land, for the gospel's sake; but he shall receive a hundred fold, in this world, with persecutions, and in the world to come, eternal life."

Nominal, outside Christians too, men of form may pass the same judgment. For we give up all our pretensions to what they account happiness, for what they, with the Deists, believe to be a mere dream. We expect, therefore, to pass for Enthusiasts with these also. But wisdom is justified of all her children.

32. I cannot conclude this head without one obvious remark. Suppose we really were Enthusiasts; suppose our doctrines were false, and unsupported either by reason, scripture, or authority: then, why hath not some one, who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you, attempted, at least, to show us our fault in love and meekness of wisdom? "Brethren, if ye have bitter zeal in your hearts, your wisdom descendeth not from above. The wisdom that is from above, is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy" or pity. Does this spirit appear in one single Tract, of all those which have been published against us? Is there one Writer that has reproved us in love? Bring it to a single point. "Love hopeth all things." If you had loved us in any degree, you would have hoped, that God would some time give us the knowledge of his truth. But where shall we find even this slender instance of love? Has not every one who has written at all (I do not remember so much as one exception) treated us as incorrigible? Brethren, how is this? Why do you labour to teach us an evil lesson against yourselves? O may God never suffer others to deal with you, as ye have dealt with us!

VI. 1. Before I enter upon the consideration of those objections, which have been made to the manner of our preaching, I believe it may be satisfactory to some readers if I relate how I began to preach in this manner.

I was ordained Deacon in 1725, and Priest, in the year following. But it was many years after this before I was convinced of the great truths above recited. During all that time I was utterly ignorant of the nature and condition of justification. Sometimes I confounded it with sanctification, particularly when I was in Georgia. At other times I had some confused notion about the forgiveness of sins: but then I took it for granted, the time of this must be, either the hour of death, or the day of judgment. I was equally ignorant of the nature of saving faith; apprehending it to mean no more, than a "Firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testament."

2. As soon as, by the great blessing of God, I had a clearer view

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of these things, I began to declare them to others also. I believed, and therefore I spake. Wherever I was now desired to preach, salvation by faith was my only theme. My constant subjects were, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." "Him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins." These I explained and enforced with all my might, both in every Church where I was asked to preach, and occasionally in the Religious Societies of London and Westminster; to some or other of which I was continually pressed to go, by the Stewards or other Members of them. Things were in this posture, when I was told, "I must preach no more in this, and this, and another Church:" the reason was usually added without reserve, "Because you preach such doctrine." So much the more those who could not hear me there, flocked together when I was at any of the Societies; where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain.

3. But after a time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England, which I had often done in a warmer climate: namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first at Bristol, where the Society-rooms were exceeding small, and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all: afterwards in or near London. And I cannot say I have ever seen a more awful sight, than when on Rose Green, or the top of Hannam-Mount, some thousands of people were calmly joined together in solemn waiting upon God, while

> "They stood and under open air ador'd
> The God who made both air, earth, heav'n, and sky."

And whether they were listening to his word, with attention still as night; or were lifting up their voice in praise, as the sound of many waters; many a time have I been constrained to say in my heart, "How dreadful is this place!" this also is no other than "the house of God! this is the gate of Heaven!"

Be pleased to observe, 1. That I was forbidden, as by a general consent, to preach in any church, though not by any judicial sentence, "for preaching such doctrine." This was the open, avowed cause: there was at that time no other, either real or pretended; 2. That I had no desire or design to preach in the open air, till long after this prohibition; 3. That when I did, as it was no matter of choice, so neither of premeditation. There was no scheme at all previously formed, which was to be supported thereby; nor had I any other end in view than this, to save as many souls as I could. 4. *Field-preaching* was therefore a sudden expedient, a thing submitted to, rather than chosen; and therefore submitted to, because I thought preaching even thus, better than not preaching at all: First, in regard, to my own soul, because a dispensation of the gospel being committed to me, I did not dare not to preach the gospel: Secondly, in regard to the souls of others, whom I every where saw, *seeking death in the error of their life.*

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But the author of *the Observations* and of *the Case of the Methodists briefly stated, more particularly in the point of Field-preaching*, thinks *field-preaching* worse than not preaching at all, "because it is illegal."

Your argument in form runs thus:

"That preaching which is contrary to the laws of the land is worse than not preaching at all:

But *field-preaching is contrary* to the laws of the land.

Therefore, it is worse than not preaching at all:

The first proposition is not self-evident, nor indeed universally true. For the preaching of all the primitive Christians was contrary to the whole tenor of the Roman laws; the worship of their devil gods being established by the strongest laws then in being. Nor is it ever true, but on supposition that the preaching in question is an indifferent thing.

But waiving this, I deny the second proposition; I deny that *field-preaching* is contrary to the laws of our land. To prove which, you begin thus: "It does not appear, that any of the preachers among the Methodists, have qualified themselves and the place of their assembling, according to the Act of Toleration." I answer, 1. That act grants toleration to those who dissent from the Established Church. But we do not dissent from it. Therefore we cannot make use of that act. 2. That act exempts Dissenters from penalties consequent on their breach of preceding laws. But we are not conscious of breaking any law at all. Therefore we need not make use of it.

In the next section you say, "They have broken through all these provisions, in open defiance of government: and have met not only in houses, but in the fields, notwithstanding the statute (22 Car. II. c. 1.) which forbids this by name."

I answer, 1. We do nothing in defiance of government. We reverence magistrates as the ministers of God. 2. Although we have met in the fields, yet we do not conceive that statute at all affects us, not only because that act points wholly at Dissenters; whereas we are members of the Established Church; but also because (they are your own words) it was evidently intended to suppress and prevent sedition: whereas no sedition, nor any the least approach thereto, can with any colour be laid to our charge.

In your 3d section you affirm, "That the Act of Toleration itself cannot secure us in field-preaching, from the penalties of former laws." We have no desire it should; as not apprehending ourselves to be condemned by any former law whatever. Nor does what you add, "That the Act of Toleration forbids any assembling of persons dissenting from the Church of England, to meet with the doors locked," affect us at all; because we do not dissent from it.

5. In the case of the Methodists briefly stated, your first observation is, "The Act of Toleration leaves them liable to the penalties of several statutes made against unlawful assemblies." I suppose then these several statutes specify what those unlawful assemblies are: and whether unlawful, as being condemned by previous laws,

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or made unlawful by those statutes. And it still remains to be proved, that our assemblies are unlawful, in one or other of these senses. You next observe, that, "the Dissenters of all denominations, qualify themselves according to the Act of Toleration; otherwise, they are liable to the penalties of all the laws recited in this act." I answer, as before, all this strikes wide. It relates wholly to "persons dissenting from the Church." But we are not the men. We do not dissent from the Church. Whoever affirms it, we put him to the proof.

You go on, "One of those laws so related (viz. 22 Car. II. c. I.) is that which forbids field-preaching by name; and was evidently intended, not only to suppress, but also to prevent sedition. As the title of the act declares, and as the preamble expresses it, *to provide farther and more speedy remedies against it.*" Was this then in your own judgment, the evident intention of that act, viz. To provide remedies against sedition? Does the very title of the act declare this? And the preamble also express it? With what justice then, with what ingenuity or candour, with what shadow of truth or reason, can any man cite this act against us? Whom you yourself no more suspect of a design to raise sedition, I appeal to your own conscience in the sight of God, than of a design to blow up the city of London.

6. Hitherto therefore it hath not been made to appear, that field-preaching is contrary to any law in being. However, "It is dangerous." This you strongly insist on. "It may be attended with mischievous consequences. It may give advantages to the enemies of the established government. It is big with mischief." Observations, sect. I. and II. With what mischief? Why, "evil-minded men, by meeting together in the fields, under pretence of religion, may raise riots and tumults; or by meeting secretly, may carry on private cabals against the state." *Case of the Methodists*, p. 2. "And if the Methodists themselves are a harmless and loyal people, it is nothing to the point in hand. For disloyal and seditious persons may use such an opportunity of getting together, in order to execute any private design. Mr. Whitefield says, 30, 50, or 80,000 have attended his preaching at once. Now, 1. He cannot know one-tenth part of such a congregation. 2. All people may come and carry on what designs they will: therefore, 3. This is a great opportunity put into the hands of seditious persons to raise disturbances." "With what safety to the public these field-preachings may be continued, let the world judge." *Ibid.* p. 2, 3, 4.

May I speak without offence? I cannot think you are in earnest. You do not mean what you say. Do you believe Mr. Whitefield had *eighty thousand* hearers at once? No more than you believe he had *eighty millions*. Is not all this talk of danger mere finesse? Thrown in purely *ad movendum invidiam?* You know governments generally are suspicious; especially in time of war: and therefore apply, as you suppose, to their weak side; in hopes, if possible, to deliver over these heretics to the secular arm. However, I will answer, as if you spoke from your heart. For I am in earnest, if you are not.

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1. "The preacher cannot know a tenth part of his congregation." Let us come to the present state of things. The largest congregations that now attend the preaching of any Methodist, are those (God be merciful to me!) that attend mine. And cannot I know a tenth part of one of these congregations, either at Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle, or London? As strange as it may seem, I generally know two-thirds of the congregation in every place even on Sunday evenings, and nine in ten of those who attend at most other times. 2. "All people may come and carry on what designs they will. Not so. All field-preaching is now in the open day. And were only ten persons to come to such an assembly with arms, it would soon be inquired, with what design they came. This is therefore, 3. No "great opportunity put into the hands of seditious persons to raise disturbances." And if ever any disturbance has been raised, it was quite of another kind. The public then is entirely safe, if it be in no other danger than arises from field-preaching.

7. There is one other sentence belonging to this head, in the eighth section of the Observations. "The religious societies," you say, "in London and Westminster, for many years past, have received no discouragements, but on the contrary have been countenanced and encouraged both by the Bishops and Clergy." How is this? Have they then "qualified themselves and the places of their assembling according to the Act of Toleration?" Have they "embraced the protection which that act might give them, in case they complied with the conditions of it?" If not, are they not all "liable to the penalties of the several statutes made before that time against unlawful assembles?" How can they escape? Have they "qualified themselves for holding these separate assemblies, according to the tenor of that act?" "Have then the several members thereof taken the oaths to the government?" And are the "doors of the places wherein they meet, always open at the times of such meetings?" I presume, you know they are not; and that neither "the persons nor places are so qualified as that act directs." How then came "the Bishops and Clergy to countenance and encourage" unlawful assemblies? If it be said, "they meet in a private, inoffensive way;" that is nothing to the point in hand. If those meetings are unlawful in themselves, all their inoffensiveness will not make them lawful. "O, but they behave with modesty and decency." Very well; but the law! What is that to the law? There can be no solid defence but this: they are not dissenters from the Church; therefore they cannot use, and they do not need the Act of Toleration. And their meetings are not seditious; therefore the statute against seditious meetings does not affect them. The application is obvious. If our meetings are illegal, so are theirs also. But if this plea be good, as doubtless it is, in one case, it is good in the other also.

8. You propose another objection to our manner of preaching, in the second part of the Observations. The substance of it I will repeat, and answer as briefly as I can. "They run up and down from place to place, and from county to county:" that is, *they preach*

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in several places. This is undoubtedly true. "They draw after them confused multitudes of people:" that is, *many come to hear them.* This is true also. "But they would do well to remember, God is not the author of confusion or of tumult, but of peace." I trust we do; nor is there any confusion or tumult at all, in our largest congregations: unless at some rare times when the sons of Belial mix therewith, on purpose to disturb the peaceable worshippers of God. "But our Church has provided against this preaching up and down, in the ordination of a Priest, by expressly limiting the exercises of the powers then conferred upon him, to the congregation where he shall be lawfully appointed thereunto."

I answer, 1. Your argument proves too much. If it be allowed just as you propose it, it proves, that no Priest has authority, either to preach or minister the sacraments, in any other than his own congregation. 2. Had the powers conferred been so limited when I was ordained Priest, my ordination would have signified just nothing. For I was not appointed to any congregation at all; but was ordained as a member of that "College of Divines," (so our statutes express it,) founded to overturn all heresies, and defend the Catholic Faith." 3. For many years after I was ordained Priest, this limitation was never heard of. I heard not one syllable of it, by way of objection to my preaching up and down, in Oxford or London, or the parts adjacent, in Gloucestershire, or Worcestershire; in Lancashire, Yorkshire, or Lincolnshire. Nor did the strictest disciplinarian scruple suffering me to exercise those powers wherever I came. 4. And, in fact, Is it not universally allowed, that every Priest, as such, has a power, in virtue of his ordination, either to preach or administer the sacrament, in any congregation wherever the Rector or Curate desires his assistance? Does not every one then see through this thin pretence?

10. "The Bishops and Universities indeed have power to grant licenses to Itinerants. But the Church has provided in that case; they are not to preach in any church (Canon 50) till they show their license." The Church has well provided in that case. But what has that case to do with the case of common Clergymen? Only so much as to show, how grossly this Canon has been abused, at Islington in particular: where the Churchwardens were instructed to hinder, by main force, the Priest whom the Vicar himself had appointed, from preaching, and to quote this Canon; which, as you plainly show, belongs to quite another thing.

In the note you add, "Mr. Wesley being asked, by what authority he preached, replied, By the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid his hands upon me and said, Take thou authority to preach the Gospel. In this reply he thought fit, for a plain reason, to leave out the latter part of the commission: for that would have shown his reader, the restraint and limitation, under which the exercise of the power is granted." Nay, I did not print the latter part of the words, for a plainer reason, because I did not speak them. And I did not

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speak them then, because they did not come into my mind. Though probably if they had, I should not have spoken them: it being my only concern, to answer the question proposed, in as few words as I could.

But before those words, which you suppose to imply such a restraint, as would condemn all the Bishops and Clergy in the nation, were those spoken without any restraint or limitation at all, which I apprehend to convey an indelible character, "Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a Priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

You proceed, "In the same journal he declares, That he looks upon all the world as his parish, and explains his meaning as follows: 'In whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God hath called me to.'" Namely, by the laying on the hands of the Presbytery: which directs me how to obey that general command, "While we have time, let us do good unto all men."

11. You object farther, "That the Methodists do not observe the Rubric before the Communion Service; which directs, so many as desire to partake of the Holy Communion, to signify their names to the Curate the day before." What Curate desires they should? Whenever any Minister will give but one week's notice of this, I undertake, all that have any relation to me, shall signify their names within the time appointed. You object also, that they break through the twenty-eighth Canon, which requires, "That if strangers come to any church from other parishes, they should be remitted to their own churches, there to receive the Communion with their neighbours."

But what if there be no Communion there? Then this Canon does not touch the case, nor does any one break it, by coming to another church purely because there is no Communion at his own. As to your next advice, "To have a greater regard to the rules and orders of the Church," I cannot, for I now regard them, next to the word of God. And as to your last, "To renounce communion with the church," I dare not. Nay, but let them thrust us out. We will not leave the ship: if you cast us out of it, then our Lord will take us up.

12. To the same head may be referred the objection some time urged, by a friendly and candid man, viz. "That it was unlawful to use extemporary prayer, because there was a Canon against it." It was not quite clear to me, that the Canon he cited was against extemporary prayer. But supposing it were, my plain answer would be, "That Canon I dare not obey: because the law of man binds only so far as it is consistent with the word of God." The same person objected, my not obeying the bishops and governors of the Church.

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I answer, I both do and will obey them, in whatsoever I can with a clear conscience. So that there is no just ground for that charge, that I despise either the Rules or the Governors of the Church. I obey them in all things where I do not apprehend there is some particular law of God to the contrary. Even in that case, I show all the deference I can; I endeavour to act as inoffensively as possible: and am ready to submit to any penalty, which can by law be inflicted upon me. Would to God every Minister and member of the Church, were herein altogether as I am!

VII. 1. I have been considering the chief objections that have lately been urged against the doctrines I teach. The main arguments brought against this manner of teaching, have been considered also. It remains to examine the most current objections, concerning the effects of this teaching. Many affirm, "That it does abundance of hurt; that it has had very bad effects; insomuch that if any good at all has been done, yet it bears no proportion to the evil."

But to come to particulars: "First then, you are disturbers of the public peace." What, do we either teach or raise sedition? Do we speak evil of the ruler of our people? Or, do we stir them up against any of those that are put in authority under him? Do we directly or indirectly promote faction, mutiny, or rebellion? I have not found any man in his senses yet, that would affirm this. "But it is plain, peace is broke and disturbances do arise, in consequence of your preaching." I grant it. But what would you infer? Have you never read the Bible? Have you not read, that the Prince of Peace himself was, in this sense, a disturber of the public peace? When he came into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 10,) all the city was moved (ἐσείσθη,) shaken as with an earthquake. And the disturbance arose higher and higher, till the whole multitude cried out together, "Away with him; crucify him, crucify him, and Pilate gave sentence it should be done." Such another disturber of the public peace, was that Stephen, even from the time he began "disputing with the Libertines and Cyrenians, till the people stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him." Such disturbers of the peace were all those ringleaders of the sect of the Nazarenes, (commonly called Apostles) who wherever they came, "turned the world upside down." And above all the rest, that Paul of Tarsus, who occasioned so much disturbance at Damascus, (Acts ix.) at Antioch of Pisidia, (chap. xiii.) at Iconium, (chap. xiv.) Lystra, (ver. 19.) at Philippi, (chap. xvi.) at Thessalonica, (chap. xvii.) and, particularly, at Ephesus. The consequence of his preaching there was, that "the whole city was filled with confusion." And "they all ran together with one accord, some crying one thing, some another: inasmuch that the greater part of them knew not wherefore they were come together."

2. And can we expect it to be any otherwise now? Although what we preach is the gospel of peace, yet if you will violently and illegally hinder our preaching, must not this create disturbance? But

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observe, the disturbance begins on your part. All is peace, till you raise that disturbance. And then you very modestly impute it to us, and lay your own riot at our door! But of all this, our Lord hath told us before. "Think not that I am come to send peace upon earth:" that this will be the immediate effect, wherever my gospel is preached with power. "I am not come to send peace, but a sword:" this (so far as the wisdom of God permits, by whom "the hairs of your head are all numbered") will be the first consequence of my coming, whenever my word turns sinners from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God.

I would wish all you who see this Scripture fulfilled, by disturbance following the preaching the gospel, to remember the behaviour of that wise magistrate at Ephesus on the like occasion. He did not lay the disturbance to the preacher's charge, but beckoned to the multitude and said, "Ye men of Ephesus—Ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought these men, who are neither robbers of temples, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess:" (not convicted of any such notorious crime, as can at all excuse this lawless violence.) "But if Demetrius hath a matter against any, the law is open, and there are deputies" (or proconsuls, capable of hearing and deciding the cause) "let them implead one another. But if ye inquire any thing concerning other things, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly."

3. "But you create divisions in private families." Accidentally, we do. For instance, suppose an entire family to have the form, but not the power of godliness; or to have neither the form nor the power; in either case, they may in some sort agree together. But suppose, when these hear the plain word of God, one or two of them are convinced, "This is the truth. And I have been all this time in the broad way that leadeth to destruction:" these then will begin to mourn after God; while the rest remain as they were. Will they not therefore of consequence divide, and form themselves into separate parties? Must it not be so in the very nature of things? And how exactly does this agree with the words of our Lord! "Suppose ye that I came to send peace upon earth? I tell you nay: but rather division. For from henceforth there shall be five divided in one house, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father: the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law." (Luke xii. 51, 52, 53.) "And the foes of a man, shall be they of his own household." (Matt. x. 36.)

Thus it was from the very beginning. For is it to be supposed, that a Heathen parent, would long endure a Christian child? Or that a Heathen husband would agree with a Christian wife? Unless either the believing wife could gain her husband; or the unbelieving husband prevailed on the wife to renounce her way of worshipping God: at least, unless she would obey him in going no more to those

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societies or conventicles, (στασιας,) as they termed the Christian assemblies.

4. Do you think now, I have an eye to your case? Doubtless I have; for I do not fight as one that beateth the air. "Why, have not I a right to hinder my own wife or child, from going to a conventicle? And is it not the duty of wives to obey their husbands? And of children to obey their parents?" Only set the case seventeen hundred years back, and your own conscience gives you the answer. What would St. Paul have said to one whose husband forbade her to follow this way any more? What direction would our Saviour have given to him whose father enjoined him, not to hear the gospel? His words are extant still, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." (Matt. x. 37, 38.) Nay more, "If any man cometh to me, and hateth not," (in comparison of me,) "his father and mother, and wife and children, yea, and his own life, he cannot be my disciple." (Luke xiv. 26.)

"O, but this is not a parallel case. For they were Heathens; but I am a Christian." A Christian! Are you so? Do you understand the word? Do you know what a Christian is? If you are a Christian, you have the mind that was in Christ; and you so walk as he also walked. You are holy as he is holy, both in heart and in all manner of conversation. Have you then the mind that was in Christ? And do you walk as Christ walked? Are you inwardly and outwardly holy? I fear, not even outwardly. No; you live in known sin. Alas! How then are you a Christian? What a railer, a Christian! A common swearer, a Christian! A sabbath-breaker, a Christian! A drunkard or whoremonger, a Christian! Thou art a Heathen barefaced; the wrath of God is on thy head, and the curse of God upon thy back. Thy damnation slumbereth not. By reason of such Christians it is that the holy name of Christ is blasphemed. Such as thou they are, that cause the very savages in the Indian wood to cry out, "Christian much drunk, Christian beat men, Christian tell lies! Devil-Christian! Me no Christian!"

And so thou wilt direct thy wife and children in the way of salvation!——Wo unto thee, thou Devil-Christian! Wo unto thee, thou blind leader of the blind! What wilt thou make them? Twofold more the children of hell than thyself?—Be ashamed. Blush, if thou canst blush. Hide thy face. Lay thee in the dust. Out of the deep cry unto God, if haply he may hear thy voice. Instantly smite upon thy breast. Who knoweth but God may take thee out of the belly of hell?

5. "But you are not one of these. You fear God, and labour to have a conscience void of offence. And it is from a principle of conscience, that you restrain your wife or children from hearing false doctrine." But how do you know it is false doctrine? Have you heard for yourself! Or, if you have not heard, have you carefully read what we have occasionally answered for ourselves? A man of conscience cannot condemn any one unheard. This is not common

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humanity. Nor will he refrain from hearing what may be the truth, for no better reason than fear of his reputation. Pray observe: I do not say, every man (or any man) is obliged in conscience to hear us. But I do say, every man in England who condemns us, is obliged to hear us first. This is only common justice, such as is not denied to a thief or a murderer. Take your choice therefore. Either hear us, or condemn us not. Either speak nothing at all, or hear before you speak.

But suppose you have both read and heard more than you liked: Did you read and hear fairly? Were not you loaded with prejudice? Did you not read or hear, expecting no good; perhaps desiring to find fault? If so, what wonder you judge as you do? What a poor mock-trial is this? You had decided the cause in your own breast, before you heard one word of the evidence. And still do you talk of acting out of conscience? Yea, a conscience void of offence?

We will put the case farther yet. Suppose your censure was just, and this was actually false doctrine. Still every one must give an account of himself to God: and you cannot force the conscience of any one. You cannot compel another to see as you see. You ought not to attempt it. Reason and persuasion are the only weapons you ought to use, even toward your own wife and children. Nay, and it is impossible to starve them into conviction, or to beat even truth into their head. You may destroy them in this way, but cannot convert them. Remember what our own Poet has said,

> "By force beasts act, and are by force restrain'd;
> The human mind by gentle means is gain'd.
> Thou canst not take, what I refuse to yield:
> Nor reap the harvest, tho' thou spoil'st the field."

6. Every reasonable man is convinced of this. And perhaps you do not concern yourself so much about the doctrine, but the mischief that is done. "How many poor families are starved, ruined, brought to beggary!" By what? Not by contributing a penny a week (the usual contribution in our Societies) and letting that alone, when they please, when there is any shadow of reason to suppose they cannot afford it. You will not say any are brought to beggary by this. Not by gifts to me; for I receive none: save (sometimes) the food I eat. And public collections are nothing to me. That it may evidently appear they are not, when any such collection is made, to clothe the poor, or for any other determinate purpose, the money is both received and expended before many witnesses, without ever going through my hands at all. And then likewise all possible regard is had, to the circumstances of those who contribute any thing. And they are told over and over, if there be a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath.

But where are all these families that have been brought to beggary? How is it that none of them is forth coming? Are they all out of town? Then indeed I am in no danger of clearing myself from their indictment. It is the easiest thing of a thousand, for one

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at Newcastle to say, that I have beggared him and all his kindred. If one of the long-bearded men on Tyne-bridge were to say so just now, I could not readily confute him. But why will not you bring a few of these to tell me so to my face? I have not found one that would do this yet. They pray you would have them excused.

I remember a man coming to me with a doleful countenance, putting himself into many lamentable postures, gaping as wide as he could, and pointing to his mouth, as who would say, "he could not speak." I inquired of his companion what was the matter? And was informed, "he had fallen into the hands of Turks, who had used him in a barbarous manner, and cut out his tongue by the roots." I believed him. But when the man had a cheerful cup, he could find his tongue as well as another. I reflected, how is it that I could so readily believe that tale? The answer was easy, "Because it was told of a Turk." My friend, take knowledge of your own case. If you had not first took me for a Turk, or something equally bad, you could not so readily have believed that tale!

7. "But can it be, that there is no ground at all for a report, which is in every one's mouth?" I will simply tell you all the ground which I can conceive. I believe many of those who attend on my ministry, have less of this world's goods than they had before, or at least, might have had, if they did not attend it. This fact I allow; and it may be easily accounted for, in one or other of the following ways.

First, I frequently preach on such texts as these: "Having food and raiment, let us be content therewith." "They who desire to be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition." "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where the rust and moth doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal." Now should any of those who are labouring by all possible means, *to lay up treasure upon earth*, feel these words, they would not *enlarge their desires as hell;* but be *content with such things as they had.* They then probably might not heap up so much for their heirs, as otherwise they would have done. These would therefore have less than if they had not heard me: because they would grasp at less. Secondly, Wherever the gospel takes effect, *the foes of a man will be those of his own household.* By this means then some who hear and receive it with joy, will be poorer than they were before. Their domestic foes will, in many cases, hinder, embroil, and disturb the course of their affairs. And their relations, who assisted them before, or promised at least so to do, will probably withdraw or deny that assistance, unless they will be advised by them. Perhaps their nearest relations: it being no new thing for parents to disown their children, if "after the way which they call heresy, these worship the God of their fathers." Hence, therefore, some have less of this

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world's goods than they had in times past, either because they earn less, or because they receive less from them on whom they depend.

Thirdly, It is written, that "Those who received not the mark of the beast, either on their foreheads, or in their right hands," either openly or secretly, were not permitted to buy or sell any more. Now whatever the mystery contained herein may be, I apprehend the plain mark of the beast is wickedness; inward and outward unholiness, whatever is secretly or openly contrary to justice, mercy, or truth. And certain it is, the time is well nigh come, when those who have not this mark can neither buy nor sell, can scarce follow any profession, so as to gain a subsistence thereby. Therefore, many of those who attend on my ministry, are by this means poorer than before. They will not receive the mark of the beast, either on their forehead or in their hand: or if they had received it before, they rid themselves of it as soon as possible. Some cannot follow their former way of life at all; (as pawnbrokers, smugglers, buyers or sellers of uncustomed goods) others cannot follow it as they did before. For they cannot oppress, cheat, or defraud their neighbour: they cannot lie or say what they do not mean; they must now speak the truth from their heart. On all these accounts, they have less of this world's goods; because they gain less than they did before.

Fourthly, *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution:* if in no other way, yet at least in this, that *men will by revilings persecute them; and say all manner of evil against them falsely, for his sake.* One unavoidable effect of this will be, that men whose subsistence depends on their daily labour, will be often in want, for few will care to employ those of so bad a character. And even those who did employ them before, perhaps for many years, will employ them no more: so that hereby some may be brought to beggary.

8. What, does this touch you? Are you one of those, "who will have nothing to do with those scandalous wretches?" Perhaps you will say, "And who can blame me for it: may I not employ whom I please?" We will weigh this. You employed *A. B.* for several years. By your own account, he was an honest, diligent man. You had no objection to him but his following this way. For this reason you turn him off. In a short time, having spent his little all, and having no supply, he wants bread. So does his family too as well as himself. Before he can get into other business to procure it, through want of convenient food to eat, and raiment to put on, he sickens and dies. This is not an imaginary scene. I have known the case: though too late to remedy it. "And what then?" Why then you are a murderer. *O earth, cover not thou his blood!* No, it doth not. *The cry thereof hath entered into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth.* And God requireth it at your hands: and will require it in an hour when you think not. For you have as effectually murdered that man, as if you had stabbed him to the heart. It is not I then who ruin and starve that family; it is you; you who call yourself a *Protestant!* You who cry out against the persecuting

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spirit of the *Papists!* Ye fools and blind! What are ye better than they? Why, Edmund Bonnor would have starved the heretics in prison: whereas ye starve them in their own houses. And all this time you talk of liberty of conscience; yes, liberty for such a conscience as your own; a conscience past feeling; (for sure it had some once;) a conscience, seared with a hot iron. Liberty to serve the Devil, according to your poor, hardened conscience, you allow; but not liberty to serve God. Nay, and what marvel? Whosoever thou art that readest this, and feelest in thy heart a real desire to serve God, I warn thee, expect no liberty for thy conscience, from him that hath no conscience at all. All ungodly, unthankful, unholy men; all villains of whatever denomination, will have liberty indeed all the world over, as long as their master is god of this world. But expect not liberty to worship God in spirit and in truth, to practise pure and undefiled religion (unless the Lord should work a new thing in the earth) from any but those who themselves love and serve God.

9. "However, it is plain, you make men idle. And this tends to beggar their families." This objection having been continually urged for some years, I will trace it from the foundation.

Two or three years after my return from America, one Captain Robert Williams of Bristol, made affidavit before the (then) Mayor of the city, that "it was a common report in Georgia, Mr. Wesley took people off from their work, and made them idle by preaching so much." The fact stood thus: at my first coming to Savannah, the generality of the people rose at seven or eight in the morning. And that part of them who were accustomed to work, usually worked till six in the evening. A few of them sometimes worked till seven; which is the time of sun-set there at Midsummer. I immediately began reading prayers and expounding the second lesson, both in the morning and evening. The morning service began at five, and ended at or before six: the evening service began at seven. Now supposing all the grown persons in the town, had been present every morning and evening, would this have made them idle? Would they hereby have had less, or considerably more time for working?

10. The same rule I follow now, both at London, Bristol, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne: concluding the service at every place, winter and summer, before six in the morning: and not ordinarily beginning to preach, till near seven in the evening. Now do you, who make this objection, work longer through the year, than from six to six? Do you desire that the generality of people should? Or can you count them idle, that work so long? Some few are indeed accustomed to work longer. These I advise not to come on weekdays. And it is apparent, that they take this advice, unless on some rare and extraordinary occasion. But I hope, none of you who turn them out of their employments, have the confidence to talk of my making them idle! Do you (as the homely phrase is) cry wh— first? I admire your cunning, but not your modesty. So far am I from either causing or encouraging idleness, that an idle person

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known to be such, is not suffered to remain in any of our societies: we drive him out as we would a thief or a murderer. "To show all possible diligence," (as well as frugality) is one of our standing rules: and one, concerning the observance of which, we continually make the strictest inquiry.

11. "But you drive them out of their senses. You make them mad." Nay, then they are idle with a vengeance. This objection therefore being of the utmost importance, deserves our deepest consideration. And first, I grant, it is my earnest desire to drive all the world, into what you probably call *madness*; (I mean, inward religion) to make them just as mad as Paul was when he was so accounted by Festus. The counting all things on earth but dung and dross, so we may win Christ; the trampling under foot all the pleasures of the world, the seeking no treasure but in heaven; the having no desire of the praise of men, a good character, a fair reputation; the being exceedingly glad when men revile us and persecute us, and say all manner of evil against us falsely; the giving God thanks when our father or mother forsakes us, when we have neither food to eat, nor raiment to put on, nor a friend but what shoots out bitter words, nor a place where to lay our head: this is utter distraction in your account: but in God's it is sober, rational religion: the genuine fruit, not of a distempered brain, not of a sickly imagination, but of the power of God in the heart, of victorious love, and of a sound mind.

12. I grant, secondly, it is my endeavour to drive all I can, *into* what you term another species of madness, which is usually preparatory to this, and which I term repentance or conviction. I cannot describe this better than a writer of our own has done. I will therefore transcribe his words. "When men feel in themselves the heavy burden of sin, see damnation to be the reward of it, and bebold with the eye of their mind the horror of hell; they tremble, they quake, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, and cannot but accuse themselves, and open their grief unto Almighty God, and call unto him for mercy. This being done seriously, their mind is so occupied, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, that all desire of meat and drink is laid apart, and loathsomeness (or loathing) of all worldly things and pleasure, cometh in place. So that nothing then liketh them, more than to weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour of body to show themselves weary of life."

Now, what if your wife, or daughter, or acquaintance, after hearing one of these field-preachers, should come and tell you, that they saw damnation before them, and beheld with the eye of their mind the horror of hell? What if they should tremble and quake, and be so taken up, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, as to weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour to show themselves weary of life: would you scruple to say, that

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they were stark mad? that these fellows had driven them out of their senses? and that whatever writer it was, that talked at this rate, he was fitter for Bedlam than any other place?

You have overshot yourself now to some purpose. These are the very words of our own Church. You may read them, if you are so inclined, in the first part of the *Homily on Fasting*. And, consequently, what you have peremptorily determined to be mere lunacy and distraction, is that repentance unto life, which in the judgment both of the Church and of St. Paul, is "never to be repented of."

13. I grant, thirdly, that extraordinary circumstances have attended this conviction in some instances. A particular account of these I have frequently given. While the word of God was preached, some persons have dropt down as dead; some have been, as it were, in strong convulsions; some have roared aloud, though not with an articulate voice; and others spoke the anguish of their souls. This, I suppose, you believe to be perfect madness. But it is easily accounted for, either on principles of Reason or Scripture.

First, on principles of Reason. For how easy is it to suppose, that a strong, lively and sudden apprehension of the heinousness of sin, the wrath of God, and the bitter pains of eternal death, should affect the body as well as the soul, during the present laws of vital union: should interrupt or disturb the ordinary circulations, and put nature out of its course? Yea, we may question, whether while this union subsists, it be possible for the mind to be affected, in so violent a degree, without some or other of those bodily symptoms following? It is likewise easy to account for these things, on principles of Scripture. For when we take a view of them in this light, we are to add to the consideration of natural causes, the agency of those spirits who still excel in strength, and as far as they have leave from God, will not fail to torment whom they cannot destroy; to tear those that are coming to Christ. It is also remarkable, that there is plain Scripture-precedent of every symptom which has lately appeared. So that we cannot allow even the conviction attended with these to be madness, without giving up both Reason and Scripture.

14. I grant, fourthly, That touches of extravagance, bordering on madness, may sometimes attend severe conviction. And this also is easy to be accounted for, by the present laws of the animal economy. For we know, fear or grief, from a temporal cause, may occasion a fever, and thereby a delirium. It is not strange then that some, while under strong impressions of grief or fear, from a sense of the wrath of God, should for a season forget almost all things else, and scarce be able to answer a common question: that some should fancy they see the flames of hell, or the Devil and his angels around them: or that others, for a space, should be afraid, like Cain, *whosoever meeteth me will slay me*. All these, and whatever less common effects may sometimes accompany this conviction, are easily known from the natural distemper of madness, were it only by this one circumstance, that whenever the person convinced tastes the pardoning love of God, they all vanish away in a moment.

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Lastly, I have seen one instance, (I pray God I may see no more such!) of real, lasting madness. Two or three years since, I took one with me to Bristol, who was under deep convictions; but of as sound an understanding in all respects, as ever he had been in his life. I went a short journey, and when I came to Bristol again, found him really distracted. I inquired particularly, at what time and place and in what manner this disorder began? And I believe there are, at least, threescore witnesses, alive and ready to testify what follows. When I went from Bristol, he contracted an acquaintance with some persons, who were not of the same judgment with me. He was soon prejudiced against me: quickly after, when our society were met together in Kingswood-house, he began a vehement invective both against my person and doctrines. In the midst of this, he was struck raving mad. And so he continued till his friends put him into bedlam: and probably laid his madness too to my charge.

15. I fear there may also be some instances of real madness, proceeding from a different cause. Suppose, for instance, a person hearing me, is strongly convinced, that a liar cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. He comes home, and relates this to his parents or friends, and appears to be very uneasy. These good Christians are disturbed at this, and afraid he is running mad too. They are resolved he shall never hear any of those fellows more; and keep to it in spite of all his entreaties. They will not suffer him when at home, to be alone, for fear he should read or pray. And perhaps in awhile they will constrain him, at least, by repeated importunities, to do again the very thing, for which he was convinced the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience. What is the event of this? Sometimes the Spirit of God is quenched and departs from him. Now you have carried the point. The man is easy as ever, and sins on without any remorse. But in other instances, where those convictions sink deep, and the arrows of the Almighty stick fast in the soul, you will drive that person into real, settled madness, before you can quench the Spirit of God. I am afraid, there have been several instances of this. You have forced the man's conscience, till he is stark mad. But then, pray do not impute that madness to me. Had you left him to my direction, or rather to the direction of the Spirit of God, he would have been filled with love and a sound mind. But you have taken the matter out of God's hand. And now you have brought it to a fair conclusion!

16. How frequent this case may be, I know not. But doubtless most of those who make this objection, of our driving men mad, have never met with such an instance in their lives. The common cry is occasioned, either by those who are convinced of sin, or those who are inwardly converted to God: mere madness both (as was observed before) to those who are without God in the world. Yet I do not deny, but you may have seen one in bedlam, who said he had followed me. But observe, a madman's saying this, is no proof of the fact: nay, and if he really had, it should be farther consider-

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ed, that his being in bedlam, is no sure proof of his being mad. Witness the well-known case of Mr. Periam; and I doubt more such are to be found. Yea, it is well if some have not been sent thither, for no other reason, but because they followed me; their kind relations either concluding, that they must be distracted before they could do this: or, perhaps hoping, that bedlam would make them mad, if it did not find them so.

17. And it must be owned, a confinement of such a sort, is as fit to cause as to cure distraction. For what scene of distress is to be compared to it? To be separated at once from all who are near and dear to you: to be cut off from all reasonable conversation, to be secluded from all business, from all reading, from every innocent entertainment of the mind, which is left to prey wholly upon itself, and day and night to pore over your misfortunes: to be shut up day by day in a gloomy cell, with only the walls to employ your heavy eyes, in the midst either of melancholy silence, or horrid cries, groans and laughter intermixed: to be forced by the main strength of those

"Who laugh at human nature and compassion,"

to take drenches of nauseous, perhaps torturing medicines, which you know you have no need of now, but know not how soon you may, possibly by the operations of these very drugs on a weak or tender constitution: here is distress! It is an astonishing thing, a signal proof of the power of God, if any creature who has his senses when that confinement begins, does not lose them, before it is at an end!

How must it heighten the distress, if such a poor wretch, being deeply convinced of sin, and growing worse and worse (as he probably will, seeing there is no medicine here for his sickness, no such physician as his case requires) be soon placed among the incurables! Can imagination itself paint such a hell upon earth? Where even "Hope never comes, that comes to all!"—For what remedy? If a man of sense and humanity, should happen to visit that house of wo, would he give the hearing to a madman's tale? Or if he did, would he credit it? "Do we not know, might he say, how well any of these will talk in their lucid intervals?" So that a thousand to one he would concern himself no more about it, but leave the weary to wait for rest in the grave!

18. I have now answered most of the current objections, particularly such as have appeared of weight to religious or reasonable men. I have endeavoured to show, First, That the doctrines I teach are no other than the great truths of the gospel. Secondly, That though I teach them, not as I would, but as I can, yet it is in a manner not contrary to law: and, Thirdly, That the effects of thus preaching the gospel, have not been such as was weakly or wickedly reported: those reports being mere artifices of the Devil, to hinder the work of God. Whosoever therefore ye are, who look for God to "revive his work in the midst of the years," cry aloud that he may finish it nevertheless, may "cut it short in righteousness." Cry to Messiah the Prince, that he may soon end the transgression, that

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he may lift up his standard upon earth, sending by whom he will send, and working his own work, when he pleaseth, and as he pleaseth, till "all the kindreds of the people worship before him," and the earth be "full of the knowledge of the glory of the LORD!"

December 22, 1744.

A FARTHER APPEAL

TO MEN OF REASON AND RELIGION.

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy Voice like a Trumpet, and show my People their Transgression, and the House of Jacob their Sins. Isaiah lviii. 1.

PART II.

I. 1. IT is not my present design to touch on any particular opinions, whether they are right or wrong: nor on any of those smaller points of practice, which are variously held by men of different persuasions: but first, to point out some things which on common principles are condemned by men of every denomination, and yet found in all: and, secondly, some wherein those of each denomination, are more particularly inconsistent with their own principles. And, first, it is my design, abstracting from opinions of every kind, as well as from disputable points of practice, to mention such of those things as occur to my mind, which are on common principles condemned, and notwithstanding found, more or less; among men of every denomination.

2. But before I enter on this unpleasing task, I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, by whatever love you bear to God, to your country, to your own souls; do not consider who speaks, but what is spoken. If it be possible, for one hour, lay prejudice aside; give what is advanced a fair hearing. Consider simply on each head, is this true, or is it false? Is it reasonable, or is it not? If you ask, "But in whose judgment?" I answer, In your own; I appeal to the light of your own mind. Is there not a faithful witness in your own breast? By this you must stand or fall. You cannot be judged by another man's conscience. Judge for yourself by the best light you have. And the merciful God teach me and thee whatsoever we know not!

Now, as I speak chiefly to those who believe the Scriptures, the method I propose is this: First, to observe what account is given therein of the Jews, the ancient church of God, inasmuch as all these things were written for our instruction, who say, we are now

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the visible church of the God of Israel. Secondly, To appeal to all who profess to be members thereof, to every one who is called a Christian, How far, in each instance, the parallel holds? And how much we are better than they?

3. First, I am to observe what account the Scriptures give of the Jews, the ancient church of God. I mean, with regard to their moral character; their tempers and outward behaviour.

No sooner were they brought out of Egypt, than we find them murmuring against God, (Exod. xiv. 12.) Again, when he had just brought them through the Red Sea with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm, (c. xv. 24.) And yet again, quickly after, in the wilderness of Zin, "your murmurings (saith Moses) are not against us, but against the Lord," (c. xvi. 8.) Nay, even while he was giving them bread from heaven, they were still murmuring and tempting God, (c. xviii. 2, 3.) and their amazing language at that season was, *Is the Lord among us, or not?* (c. xvii. 4.) The same spirit they showed, during the whole forty years that he bore their manners in the wilderness; a solemn testimony wherof, Moses spake in the ears of all the congregation of Israel, when God was about to take him away from their head: "They have corrupted themselves, (saith he,) their spot was not of his children: they are a perverse and crooked generation. The Lord led Jacob about; he instructed him; he kept him as the apple of his eye," (Deut. xxxii. 5. 10.) "He made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat of the increase of the fields: then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation," (c. v. 11. 13. 15.) In like manner God complains long after this, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth! I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people do not consider. Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters, they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel," (Isa. i. 2, 3, 4.) "Can a maid forget her ornaments, and a bride her attire? Yet my people have forgotten me, days without number," (Jer. ii. 32.)

4. And as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, so they had small regard to the ordinances of God. "Even from the days of your fathers, (said God by his prophets,) ye are gone away from my ordinances, and have not kept them," (Mal. iii. 7.) "Ye have said, It is in vain to serve God; and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinances?" (v. 14.) "Thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob, but thou hast been weary of me, O Israel: thou hast not brought me my burnt-offerings, neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices," (Isa. xliv. 22, 23.) And so the prophet himself confesses, "Thou meetest those that remember Thee in thy ways— But there is none that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee," (Isa. lxiv. 5, 7.)

6. But they called upon his name by vain oaths, by perjury and blasphemy. So Jeremiah, "Because of swearing the land mourn-

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eth," (c. xxiii. 10.) "And though they say, The Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely," (c. v. 2.) So Hosea, "They have spoken words, swearing falsely in making a covenant." So Ezekiel, "They say the Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth." So Isaiah, "Their tongue and their doings are against the Lord, to provoke the eyes of his glory," (c. iii. 8.) They say, "Let him make speed and hasten his work, that we may see it, and let the counsel of the Holy One draw nigh and come, that we may know it," (c. v. 19.) And so Malachi, "Ye have wearied the Lord with your words; ye say, every one that doeth evil, is good in the sight of the Lord, and he delighteth in them; and, where is the God of Judgment?" c. ii. 17.

6. And as they *despised his holy things*, so they *profaned his sabbaths*, (Ezek. xxii. 8.) Yea, when God sent unto them saying, "Take heed unto yourselves, and bear no burden on the sabbath day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers:—yet they obeyed not, neither inclined their ear, but made their neck stiff, that they might not hear, nor receive instruction," (Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 23.) Neither did they honour their parents, or those whom God, from time to time, appointed to be rulers over them. "In thee (in Jerusalem, said the prophet) they have set light by father and mother," (Ezek. xxii. 7.) And from the very day when God brought them up out of the land of Egypt, their murmurings, chiding, rebellion, and disobedience, against those whom he had chosen to go before them, make the most considerable part of their history. So that had not Moses stood in the gap, he had even destroyed them from the face of the earth.

7. How much more did they afterward provoke God, by drunkenness, sloth, and luxury! "They have erred through wine, (saith the prophet Isaiah,) and through strong drink they are gone out of the way;" (c. xxviii. 7.) which occasioned those vehement and repeated warnings, against that reigning sin; "Wo to the drunkards of Ephraim, them that are overcome with wine," (ver. 1.) "The drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under foot," (v. 3.) "Wo unto them that rise up early that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them.—But they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands," (c. v. 11, 12.) "Wo unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink," (v. 22.) "Wo to them that are at ease in Zion,—that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and their calves out of the midst of the stall, that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music,—that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph," (Amos vi. 1, 4, 5, 6.) "Behold, this (saith Ezekiel to Jerusalem) was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom: fulness of bread and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters," c. xvi. 49.

8. From sloth and fulness of bread, lewdness naturally followed. It was even while Moses was with them, that the people began to

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commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab: yea, of the daughters of Zion, Isaiah complains, "they walk with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes," (c. iii. 16.) And of his people in general God complains by Jeremiah, "When I had fed them to the full, they assembled themselves by troops in the harlot's house. They were as fed horses in the morning, every one neighed after his neighbour's wife," (c. v. 7; 8.) "They be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men," (c. ix. 2.) "The land is full of adulterers," (c. xxiii. 10.) Yea, and some of them were given up to unnatural lusts. Thus we read, Judges xix. 22, "The men of Gibeah beset the house, wherein the stranger was, and beat at the door, and spake to the master of the house, saying, bring forth the man that came into thine house, that we may know him." And there were also long after, Sodomites in the land, in the days of Rehoboam and of the following kings: "The very show of whose countenance witnessed against them, and they declared their sin as Sodom, they hid it not," Isa. iii. 9.

9. This was accompanied with injustice in all its forms. Thus all the prophets testify against them, "The Lord looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry," (Isa. v. 7.) "Thou hast taken usury and increase; thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbour by extortion.—Behold, I have smitten my hand, at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made," (Ezek. xxii. 12, 13.) "The balances of deceit are in Jacob's hand; he loveth to oppress," (Hos. xii. 7.) "Are there not yet the scant measure that is abominable; the wicked balances, and the bag of deceitful weights?" (Micah vi. 10, 11.) "He that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey," (Isa. lix. 15.) "And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment." "The wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he. They take up all of them with the angle, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their drag," (Hab. i. 13, 14, 15.) "They covet fields, and take them by violence, and houses, and take them away," (Mic. ii. 2.) "They pull off the robe with the garment, from them that pass by securely," (v. 8.) "They have dealt by oppression with the stranger; they have vexed the fatherless and the widow," (Ezek. xxii. 7.) "The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery; and have vexed the poor and needy, yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully," (v. 29.) "Their works are works of iniquity, and the acts of violence are in their hands," (Isaiah lix. 6.) "Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter," v. 14.

10. Truth indeed was fallen, as well as justice. "Every mouth (saith Isaiah) speaketh folly," (c. ix. 17.) "This is a rebellious people, lying children, (c. xxx. 9.) "Their lips have spoken lies, and muttered perverseness. None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth; they trust in vanity and speak lies," (c. lix. 3, 4.) This occasioned that caution of Jeremiah, "Take ye heed every one of

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his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother; for every brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will walk with slanders. And they will deceive every one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth; they have taught their tongues to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity," c. ix. 4, 5.

11. And even those who abstained from these gross outward sins, were still inwardly corrupt and abominable. "The whole head was sick, and the whole heart was faint; yea, from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there was no soundness, but wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores," (Isa. i. 5, 6.) "All these nations (saith God) are uncircumcised; and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart," (Jer. ix. 26.) "Their heart is divided," (Hos. x. 2.) "They have set up their idols in their heart; they are all estranged from me through their idols," (Ezek. xiv. 3, 4.) Their soul still clave unto the dust. They laid up treasures upon earth. "From the least of them, (saith Jeremiah,) even unto the greatest, every one is given to covetousness," (c. vi. 13.) "They panted after the dust of the earth," (Amos ii. 7.) "They laded themselves with thick clay," (Hab. iii. 6.) "They joined house to house, and laid field to field, until there was no place," (Isa. v. 8.) "Yea, they enlarged their desires as hell: they were as death, and could not be satisfied," Hab. ii. 5.

12. And not only for their covetousness, but for their pride of heart were they an abomination to the Lord. "The pride of Israel (saith Hosea) doth testify to his face," (c. vii. 10.) "Hear ye, give ear, (saith Jeremiah,) be not proud—Give glory to the Lord your God," (c. xiii. 15.) "But they would not be reproved; they were still wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight," (Isa. v. 21.) and continually saying to their neighbour, "Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou!" Isa. lxv. 5.

They added hypocrisy to their pride. "This people (saith God himself) draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their hearts far from me," (Isa. xxix. 13.) They have not cried unto me with their hearts, when they howled upon their beds," (Hos. vii. 14.) "They return, but not to the Most High; they are like a deceitful bow," (v. 16.) "They did but flatter him with their mouth, and dissemble with him in their tongue," (Psal. lxxviii. 36.) So that herein they only "profaned the holiness of the Lord." "And this have ye done again, (saith Malachi,) covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that he regarded not the offering any more," c. ii. 11, 13.

13. This God continually declared to those formal worshippers; That their outside religion was but vain. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices, saith the Lord? I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with it; it is iniquity, even the solemn

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meeting.—When you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear," (Isa. i. 11. 18. 15.) "He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck," (c. lxvi. 3.) "When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they offer an oblation, I will not accept it," (Jer. xiv. 12,) "Go ye, serve your idols, if ye will not hearken unto me: but pollute ye my holy Name no more with your gifts," Ezek. xx. 39.

14. Yet all this time they were utterly careless and secure; nay, confident of being in the favour of God. "They were at ease; they put far away the evil day," (Amos vi. 1, 3.) "Even when God hath poured his anger upon Israel, it set him on fire round about, yet he knew it not: it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart," (Isa. xlii. 25.) "A deceived heart had turned him aside, that he could not say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" (c. xliv. 10.) So far from it, that at this very time they said, "We are innocent, we have not sinned," (Jer. ii. 35. 37.) "We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us," (c. viii. 8.) "The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord are we," c. vii. 4.

15. Thus it was that they hardened themselves in their wickedness. "They are impudent children, saith God, and stiff-hearted," (Ezek. ii. 4.) "Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? Nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush," (Jer. vi. 15.) "I have spread out my hand all the day to a rebellious people, that provoketh me to anger continually to my face," (Isa. lxv. 2, 3.) "They will not hearken unto me, saith the Lord, for all the house of Israel are impudent and hard-hearted," (Ezek. iii. 7.) "Since the day that their fathers came forth out of the land of Egypt unto this day, I have sent unto them all my servants the prophets, rising up early and sending them: yet they hearkened not unto me, nor inclined their ear, but hardened their neck; they did worse than their fathers," Jer. vi. 25, 26.

They were equally hardened against mercies and judgments. When he gave them rain, both the former and the latter in his season; when he reserved unto them the appointed weeks of the harvest, filling their hearts with food and gladness, still none of this revolting and rebellious people said, "Let us now fear the Lord our God," (Jer. v. 23, 24.) "Nor yet did they turn unto him when he smote them," (Isa. ix. 13.) "In that day did the Lord call to weeping and to mourning: and behold joy and gladness, eating flesh and drinking wine: let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die," (c. xxii. 12, 13.) "Although he consumed them, yet they refused to receive instruction: they made their faces harder than a rock—None repented him, but every one turned to his course, as a horse rusheth into the battle," (Jer. v. 3.; viii. 6.) "I have given you want of bread in all your places, yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord. I have also withholden the rain from you when there were yet three months unto the harvest.—I have smitten you with blasting and mildew; your gardens and your vineyards the palmer-worm devoured.

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—I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt; your young men have I slain with the sword.—I have overthrown some of you, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a firebrand plucked out of the burning; yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord," Amos iv. 6—11.

16. In consequence of their resolution not to return, they would not endure sound doctrine, or those that spake it. They "said to the seers, see not, and to the prophets, prophesy not unto us right things—Speak unto us smooth things—Cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us," (Isa. xxx. 10, 11.) "But they hated him that rebuked in the gate, and they abhorred him that spake uprightly," (Amos v. 10.) "Accordingly, thy people (said God to Ezekiel) still are talking against thee, by the walls, and in the doors of the houses," (c. xxxiii. 30.) "And Amaziah the priest sent to Jeroboam, king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel; the land is not able to bear all his words. Also Amaziah said unto Amos, Go flee thee away into the land of Judah, and prophesy there. But prophesy not again any more at Bethel, for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court," (c. vii. 10. 12, 13.) From the same spirit it was that they said of Jeremiah, "Come, and let us devise devices against him—Come and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words," (c. xviii. 18.) Hence it was that he was constrained to cry out, "O Lord, I am in derision daily; every one mocketh me. Since I spake, the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and a derision daily: for I heard the defaming of many, fear on every side: report, say they, and we will report it: all my familiars watched for my halting: saying, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him," (c. xx. 7, 8. 10.) And elsewhere, "Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife, and a man of contention to the whole earth. I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent to me on usury: yet every one of them doth curse me," c. xv. 10.

17. "But if a man walking in the spirit of falsehood, do lie, (said the prophet Micah,) saying I will prophesy unto thee of wine and strong drink, he shall even be the prophet of this people," (c. ii. 11.) And God gave them pastors after their own hearts: such were those sons of "Eli, sons of Belial, who knew not the Lord." (1 Sam. ii. 12.) Rapacious, covetous, violent men, (ver. 14, 15, 16.) by reason of whom "men abhorred the offering of the Lord," (ver. 17.) who not only "made themselves vile," (c. iii. 13.) but also "made the Lord's people to transgress," (c. ii. 24.) while they "made themselves fat with the chiefest of all the offerings of Israel." (v. 29.) Such were those of whom Isaiah says, "The priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink: they are swallowed up of wine." (c. xxviii. 7.) "Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink: and to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant." (c. lvi. 12.) Therefore, saith he, "the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep

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sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and the seers hath he covered; and the vision of all is become unto you, as the words of a book that is sealed." (c. xxix. 10, 11.) Such also were those of whom he saith, "His watchmen are blind, they are all ignorant; they are all dumb dogs; they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand. They all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter." c. lvi. 10, 11.

Little better were those of whom the prophets that followed have left us so dreadful an account; "both prophet and priest are profane; yea, in my house have I found their wickedness, saith the Lord. And from the prophets of Jerusalem, is profaneness gone forth into all the land." (Jer. xxiii. 11. 15.) "Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned my holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and the profane, and I am profaned among them." (Ezek. xxii. 26.) "If I be a father, where is mine honour; and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of Hosts unto you, O priests that despise my name." Mal. i. 6.

Yea, some of them were fallen into the grossest sins. "The company of priests (said Hosea) commit lewdness: there is whoredom in Ephraim, Israel is despised." (c. vi. 9, 10.) "I have seen also in the prophets of Jerusalem (saith God by Jeremiah) a horrible thing: they commit adultery and walk in lies." c. xxiii. 14.

18. And those who were clear of this were deeply covetous. "Who is there among you that would shut the doors for naught? Neither do ye kindle fire on my altar for naught. I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts. (Mal. vi. 10.) "The priests of Zion preach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money. Yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us?" (Mic. iii. 11.) Thus saith the Lord, "The prophets bite with their teeth, and cry peace: and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him." (c. iii. 5.) Therefore "the word of the Lord came unto Ezekiel, saying, Prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, and say, Wo be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves: should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat and ye clothe you with the wool; but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick; neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost, but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they were scattered because there is no shepherd, and they became meat to all the beasts of the field. Yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search and seek after them." c. xxxiv. 1—6.

19. To the same effect do the other prophets declare, "Ye are departed out of the way, ye have caused many to stumble.—Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people." (Mal. ii. 8, 9.) "From the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely. They have healed also the hurt of the daugh-

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ter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace." (Jer. vi. 13, 14.) "They prophesy lies in my name." (c. xiv. 14.) "They say still unto them that despise me, the Lord hath said, ye shall have peace; and they say unto every man that walketh after the imagination of his own heart, No evil shall come upon you." (c. xxiii. 17.) "The prophets of Jerusalem strengthen the hands of the evil-doers, that none doth return from his wickedness." (v. 14.) "They have seduced my people, and one built up a wall, and, lo! others daubed it with untempered mortar." (Ezek. xiii. 10.) "With lies they have made the hearts of the righteous sad, whom I have not made sad; and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, by promising him life." (v. 22.) "Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot; they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness." (Jer. xxii. 10.) "There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst of her, like a roaring lion, ravening the prey. They have devoured souls." (Ezek. xxii. 25.) "Thus saith the Lord, feed the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty, and they that sell them, say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich; and their own shepherds pity them not." Zach. xi. 4, 5.

II. 1. Such is the general account which the Scriptures give of the Jews, the ancient church of God. And since all these things were *written for our instruction*, who are now the visible church of the God of Israel, I shall in the next place appeal to all who profess this, to every one who calls himself a *Christian*, how far in each instance the parallel holds, and how much *we* are better than *they*.

And, first, Were they *discontented?* Did they *repine* at the providence of God? Did they say, *Is the Lord among us or not?* when they were in imminent *danger*, or pressing *want*, and saw no way to escape? And which of us can say, *I am clear from this sin:* I have washed my hand and my heart in innocency? Have not we who *judge others, done the same things? murmured* and *repined* times without number? yea, and that when we were not in pressing *want*, nor distressed with imminent *danger?* Are we not in general, (our own writers being the judges,) have we not ever been from the earliest ages, a *repining, murmuring, discontented people*, never long satisfied either with God or man? Surely in this we have great need to humble ourselves before God; for we are in nowise better than they.

But "Jeshurun forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation." And did not England too? Ask ye of the generations of old, inquire from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, whether there was ever a people called by his name, which had less of "God in all their thoughts?" Who in the whole tenor of their behaviour showed so "light an esteem for the Rock of our salvation?"

Could there ever be a stronger cause for God to cry out, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth!" For hath he not "nourished and brought us up as his children?" "And yet, how have we re-

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belled against him!" If "Israel of old did not know God," if his ancient people "did not consider;" was this peculiar to them? Are not we also under the very same condemnation? Do we, as a people, know God? Do we consider him as God? Do we tremble at the presence of his power? Do we revere his excellent Majesty? Do we remember at all times, God is here? He is now reading my heart: he spieth out all my ways; there is not a word in my tongue but he knoweth it altogether: is this the character of us English Christians? The mark whereby we are known from the Heathen? Do we thus know God? Thus consider his power, his love, his all-seeing eye? Rather, are we not likewise a "sinful nation, who have forgotten him days without number! A people laden with iniquity, continually forsaking the Lord, and provoking the Holy One of Israel?"

2. There is indeed a wide difference in this respect between the Jews and us; they happened (if I may so speak) to forget God, because other things came in their way: but we design to forget him: we do it of set purpose, because we do not like to remember him. From the accounts given by Jeremiah, we have reason to believe, that when that people was most deeply corrupted, yet the greatest men in the nation, the ministers of state, the nobles and princes of Judah, talked of God sometimes, perhaps as frequently as upon any other subject. But is it so among us? Rather, is it not a point of good breeding to put God far away, out of their sight? Is he talked of at all among the great? The nobles, or ministers of state in England? Among any persons of rank or figure in the world? Do they allow God any place in their conversation? From day to day, from year to year, do you discourse one hour of the wonders he doth for the children of men? If one at a gentleman or a nobleman's table were to begin a discourse, of the wisdom, greatness, or power of God, would it not occasion (at least) as much astonishment, as if he had began to talk blasphemy? And if the unbred man persisted therein, would it not put all the company into confusion? And what do you sincerely believe the more favourable part would say of him when he was gone? But that—"He is a little touched in his head!" or, "Poor man! he has not seen the world?"

You know, this is the naked truth. But how terrible is the thought to every serious mind! Into what a state is this *Christian* nation fallen! Nay, the men of eminence, of fortune, of education! Would not a thinking foreigner, who should be present at such an interview, be apt to conclude, that the men of quality in England were Atheists? That they did not believe there was any God at all; or, at best, only an Epicurean God, who sat at ease upon the circle of the heavens, and did not concern himself about us worms of the earth? Nay, but he understands every thought now rising in your heart. And how long can you put him out of your sight? Only till this veil of flesh is rent in sunder. For your pomp will not then follow you. Will not your body be mingled with common dust? And your soul stand naked before God? O that you would now

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"acquaint yourself with God," that you may then be clothed with glory and immortality!

3. Did God complain of the Jews, "even from the days of your fathers ye are gone away from mine ordinances, and have not kept them?" And how justly may he make the same complaint of us! For how exceedingly small a proportion do we find of those in any place who call themselves Christians, that make a conscience of attending them! Does one-third of the inhabitants in any one parish throughout this great city, constantly attend public prayer and the ministry of his word, as of conscience toward God? Does one-tenth of those who acknowledge it as an institution of Christ, duly attend the Lord's Supper? Does a fiftieth part of the nominal members of the Church of England observe the *Fasts* of the Church, or so much as the forty days of Lent, and all Fridays in the year? Who of these then can cast the first stone at the Jews, for neglecting the ordinances of God?

Nay, how many thousands are found among us, who have never partook of the Supper of the Lord! How many thousands are there that live and die in this unrepented disobedience? What multitudes, even in this Christian city, do not attend any public worship at all! No, nor spend a single hour from one year to another, in privately pouring out their hearts before God! Whether God "meeteth him that remembereth him in his ways" or not, is no concern of theirs: so the man eats and drinks, and "dies as a beast dieth," "drops into the dark and disappears." It was not therefore of the children of Israel alone, that the messenger of God might say, "There is none (comparatively) that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth himself up to take hold on Thee."

4. Ye have heard, that it was said to them of old times, "Because of swearing the land mourneth." But if this might be said of the land of Canaan, how much more of this land! In what city or town, in what market or exchange, in what street or place of public resort, is not the "holy name whereby we are called" taken in vain, day by day? From the noble to the peasant, who fails to call upon God, in this, if in no other way? Whither can you turn, where can you go, without hearing some praying to God for damnation, either on his neighbour or himself? Cursing those, without either fear or remorse, whom Christ hath bought to inherit a blessing!

Are you one of these stupid, senseless, shameless wretches, that call so earnestly for damnation on your own soul? What if God should take you at your word? Are you "able to dwell with everlasting burnings?" If you are, should you be in haste to be in the "lake of fire burning with brimstone?" God help you, or you will be there soon enough, and long enough; for that "fire is not quenched!" But the "smoke thereof ascendeth up, day and night, for ever and ever!"

And what is that important affair, concerning which you were but now appealing to God? Were you "calling God to record upon your soul," touching your everlasting salvation? No; but touching

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the beauty of your horse, the swiftness of your dog, or the goodness of your drink! How is this? What notion have you of God? What do you take him to be?

Idcirco stolidam præbet tibi vellere barbam
Jupiter—?

What stupidity, what infatuation is this! Thus without either pleasure, or profit, or praise, to set at naught him that hath "all power both in heaven and earth!" Wantonly to "provoke the eyes of his glory!"

Are you a man of letters, who are sunk so low? I will not send you to the inspired writers, (so called: perhaps you disdain to receive instruction by them,) but to the old, blind heathen. Could you only fix in your mind the idea he had of God, (though it is not strictly just, unless we refer it to God made man,) you would never thus affront him more,

Ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων
Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο Ἄνακτος
Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.

Shall not the very heathen then "rise up in judgment" against this generation, and condemn it? Yea, and not only the learned heathens of Greece and Rome, but the savages of America. For I never remember to have heard a wild Indian name the name of *Soötaleicatee*, (him that sitteth in heaven,) without either laying his hand upon his breast, or casting his eyes down to the ground. And you are a Christian! O how do you cause the very name of Christianity to be blasphemed among the heathen!

5. But is it light swearing only, (inexcusable as that is,) because of which our land mourneth? May it not also be said of us, "Though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely?" Yea, to such a degree, that there is hardly the like in any nation under heaven; that almost every corner of the land is filled with wilful, deliberate perjury.

I speak not now of the perjuries which every common swearer cannot but run into day by day. And indeed common swearing notoriously contributes to the growth of perjury. For oaths are little minded when common use has sullied them, and every minute's repetition has made them cheap and vulgar. Nor of those which are continually committed and often detected in our open courts of justice. Only with regard to the latter I must remark, that they are a natural consequence of that monstrous, shocking manner, wherein oaths are usually administered therein: without any decency or seriousness at all; much less with that awful solemnity, which a rational heathen would expect, in an immediate appeal to the great God of heaven.

I had once designed to consider all the oaths which are customarily taken by any set of men among us. But I soon found this was a work too weighty for me: so almost *in infinitum* are oaths multiplied

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in England: I suppose to a degree which is not known in any other nation in Europe.

What I now propose is, to instance only in a few, (but those not of small importance,) and to show, how amazingly little regard is had to what is solemnly promised or affirmed before God.

6. This is come, in part, to my hands by a late author. So far as he goes, I shall do little more than transcribe his words. Mr. Disney's *First Essay*, p. 30.

"When a Justice of the Peace is sworn into the commission, he makes oath—That he shall do equal right to the poor and to the rich, after his cunning, wit, and power, and after the laws and customs of the realm and statutes thereof made, in all articles in the king's commission to him directed.—What those articles are, you will find in the first *Assignavimus* of the Commission: 'We have assigned you and every one of you, jointly and severally—to keep and cause to be kept, all ordinances and statutes, made for—the quiet, rule, and government of our people, in all and every the articles thereof, according to the force, form, and effect of the same, and to chastise and punish all persons offending against any of them, according to the form of those statutes and ordinances.' So that he is solemnly sworn to the execution of all such statutes, as the legislative power of the nation has thought fit to throw upon his care. Such are all those (among others) made against *drunkenness*, *tippling*, *profane swearing*, *blasphemy*, *lewd and disorderly practices*, *and profanation of the Lord's Day*. And it is hard to imagine how a Justice of Peace can think himself more concerned to suppress riots, or private quarrels, than he is to levy twelve pence on a profane swearer, five shillings on a drunkard, ten shillings on a public-house that suffers tippling, or any other penalty which the law exacts of vice and immorality. The same oath binds him both to the one and the other, laying an equal obligation upon his conscience. How a magistrate, who neglects to punish excess, profaneness, and impiety, can excuse himself from the guilt of perjury, I do not pretend to know. If he reason fairly, he will find himself as much forsworn, as an evidence who, being upon his oath to declare the whole truth, nevertheless conceals the most considerable part of it. And his perjury is so much the more infamous, as the ill example and effects of it will be mischievous."

7. The same author (in the preface to his second Essay) goes on:

"You, gentlemen of the *grand juries*, take a solemn oath, That you will diligently inquire, and true presentment make, of all such articles, matters, and things, as shall be given you in charge: as also, that you will (not only present no person for envy, hatred, or malice, but) not leave any unpresented, for fear, favour, or affection. Now, are not the laws against immorality and profaneness given you in charge, as well as those against riots, felony, and treason? Are not presentment and indictment one method expressly appointed by the statutes, for the punishment of drunkenness and tippling? Are not the houses of bawdry and gaming, punishable in the same courts,

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and consequently presentable by you? Is not the proclamation for the punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality, always read before you as soon as you are sworn? And does not the judge of assize, or chairman of the bench, in the charge given immediately after the reading of it, either recite to you the particular laws against such offences, or refer you for them to that proclamation? It is plain from all this, that you are bound upon your oaths, to present all vice and immorality, as well as other crimes, that fall within your knowledge, because they are expressly given you in charge. And this you are to do, not only when evidence is offered before you by the information of others, but with regard to all such offences as you or any of you are able of your own personal knowledge to present: all which you have sworn to do impartially, without fear, favour, or affection."

I leave it now with all reasonable men to consider, how few *grand juries* perform this? And consequently, what multitudes of them, throughout the nation, fall under the guilt of wilful perjury!

8. The author proceeds, p. 8. "I shall next address myself to you that are constables. And to you I must needs say, That if you know your duty, it is no thanks to us that are justices. For the oath we usually give you is so short, and in such general terms, that it leaves you no manner of instruction in the particulars of the office to which you are sworn. But that which ought to be given you, recites part of your duty in the following words:

"You shall do your best endeavour, that rogues, vagabonds, and night-walkers, be apprehended; and that the statutes made for their punishment, be duly put in execution: you shall have a watchful eye to such as shall keep any house or place where any unlawful game is used: as also to such as shall frequent such places, or shall use any unlawful games, there or elsewhere. You shall present all and every the offences contrary to the statutes made to restrain tippling in inns, alehouses, and other victualling houses, and for repressing of drunkenness. You shall once in the year, during your office, present all popish recusants. You shall well and duly execute all precepts and warrants to you directed. And you shall well and duly, according to your knowledge, power, and ability, do and execute all other things belonging to the office of a constable, so long as you shall continue therein."

Upon this, "I would observe first, That *actors of plays* are expressed by name within the statute, to be taken up for vagabonds, and punished accordingly; and that though a statute of queen Elizabeth except such companies as have a license under the hand and seal of a nobleman, yet a later statute in the reign of king James I. has taken away that protection from them; by declaring, That from henceforth no authority to be given by any peer of the realm, shall be available to free or discharge them from the pains and punishments of that former statute. Every constable therefore in those parishes, where any of these *strolling players* come, is bound by his oath to seize upon, correct, and send them packing without delay."

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"The next part of your oath obliges you to keep a watchful eye, on such houses as keep, and such persons as use unlawful gaming. The statute directs you weekly, or at least monthly, to search within your liberties, all houses or places suspected of this offence, and upon discovering, to bring them to punishment. Upon this article I would observe, 1. That the law makes some allowance, for artificers, husbandmen, apprentices, labourers, and servants, to play at Christmas, but at no other time in the year; and, 2. That all sports and pastimes whatsoever are made unlawful upon the Lord's day, by a statute of king Charles II. You are therefore bound upon oath, to bring to punishment such as are guilty of profaning on that day by any sports or pastimes whatsoever.

"The following parts of your oath are, 1. That you shall present all and every the offences of tippling and drunkenness that come to your knowledge; 2. That you shall once in the year present all popish recusants. Nay, and by the statutes on which your oath is grounded, you are obliged to present in session, all those within your parishes, who (not being Dissenters) come not once in a month, at least, to church. And, 3. That you shall well and duly execute all precepts and warrants to you directed. I believe no constable will pretend to be ignorant of this. How is it then, that when we send out warrants, to levy on offenders for swearing, and drunkenness, and the like, those warrants are so ill obeyed? Are you not sworn to execute these as well as any other, and that duly too, according to the tenor of your precept? Your precept tells you, you shall demand such a sum, and if the offender will not pay, you shall levy it by distress of his goods: and if no distress can be taken, you are then only to set him in the stocks; otherwise you have no authority so to do: nor is the setting him in the stocks, when you might have distrained, any execution of your precept."

"The last part of your oath is in general terms, That you shall well and duly, according to your knowledge, power, and ability, do and execute all other things belonging to the office of a constable. I shall instance in some things which certainly belong to your office, because you, and none else, can do them. 1. A constable may, without a warrant, apprehend any persons, and carry them before a Justice, who are driving carts, horses, or cattle, on the Lord's day: 2. He may do the same, without a warrant, to such as he may find at sports or pastimes on that day: 3. To such as he shall find tippling in public houses: 4. Shop-keepers selling or exposing goods to sale on the Lord's day; and, lastly, to such as he shall find drunk or blaspheming, or profanely swearing or cursing.

"Thus have I shown you, in part, what belongs to your office: it is well, if according to the tenor of your oath, you duly, to the best of your knowledge and ability, do and execute all these things. But remember, that, if you do not, if you neglect any of them, you are forsworn."

Now let all men judge, how many constables in England are clear of wilful perjury!

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9. "I will now (he goes on) address myself to the churchwardens. Your oath is, 'That you shall well and truly execute the office of a churchwarden, for the ensuing year; and to the best of your skill and knowledge, present such persons and things, as are presentable, by the ecclesiastical laws of this realm.' I shall set down only a few of these.

"The statute of king James I. obliges you to present once a year, all monthly absenters from church. The 90th Canon enjoins you, first to admonish, and then, if they reform not, to present all your parishioners who do not duly resort to church on Sundays, and there continue the whole time of divine service. On this article observe, 1. That a person being absent from a church, is ground sufficient for you to proceed. 2. That you are not only to present, those who do not come to church, but also those who behave irreverently or indecently there, either walking about or talking; all who do not abide there orderly and soberly, the whole time of service and sermon, and all that loiter away any part of that time in the churchyard or in the fields.

"The 112th Canon enjoins you, within forty days after Easter, to exhibit to the bishop or his chancellor, the names of all above the age of sixteen, within your parish that did not receive the Communion.

"Other statutes oblige you to present drunkenness, tippling, and public houses suffering persons to tipple in them.

"And the 109th Canon binds you to present all manner of vice, profaneness, and debauchery, requiring you faithfully to present all and every the offenders in adultery, whoredom, drunkenness, profane swearing, or any other uncleanness and wickedness of life." It is therefore a part of that office to which you are solemnly sworn, to prevent not only all drunkenness and tippling, but profane swearing, lewdness, and whatsoever else is contrary to Christian piety. So that if you know any of your parishioners, be his quality or circumstances what they will, that is guilty of any of these, you are obliged to present him at the next visitation, or you are yourselves guilty of perjury. And the 26th Canon expresses such an abhorrence of a churchwarden's neglect in this matter, that it forbids the Minister, in any wise, to admit you to the holy communion, "who" (as the words of the Canon are) "having taken your oaths to present all such offences in your several parishes, shall notwithstanding your said oaths, either in neglecting or refusing to present, wittingly and willingly, desperately and irreligiously incur the horrid guilt of perjury."

And who is clear? I appeal to every Minister of a parish, from one end of England to the other. How many churchwardens have you known, in twenty, thirty, forty years, who did not thus *desperately* and 'irreligiously incur, the horrid guilt of perjury?'

10. I proceed to perjuries of another kind. The Oath taken by all *Captains of ships*, every time they return from a trading voyage, runs in these terms:

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"I do swear, that the entry above written, now tendered and subscribed by me, is a just report of the name of my ship, its burthen, built, property, number, and country mariners, the present master and voyage; and that it doth farther contain a true account of my lading, with the particular marks, numbers, quantity, quality, and consignment, of all the goods and merchandises in my said ship, to the best of my knowledge; and that I have not broke bulk, or delivered any goods out of my said ship, since her loading in. So help me God."

These words are so clear, express, and unambiguous, that they require no explanation. But who takes this plain oath without being knowingly and deliberately forsworn? Does one captain in fifty? Does one in five hundred? May we not go farther yet? Are there five captains of vessels now in London, who have not at one time or another, by this very oath, which they knew to be false when they took it, incurred the guilt of *wilful perjury?*

11. The oath which all officers of his Majesty's customs, take at their admission into their office, runs thus:

"I do swear to be true and faithful in the execution, to the best of my knowledge and power, of the trust committed to my charge and inspection, in the service of his Majesty's Customs: and that I will not take or receive, any reward or gratuity, directly or indirectly, other than my salary, or what is or shall be allowed me from the Crown, or the regular fees established by law, for any service done or to be done in the execution of my employment in the Customs, on any account whatsoever. So help me God."

On this it may be observed, 1. That there are regular fees, established by law, for some of these Officers; 2. That the rest do hereby engage, not to take or receive any reward or gratuity, directly or indirectly, other than their salary or allowance from the Crown, on any account whatsoever.

How do the former keep this solemn engagement? They whose fees are established by law? Do they take those established fees and no more? Do they not receive any farther gratuity? Not on any account whatsoever? If they do, they are undeniably guilty of *wilful perjury.*

And do the latter take no fees at all? Do they receive no reward or gratuity, for any service done, or to be done, in the execution of their employment? Do they not take any money, directly or indirectly, on any account whatsoever? Every time they do receive either more or less, they also are flatly forsworn.

Yet who scruples either the one or the other! Either taking a *larger fee* than the law appoints? Or the taking *any fee,* large or small, which is offered, even where the law appoints none at all?

What innumerable perjuries then are here committed, over and over, day by day! And without any remorse, without any shame! Without any fear either of God or Man!

12. I will produce but one instance more. The oath of one who votes for a Member of Parliament is this:

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"I do swear, I have not received or had, by myself, or of any person whatsoever in trust for me, or for my use and benefit, directly or indirectly, any sum or sums of money, office, place or employment, gift or reward, or any promise or security for any money, office, employment or gift, in order to give my vote at this Election, and that I have not before been polled at this Election. So help me God."

We may observe here, 1. That this Oath is taken, once, in seven years (if requested) by all the Freeholders, in every county throughout England and Wales, as well as all the Freemen in every City and Borough-Town; and 2. That hereby every Voter swears, in words liable to no evasion, that he has not received, directly or indirectly, any *gift* or *reward*, or promise of any.

But (to pass over those godless and shameless wretches, who frequently vote twice at one Election,) how few are there, who can take this oath with a conscience void of offence? Who have not received, directly or indirectly, any gift, or promise of any? No! have not you? If you have received nothing else, have not you received meat or drink? And did you pay for the meat or drink you received? If not, that was a gift; and, consequently, you are as really perjured, as the man that has received a hundred pounds!

What a melancholy prospect is then before us! Here are almost all the common people of any substance throughout the land, both in the city and country, calling God to record, to *known, wilful falsehoods!*

13. I shall conclude this head in the weighty words of the Author before cited.

"Most of these, I am afraid, look upon their Oaths as *things of course*, and little to be regarded. But can there be any thing in the world more sacred than an Oath? Is it not a solemn appeal to God for your sincerity? And is not that very appeal an acknowledgment, that he will surely punish falsehood? Nay, farther, is it not a calling down the vengeance of God upon yourselves if you are false? Do you not, by laying your hand upon the Gospel, declare, That *you hope for no Salvation by Christ*, if you perform not what you then promise, or, if what you then affirm, is not true? And do not the words, *So help me God*, sufficiently prove, that the intention of your oath is so? And that if you swear false, you are to expect no mercy from God, either in this world or the next? And do you not personally and expressly give your consent to this heavy curse, by *kissing the Book?* How then dare any of you venture to play with so awful an engagement? Is it that you think the oath of a Grand Jury-man, or Parish-Officer, (of a Captain, and Officer of the Customs, or a Voter in Elections) is not as sacred and binding as that of an Evidence at the Bar? What is it can make the difference? Both of them are equally appeals to God, and imprecations of his vengeance upon *wilful perjury*."

14. If there be then a God that is not mocked, what a weight of sin lies on this nation? And sin of no common dye; for perjury

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has always been accounted one of the deepest stain. And how will any one attempt to excuse this? By adding blasphemy thereto? So indeed some have done; saying, like those of old, "Tush, thou God carest not for it. The Lord seeth (i. e. *regardeth*) us not. The Lord hath forsaken the earth." He hath left *second causes* to take their course, and man *in the hand of his own counsel.*

How many are they who now speak thus; according to whose minute Philosophy, the particular Providence of God is utterly exploded, *the hairs of our heads are* no longer numbered: and not only a sparrow, but a city, an empire may "fall to the ground, without the will" or care "of our heavenly Father." You allow then only a general Providence. I do not understand the term. Be so kind as to let me know, what you mean by a *General Providence*, contradistinguished from a *particular one?* I doubt you are at a loss for an answer; unless you use some huge, unwieldly thing, (I suppose resembling the *Primum Mobile* in the Ptolemaic System,) which continually whirls the whole Universe round, without affecting one thing more than another. I doubt this hypothesis will demand more proof, than you are at present able to produce; beside that it is attended with a thousand difficulties, such as you cannot readily solve. It may be therefore your wisest way for once to think with the vulgar, to acquiesce in the plain scriptural account. This informs us, that although God dwelleth in heaven, yet he still ruleth over all: that his Providence extends to every individual in the whole system of Beings which he hath made: that all natural Causes of every kind, depend wholly upon his Will; and he increases, lessens, suspends, or destroys their efficacy, according to his own good pleasure: that he uses preternatural Causes at his Will, the ministry of good or of evil Angels: and that he hath never yet precluded himself from exerting his own immediate power, from speaking life or death into any of his creatures: from looking a world into being, or into nothing.

"Thinkest thou then, O man, that thou shalt escape the judgment of this great God?" O no longer "treasure up unto thyself wrath, against the day of wrath!" Thou canst not recall what is past; but now keep thyself pure, even were it at the price of all that thou hast: and acknowledge the goodness of God, in that he did not long since cut thee off, and send thee to thine own place.

15. The Jews of old were charged by God, with profaning his Sabbaths also. And do we Christians come behind them herein? (I speak of those who acknowledge the obligation.) Do we "call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable? Not doing our own ways, not finding our own pleasure, nor speaking our own words?" Do our "men-servants and maid-servants" rest thereon? And the "stranger that is within our gates?" Is no business, but what is really necessary, done within our house? You know in your own conscience, and God knoweth, that the very reverse of this is true.

But setting aside these things which are done as it were by stealth,

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whether by mean or honourable men; how many are they, in every city, as well as in this, who profane the Sabbath with a high hand! How many in this, that openly defy both God and the King, that break the laws both divine and human, by working at their trade, delivering their goods, receiving their pay, or following their ordinary business, in one branch or another, and "wiping their mouth and saying, *I do no evil!*" How many buy and sell on the day of the Lord, even in the open streets of this city! How many open or (with some modesty) half open their shops! And when they have not the pretence of perishable goods; without any pretence at all, money is their god, and gain their godliness. But what are all these droves in the skirts of the town, that well nigh cover the face of the earth? Till they drop one after another into the numerous receptacles prepared for them in every corner. What are these to gain by profaning the day of the Lord? Nothing at all. They "drink in iniquity like water." Nay, many of them pay for their sin; perhaps great part of what should sustain their family the ensuing week. I know not what is "finding our own pleasure, or doing our own ways," if this is not. What then shall we plead in your excuse? That "*many others do it as well as you?*" Nay, number is so far from extenuating your fault, that it aggravates it above measure. For this is open war against God. A whole army of you join together, and with one consent, in the face of the sun, "run upon the thick bosses of his buckler."

16. It is once mentioned in the Prophets, "In thee (Jerusalem) they have set light by father and mother." But frequent mention is made of their setting light by their civil parents, of their murmurings and rebellings against their governors. Yet surely our boasting against them is excluded, even in this respect. For do not all our histories witness such a series of mutinies, seditions, factions, and rebellions, as are scarce to be paralleled in any other kingdom, since the world began? And has not the wild, turbulent, ungovernable spirit of our countrymen, been continually acknowledged and lamented, (as abundance of their writings testify to this day,) by the cool, rational part of the nation? Terrible effects whereof have been seen and felt, more or less, in every generation.

But did this spirit exist only in times past? Blessed be God, it is now restrained, it does not break out;* but the traces thereof are still easy to be found. For whence springs this continual "speaking evil of dignities?" Of all who are at the helm of public affairs? Whence this "speaking evil of the ruler of our people," so common among all orders of men? I do not include those whose province it is to inspect all the public administrations. But is not almost every private gentleman in the land, every clergyman, every tradesman, yea, every man or woman that has a tongue, a politician, a settler of the state? Is not every carman and porter abundantly more knowing than the king, lords, and commons together? Able to tell

* N. B. This was written in the year 1744.

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you all their foibles, to point out their faults and mistakes, and how they ought to proceed, if they will save the nation? Now all this has a natural, undeniable tendency to mutiny and rebellion. O what need have we above any nation on earth, of his continual care and protection, who alone is able to "rule the raging of the sea," and "still the madness of the people!"

17. But to proceed. Were there "drunkards in Ephraim, mighty to drink wine, men of strength to mingle strong drink?" And are there not in England? Are they not the growth of every county, city, and town therein? These do not indeed, or not often "rise up early, that they may follow strong drink;" and so "continue till night, till wine inflame them." They have found a readier way! namely, to begin at night, and continue following their wine and strong drink till the morning. And what numbers are there of these throughout the land? Lost to reason and humanity, as well as to religion: so that no wonder "they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands."

Nor indeed have our drunkards need to continue from morning to night, until wine inflame them: seeing they have found a far more compendious method of casting aside all sense and reason, and disencumbering themselves from all remains either of conscience or understanding. So that whatever work of darkness is speedily to be done, and that without any danger of being interrupted, either by fear, compassion or remorse, they may be in a few moments, by one draught, as effectually qualified for it, as if they could swallow a legion of devils. Or, (if that be all their concern) they may, at a moderate expense, destroy their own body as well as soul, and plunge through this liquid fire, into that "prepared for the Devil and his angels."

Friend, stop! you have the form of a man still. And perhaps some remains of understanding. O may the merciful God lay hold of that! Unto him all things are possible. Think a little for once. What is it you are doing? Why should you destroy yourself? I could not use the worst enemy I have in the world, as you use yourself. Why should you murder yourself inch by inch? Why should you burn yourself alive? O spare your own body at least, if you have no pity for your soul! But have you a soul then? Do you really believe it? What, a soul that must live for ever! O spare thy soul! Do not destroy thy own soul with an everlasting destruction! It was made for God. Do not give it into the hands of that old murderer of men! Thou canst not stupify it long. When it leaves the body, it will awake and sleep no more. Yet a little while, and it launches out into the great deep, to live, and think, and feel for ever. And what will cheer thy spirit there, if thou hast not "a drop of water to cool thy tongue?" But the die is not yet cast. Now cry to God, "and iniquity shall not be thy ruin."

18. Of old time there were also those that "were at ease in Zion, that lay upon beds of ivory, and stretched themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and calves out of the

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stall." But how inelegant were these ancient epicures! ("Lambs out of the flock, and calves out of the stall!") Were these the best dainties they could procure? How have we improved since Jeroboam's time? Who can number the varieties of our tables; or the arts we have *to enlarge the pleasure of tasting?* And what are their couches or beds of ivory, to the furniture of our apartments? Or their "chains and bracelets, and mantles, and changeable suits of apparel," to the ornaments of our persons? What comparison is there between their diversions and ours? Look at Solomon in all his glory; and yet may we not question, whether he was not an utter stranger to the *pleasures of the Chase?* And notwithstanding his forty thousand horses, did he ever see a race in his life? He made gardens, and orchards, and pools of water; he planted vineyards, and built houses. But had he one theatre among them all? No. This is the glory of later times. Or had he any conception of a ball, an assembly, a masquerade, or a ridotto? And who imagines that all his instruments of music put together, were any more to be compared to ours, than his or his father's rumbling Hebrew verses:

"To the soft Sing Song of Italian lays?"

In all these points our pre-eminence over the Jews, is much every way.

Yea, and over our own ancestors as well as theirs. But is this our glory or our shame? Were Edward III. or Henry V. to come among us now, what would they think of the change of their people? Would they applaud the elegant variety at the Old Baron's table? Or the costly delicacy of his furniture and apparel? Would they listen to these instruments of music? Or find pleasure in those diversions? Would they rejoice to see the Nobles and Gentry of the land, lying at ease, stretching themselves on beds of down? Too delicate to use their own limbs, even in the streets of the city: to bear the touch of the people, the blowing of the wind, or the shining of the sun! O how would their hearts burn within them! What indignation, sorrow, shame, must they feel, to see the ancient hardiness lost, the British temperance, patience, and scorn of superfluities, the rough indefatigable industry, exchanged for softness, idleness, and fulness of bread! Well for them, that they were gathered unto their fathers, before this exchange was made!

19. To prove at large, That the luxury and sensuality, the sloth and indolence, the softness and idleness, the effeminacy and false delicacy of our nation are without a parallel, would be but lost labour. I fear, we may say, the *lewdness* too; for if the Jews, as the Prophet speaks, "assembled themselves by troops in the harlot's houses," so do the English, and much more abundantly. Indeed, where is male chastity to be found? Among the Nobility? Among the Gentry? Among the Tradesmen? Or among the common people of England? How few lay any claim to it at all! How few desire so much as the reputation of it! Would you yourself account it an honour or a reproach, to be ranked among those of whom it is said, "These are they which were not defiled with women; for they

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are virgins?" And how numerous are they now, even among such as are accounted men of honour and probity, "who are as fed horses, every one neighing after his neighbour's wife?"

But as if this were not enough, is not the sin of Sodom too, more common among us than ever it was in Jerusalem? Are not our streets beset with these monsters of uncleanness, who "burn in their lust one toward another," whom God hath "given up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient?" O Lord, thy compassions fail not: therefore we are not consumed.

20. Neither do we yield to them in *injustice* any more than *uncleanness*. How frequent are open robberies among us? Is not the act of violence even in our streets? And what laws are sufficient to prevent it? Does not *theft* of various kinds abound in all parts of the land, even though death be the punishment of it? And are there not among us, who "take usury and increase," who "greedily gain of their neighbour by extortion?" Yea, whole trades which subsist by such extortion, as was not named either among the Jews or Heathens? "Is there not yet the scant measure, the wicked balances, and the bag of deceitful weights?" Beside the thousand nameless ways of over-reaching and defrauding, the craft and mystery of every trade and profession. It were an endless task to descend to particulars, to point out in every circumstance, how not only sharpers and gamesters, (those public nuisances, those scandals to the English nation) but high and low, rich and poor, men of character and men of note, in every station of public or private life, have corrupted themselves, and generally applauded themselves, and count it policy and wisdom so to do: so that if *gain* be at hand, they care not, though *justice stand afar off:* so that *he which departeth from evil*, which cometh not into their secret, still *maketh himself a prey;* and *the wicked still devoureth the man that is more righteous than he.*

And what redress? Suppose a great man to oppress the needy? Suppose the rich grinds the face of the poor: what remedy against such oppression can he find in this Christian country? If the one is rich and the other poor, doth not justice stand afar off? And is not the poor under the utmost improbability, (if not impossibility) of obtaining it? Perhaps the hazard is greater among us, than either among Jews, Turks, or Heathens.

For example. Suppose a great man, with or without form of law, does wrong to his poor neighbour. What will he do? Sue his Lordship at common law? Have the cause tried at the next sessions or assizes? Alas! Your own neighbours, those who know the whole case will tell you, "You are out of your senses." "But twelve good men and true will do me justice." Very well: but where will you find them: men unbiassed, incapable of corruption, superior both to fear and favour, to every view whether of gain or loss? But this is not all; they must not only be good and true, but wise and understanding men. Else how easy is it for a skilful pleader to throw a mist before their eyes? Even supposing too the Judge to be quite impartial, and a proof against all corruption. And should all these

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circumstances concur, (of which I fear there are not many precedents) supposing a verdict is given in your favour, still you have gained nothing. The suit is removed into a higher Court, and you have all your work to begin again. Here you have to struggle with all the same difficulties as before, and perhaps many new ones too. However, if you have money enough, you may succeed: but if that fails, your cause is gone. Without money you can have no more law; poverty alone utterly shuts out justice.

But, "cannot an honest Attorney procure me justice?" An *honest* Attorney! Where will you find one? Of those who are called *exceeding honest* Attorneys, who is there that makes any scruple,

1. To promote and encourage needless suits, if not unjust ones too?

2. To defend a bad Cause, knowing it so to be:

By making a demur and then withdrawing it:

By pleading some false plea, to the Plaintiff's Declaration:

By putting an evasive Answer to his Bill:

By protecting the Suit, if possible, till the Plaintiff is ruined:

3. To carry a Cause not amounting to ten shillings into Westminster-Hall, by laying it in his Declaration as above forty:

4. To delay his own Client's Suit knowingly and willfully, in order to gain thereby:

5. To draw himself the Pleadings or Conveyances of his Client, instead of giving them to be drawn by able Counsel:

6. To charge his Client with the Fees which should have been given to such Counsel, although they were not given:

7. To charge for drawing fair copies, where none were drawn:

8. To charge Fees for expedition given to Clerks, when not one farthing has been given them:

9. To send his Clerk a journey (longer or shorter) to do business with or for different persons: and to charge the horse-hire and expense of that journey to every person severally:

10. To send his Clerk to Westminster, on the business of ten (it may be) or twenty persons, and to charge each of those twenty for his attendance, as if he had been sent on account of one only:

11. To charge his own attendance in like manner: And

12. To fill up his bill with Attendances, Fees, and Term-fees, though his Client is no whit forwarder in his cause.

This is he that is called an *honest Attorney!* How much honester is a pickpocket!

But there is a Magistrate, whose peculiar office it is to redress the injured and oppressed. Go then and make trial of this remedy; go, and tell your case to the Lord Chancellor. Hold; you must go on regularly: you must tell him your case in form of law, or not at all. You must therefore file a Bill in Chancery, and retain a Lawyer belonging to that Court. "But you have already spent all you have: you have no money." Then I fear you will have no justice. You stumble at the threshold. If you have either lost or spent all,

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your Cause is naught: it will not even come to a hearing. So, if the oppressor has secured all that you had, he is as safe as if you were under the earth.

21. Now what an amazing thing is this! The very greatness of the villany makes it beyond redress!—But suppose he that is oppressed has some substance left, and can go through all the Courts of Justice, what parallel can we find among Jews, Turks, or Heathens, for either the *delays* or the *expenses* attending it? With regard to the former, how monstrous is it, that in a suit relating to that inheritance, which is to furnish you and your family with food and raiment, you must wait month after month, perhaps year after year, before it is determined whether it be yours or not? And what are you to eat or to wear in the mean time? Of that the Court takes no cognizance! Is not this very *delay* (suppose there were no other grievance attending the English course of law) wrong beyond all expression? Contrary to all sense, reason, justice, and equity? A capital Cause is tried in one day, and finally decided at once. And is the life less than meat? Or the body of less concern than raiment? What a shameful mockery of justice then, is this putting off pecuniary causes from term to term, yea, from year to year?

With regard to the latter. A man has wronged me of a hundred pounds. I appeal to a Judge for the recovery of it. How astonishing is it, that this Judge himself cannot give me what is my right, and what evidently appears so to be, unless I first give, perhaps one-half of the sum, to men I never saw before in my life!

22. I have hitherto supposed, that all Causes when they are decided, are decided according to justice and equity. But is it so? Ye learned in the law, is no unjust sentence given in your Courts? Have not the same causes been decided quite opposite ways? One way this Term, just the contrary the next? Perhaps one way in the morning (this I remember an instance of) and another way in the afternoon: how is this? Is there no Justice left on earth? No regard for right or wrong? Or have causes been puzzled so long that you know not now what is either wrong or right? What is agreeable to law or contrary to it? I have heard some of you frankly declare, that it is in many cases next to impossible to know, what is law, and what is not. So are your *folios* of Law multiplied upon you, that no human brain is able to contain them: no; nor any consistent Scheme, or Abstract of them all.

But is it really owing to ignorance of the law, (this is the most favourable supposition) that so few of you scruple *taking Fees* on either side, of almost any cause that can be conceived? And that you generally plead in the manner you do on any side of any cause? Rambling to and fro, in a way so abhorrent from common sense, and so utterly foreign to the question? I have been amazed at hearing the pleadings of some eminent Counsel: and when it has fallen out that the Pleader on the other side understood only the common Rules of Logic, he has made those eminent men appear, either such egregious knaves, if they could help it, or such egregious blockheads,

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if they could not, that one would have believed they would show their faces there no more.—Meantime, if there be a God that judgeth righteously, what horrid insults upon him are these! "Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

23. There is one instance more of (I know not what to term it) injustice, oppression, sacrilege, which hath long cried aloud in the ears of God. For among men, who doth hear? I mean the management of many of those who are intrusted with our Public Charities. By the pious munificence of our forefathers, we have abundance of these, of various kinds. But is it not glaringly true, (to touch only on a few generals) that the managers of many of them, either, 1. Do not apply the benefaction to that use for which it was designed by the benefactor; or, 2. Do not apply it with such care and frugality, as in such a case are indispensably required; or, 3. Do not apply the whole of the benefaction to any charitable use at all; but secrete part thereof, from time to time, for the use of themselves and their families. Or, lastly, by plain, bare-faced oppression, exclude those from having any part in such benefaction, who dare (though with all possible tenderness and respect,) set before them the things that they have done:

> "Yet Brutus is an honourable man:
> So are they all: all honourable men!"

And some of them, had in esteem for religion: accounted patterns both of honesty and piety! But God "seeth not as man seeth." He "shall repay them to their face." Perhaps, even in the present world. For that scripture is often still fulfilled, "This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth. I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of Hosts, and it shall enter into the house of the thief," (such he is and no better, in the eyes of God, no whit honester than a highwayman) "and it shall remain in the midst of the house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof."

24. And is not *Truth*, as well as *Justice, fallen in our streets?* For who *speaketh the truth from his heart?* Who is there, that makes a conscience of speaking the thing as it is, whenever he speaks at all? Who scruples the telling of officious lies? The varying from Truth in order to do good? How strange does that saying of the ancient Father sound in modern ears, "I would not tell a lie, no, not to save the souls of the whole world." Yet is this strictly agreeable to the word of God: to that of St. Paul in particular, if any say, "Let us do evil that good may come, their damnation is just."

But how many of us do this evil, without ever considering, whether good will come or not? Speaking what we do not mean, merely out of custom, because it is fashionable so to do? What an immense quantity of falsehood does this ungodly fashion occasion day by day? For hath it not overrun every part of the nation? How is all our language swoln with compliment? So that a well-bred person is not expected to speak as he thinks: we do not look for it at his hands;

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nay, who would thank him for it? How few would suffer it? It was said of old, even by a warrior and a King, "He that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight:" but are we not of another mind? Do not we rather say, "He that telleth not lies shall not tarry in my sight?" Indeed the trial seldom comes; for both speakers and hearers are agreed, that form and ceremony, flattery and compliment should take place, and truth be banished from all that know the world.

And if the rich and great have so small regard to truth, as to *lie* even for *lying sake*, what wonder can it be that men of lower rank will do the same thing *for gain?* What wonder that it should obtain, as by common consent in all kinds of *buying and selling?* Is it not an adjudged case, That it is no harm to tell lies in the way of trade? To say, that is the lowest price which is not the lowest; or that you will not take what you do take immediately? Insomuch that it is a proverb even among the Turks, when asked to abate of their price, "What! do you take me to be a Christian!" So that never was that caution more seasonable than it is at this day, "Take ye heed every one of his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother; for every brother will utterly supplant, and they will deceive every one his neighbour."

25. And as for those few who abstain from outward sins, is their heart right with God? May he not say of us also (as of the Jews) "This people is uncircumcised in heart?" Are not you? Do you then "love the Lord your God, with all your heart, and with all your strength?" Is he your God and your all? The desire of your eyes? The joy of your very heart? Rather, do you not set up your idols in your heart? Is not your belly your God? Or your diversion? Or your fair reputation? Or your friend? Or wife? Or child? That is, plainly, do not you delight in some of these earthly goods, more than in the God of heaven? Nay, perhaps you are one of those grovelling souls that pant after the dust of the earth! Indeed, who does not? Who does not get as much as he can? Who of those that are not accounted covetous, yet does not gather all the money he can fairly, and perhaps much more? For are they those only whom the world rank among misers, that use every art to increase their fortune? Toiling early and late, spending all their strength in loading themselves with thick clay? How long? Until the very hour when God calleth them; when he saith unto each of them, "Thou fool! this night shall thy soul be required of thee! And whose shall those things be which thou hast prepared?"

26. And yet doth not our pride, even the pride of those whose soul cleaves to the dust, testify against us? Are they not wise in their own conceit? Have not writers of our own remarked, that there is not upon earth a more self-conceited nation than the English; more opinionated both of their own national and personal wisdom, and courage, and strength? And indeed, if we may judge by the inhabitants of London, this is evident to a demonstration: for, are not the very meanest of them able to instruct both the King and all his Counsellors? What cobbler in London is not wiser than the princi-

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pal Secretary of State? What Coffee-house disputant is not an abler divine than his Grace of Canterbury? And how deep a contempt of others is joined with this high opinion of ourselves? I know not whether the people of other nations are greater masters of dissimulation; but there does not appear in any nation whatever, such a proneness to despise their neighbour; to despise not foreigners only, (near two thousand years ago they remarked, *Britannos Hospitibus feros*) but their own countrymen; and that very often for such surprising reasons, as nothing but undeniable fact could make credible. How often does the gentleman in his coach despise those *dirty fellows that go on foot?* And these, on the other hand, despise full as much those *lazy fellows that loll in their coaches.* No wonder then that those who have the form of Godliness should despise them that have not: that the saint of the world so frequently says to the gross sinner, in effect, if not in terms, "Stand by thyself; come not near unto me; for I am holier than thou!"

27. Yet what kind of holiness is this? May not God justly declare of us also, "This people draw near to me with their mouth, but they have removed their hearts far from me. They do but flatter me with their mouth, and dissemble with me in their tongue." Is it not so with you? When you speak to God, do your lips and your heart go together? Do you not often utter words by which you mean just nothing? Do not you say and unsay? Or, say one thing to God, and another to man? For instance, you say to God, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep me this day without sin." But you say to man, This cannot be done; it is all folly and madness to expect it. You ask of God, that you "may perfectly love, and worthily magnify his Holy Name;" but you tell man, There is no *perfect Love* upon earth: it is only a madman's dream. You pray God to "cleanse the thoughts of your heart, by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit." But you assure your neighbour, there is no such thing as inspiration now, and that none pretend to it but enthusiasts. What gross hypocrisy is this! Surely you think, there is no "knowledge in the Most High." "O be not deceived, God is not mocked. But whatsoever ye sow, that also shall ye reap!"

28. Such at present is the religion of this Christian nation! So do we honour Him by whose Name we are called. And yet was there ever a nation more careless and secure? More unapprehensive of the wrath of God? How can a man more effectually expose himself to the ridicule of those who are esteemed men of understanding, than by showing any concern, as if the judgments of God were hanging over our heads?* Surely then "a deceived heart hath turned us aside, that we cannot say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" Surely this our confidence is not of God: it is rather a judicial infatuation; a stupid insensibility; a deep sleep, the forerunner of heavy vengeance.

"Ruin behind it stalks, and empty desolation."

* N. B. This was written in the year 1744, but I am afraid it is too true, even at this day.

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Surely never was any people more fitted for destruction! "Impudent children are they, and stiff-hearted. Are they ashamed when they have committed abomination?" When they have openly profaned the day of the Lord? When they have committed lewdness? Or when they have uttered such curses and blasphemies, as are not heard of among the heathens? Nay, "they are not at all ashamed, neither can they blush." And though God send unto them all his servants, rising up early and sending them, yet "will they not hear; they harden their neck! They do worse than their fathers."

What then can God "do more for his vineyard which he hath not done?" He hath long tried us with mercies, "giving rain and fruitful seasons, filling us with the flour of wheat." We have had plenty of all things; and while war roared around, "peace has been in all our borders." But still "this revolting and rebellious people say not, Let us now fear the Lord our God." Nay, they gave him no thanks for all his mercies; they did not even acknowledge them to be his gift. They did not see the hand of God in any of these things; they could account for them another way. O ye unwise, when will ye understand? Know ye not yet, there is a God that ruleth the world? What did ye see with your eyes? Was the race to the swift, or the battle to the strong? Have ye forgotten Dettingen already? Does not England know that God was there?—Or suppose your continuance in peace, or success in war, be the mere result of your own wisdom and strength; do ye command the sun and the clouds also? Can ye pour out or stay the bottles of heaven? But let it all be nature, chance, any thing—so God may have no hand in governing the earth!

29. Will his judgments bring us to a better mind? Do we "hear the rod and him that has appointed it?" Let us observe: what fruit do we find in those who are "even consumed by means of his heavy hand?" Let any that desires to be clearly satisfied herein visit the hospitals of this city. Let him judge for himself how the patients there receive God's fatherly visitation; especially there, because mercy also is mixed with judgment; so that it is evident "that the Lord loveth whom he chasteneth." Go into any ward, either of men or women, look narrowly from one end to the other: are they humbling themselves under the hand of God? Are they trembling under a sense of his anger? Are they praising him for his love? Are they exhorting one another, not to faint when they are rebuked of him? How do nine in ten of them spend their time, that important time from morning to evening? Why, in such a manner, that you would not easily learn, from thence, whether they were Christians, Pagans, or Mahometans.

Is there any deeper distress than this to be found? Is there a greater affliction than the loss of health? Perhaps there is, the loss of liberty, especially as it is sometimes circumstanced. You may easily be convinced of this, by going into either Ludgate or Newgate. What a scene appears, as soon as you enter! The very place strikes horror into your soul. How dark and dreary! How unhealthy and

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unclean! How void of all that might minister comfort! But this is little, compared to the circumstances that attend the being confined in this shadow of death. See that poor wretch, who was formerly in want of nothing, and encompassed with friends and acquaintance, now cut off by an unexpected stroke, from all the cheerful ways of men; ruined, forsaken of all, and delivered into the hands of such masters and such companions! I know not, if to one of a thinking, sensible turn of mind, there could be any thing like it on this side hell.

What effect then has this heavy visitation of God, on those who lie under it for any time? There is, perhaps, an exception here and there; but in general they are abandoned to all wickedness, utterly divested of all fear of God, and all reverence to man; insomuch that they commonly go out of that school completely fitted for any kind or degree of villany, perfectly brutal and devilish, thoroughly furnished for every evil word and work.

30. Are your countrymen more effectually reclaimed, when danger and distress are joined? If so, the army, especially in time of war, must be the most religious part of the nation. But is it so indeed? Do the soldiery walk as those who see themselves on the brink of eternity? Redeeming every opportunity of glorifying God, and doing good to men, because they know not the hour in which their Lord will require their souls of them? So far from it, that a soldier's religion is a by-word, even with those who have no religion at all; that vice and profaneness in every shape reign among them without control; and that the whole tenor of their behaviour speaks, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*

Have those who are exposed to still more danger, the English sea-forces, more religion than those at land? It is said they were once remarkable for this: and it is certain Sir Francis Drake feared God, as did most of his commanders; and we have reason to believe, his mariners and sailors too. But what shall we say of the navy that now is, more particularly of the ships of war? Is religion there? Either the power or the form? Is not almost every single man-of-war a mere floating hell? Where is there to be found more consummate wickedness, a more full daring contempt of God, and all his laws, except in the bottomless pit? But here description fails: and the goodness of God endureth yet daily! But *shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?* O that the prospect of national judgments may suffice! That we may remember ourselves, and turn unto the Lord our God, before his long-suffering mercy is at an end, and he pours out the vials of his wrath upon us!

But how small ground have we as yet to hope for this! For who will now "suffer the word of exhortation?" How few will "endure sound doctrine," and the honest, close application of it! Do they not "say unto the seers, See not; and unto the prophets, Prophesy smooth things?" And if a man will do thus, if he will "sew pillows to all arm-holes," and "cause the Holy One of Israel to

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cease from before them; if he will prophesy of wine and strong drink, he shall even be the prophet of this people."

31. I am sensible how nice a subject this is, and how extremely difficult it is so to speak, as neither to say too little nor too much, neither more nor less than the cause of God requires. I know also that it is absolutely impossible, so to speak as not to give offence. But whosoever is offended I dare not be silent; neither may I refrain from plainness of speech: only I will endeavour to use all the tenderness I can consistently with that plainness.

In tender love then, I ask, Are there none among us, (I speak to you, my brethren, who are priests and prophets of the Lord, set apart to "minister in holy things," and to "declare the word of the Lord,") are there none among us who commit lewdness, as did those by whom "Israel was defiled?" Hath not the Lord seen a horrible thing, in some of the prophets of this land also, even, that "they commit adultery, and (to conceal it) walk in lies?" God forbid that I should affirm this. I only propose (not maintain) the question. If there be such a wretch, I pray God to strike him to the heart, and to say, *Thou art the man!*

Are there none of you, like them, "mighty to drink wine, men of strength to mingle strong drink?" Yea, are there none that "err through strong drink, that are swallowed up of wine?" Are there not found those who say, "I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink: and to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant?"

Alas, my brother! Is this the voice of a minister of Christ? "A steward of the mysteries of God?" Suppose you find at any time trouble and heaviness, "is there no help for you in your God?" Is not the God whom you serve able to deliver you from any plague or trouble? Is the being drunk with wine a better relief, than being filled with his Spirit? Do you not understand this? Do you not know the Lord? Take heed you do not destroy both your own soul and them that hear you! O beware! If you know not his love, fear his power! Make haste to flee from the wrath to come, lest he smite you with a curse great as your sin, and sweep you away from the face of the earth.

32. Can such as you be said, to honour or fear God, any more than those spoken of by Malachi? May not God complain, "These priests have violated my law and profaned my holy things?" Yea, whensoever you presume with those unhallowed hands, to touch the mysteries of God: whensoever you utter his name or his word with those unhallowed lips! But is it on this account only that God may say, "Both prophet and priest are profane?" May he not add, "They have put no difference between the holy and the profane; therefore I am profaned among them?" For is it not so? Do you put a difference between the holy and the profane, him that feareth God, and him that feareth him not? Do you put an effectual difference between them, even in the most solemn office of our religion? At the table of the Lord, do you take care to "separate the pre-

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cious from the vile?" To receive all those who (as you may reasonably believe) "draw near with penitent hearts, and lively faith," and utterly to reject those who testify against themselves, that they are without hope and without God in the world?

Nay, who dares repel any one of the great men in his parish from the Lord's table? Even though he be a drunkard or a common swearer? Yea, though he openly deny the Lord that bought him? Mr. Stonehouse did this once. But what was the event? The gentleman brought an action against him, for the terror of all such insolent fellows, in succeeding times. And who was able and willing to espouse the cause? He alone who took it into his own hand; and before the day when it should have been tried here, called the plaintiff to answer at a higher bar.

33. O my brethren, is it not for want of your making this difference, as well as for many other abominations, that, with regard to some among us, (how many God knoweth,) that Scripture is now also fulfilled, "His watchmen are blind, they are ignorant, they are shepherds that cannot understand."—"The Lord hath poured out upon them the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed their eyes: the prophets and the seers hath he covered. And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed!"

If you ask what those other abominations are? I will speak in love and in the spirit of meekness. There are found among us covetous men, men "who mind earthly things," who seek themselves and not Christ crucified, who "love the world, and the things of the world:" men in whom these words are still fulfilled, "Who is there among you that would shut the doors for naught? Neither do ye kindle fire on my altar for naught. I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts." Yea, are there not those at this day, (O that I might be found to fear where no fear is!) who "make themselves fat with the chiefest of all the offerings of Israel?" Are there not those, who now, "enlarge their desires as hell, who are as death, and cannot be satisfied?" Who, though they want neither food to eat nor raiment to put on, yet seek more and more preferment? Who are continually studying to "join house to house, and to lay field to field?" To grow rich in the service of that Master, who himself "had not where to lay his head?" Is it not to these that those dreadful words belong, enough to cause the ears of him that heareth to tingle, "They are greedy dogs which can never have enough; they all look to their own way, (not the way of their Lord,) every one for his gain from his quarter?"

Is it strange if, among these, there should be some who are cruel, oppressive men? Inasmuch as covetousness knows no mercy, nor can a lover of money be a lover of his neighbour. Have not some been known even to "grind the face of the poor?" To strip, rather than clothe the naked? Some, who while they cried out, "as the horse-leach, Give, give," would take if it were not given; like

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those of old who said, "Thou shalt give it me now, and if not, I will take it by force:" or those spoken of by Micah, "The prophets bite with their teeth, and cry peace: and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him." Very great is the sin of these men before the Lord. If there be ten such now in the land, may God smite them this day with terror and astonishment, that they may have no rest in their bones till their sin is done away!

34. Are you as watchful and zealous to gain souls, as those are to gain the gold that perisheth? Do you know by experience what that meaneth, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up?" Or are you one of those watchmen who do not watch at all? Who neither know nor care when the sword cometh? Of whom the prophet saith, "They are dumb dogs that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber?"

Can it be supposed, that such shepherds will feed the flock? Will "give to every one his portion of meat in due season?" Will these "warn every man, and exhort every man, that they may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus?" Will they take care to "know all their flock by name, not forgetting the men-servants and women-servants?" Will they inquire into the state of every soul committed to their charge? And watch over each with all tenderness and long-suffering, "as they that must give account?" Marking how they either fall or rise? How these wax "weary and faint in their mind;" and those "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?" Who can do this, unless his whole heart be in the work? Unless he desire nothing but to "spend and be spent for them;" and "count not his life dear unto himself," so he may "present them blameless" in the day of the Lord Jesus?

Can any shepherd do this (and if he do it not, he will never "give any account with joy") who imagines, he has little more to do, than to preach once or twice a week? That this is the main point, the chief part of that office, which he hath taken upon himself before God? What gross ignorance is this! What a total mistake of the truth! What a miserable blunder touching the whole nature of his office! It is indeed a very great thing, To speak in the name of God; it might make him that is of the stoutest heart tremble, if he considered, That every time he speaks to others, his own soul is at stake. But great, inexpressibly great as this is, it is perhaps the least part of our work. To "seek and to save that which is lost," to bring souls from Satan to God, to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the wicked, to convince the gainsayer: to direct their feet into the way of peace, and then keep them therein; to follow them step by step, lest they turn out of the way, and advise them in their doubts and temptations; to lift up them that fall, to refresh them that are faint, and to comfort the weak-hearted; to administer various helps, as the variety of occasions require, according to their several necessities. These are parts of our office; all this we have undertaken at the peril of our own soul. A sense of this made that holy man of old cry out, "I marvel if any ruler in the Church shall be saved:"

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and a greater than he says, in the fulness of his heart, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

35. But who is not sufficient for these things, for the taking care of a parish, though it contain twenty thousand souls, if this implies no more than the taking care to preach there, once or twice a-week; and to procure one to read prayers on the other days, and do what is called the parish duty? Is any trade in the nation so easy as this? Is not any man sufficient for it, without any more talents, either of nature or grace, than a small degree of common understanding? But, O! what manner of shepherds are those, who look no farther into the nature of their office, who sink no deeper into the importance of it than this! Were they not such as these concerning whom the "word of the Lord came unto Ezekiel, saying, Wo be to the shepherds that do feed themselves: should not the shepherds feed the flock? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool; but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost. And they were scattered, because there was no shepherd, and they became meat to all the beasts of the field. Yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them."

I conjure you, brethren, in the name of the Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, who hath bought them and us with his own blood, apply this each to his own soul. Let every man look unto God and say, Lord, *Is it I?* Am I one of these idle, careless, indolent shepherds, that feed myself, not the flock? Am I one that cannot bark, slothful, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber? One of those who have not strengthened that which was diseased, neither healed that which was sick? "Search me, O Lord, and prove me; try out my reins and my heart. Look well if there be any way of wickedness in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

36. Have I not at least, "Healed the hurt of thy people slightly?" Have I not said, "Peace, peace, when there was no peace?"—How many are they also that do this! Who do not study to speak what is true, especially to the rich and great, so much as what is pleasing? Who flatter honourable sinners instead of telling them plainly, "How can ye escape the damnation of hell?" O what an account have you to make, if there be a God that judgeth the earth! Will he not require at your hands the blood of all these souls, of whom ye are the betrayers and murderers? Well spake the prophets of your fathers, in whose steps you now tread: "They have seduced my people, and one built up a wall, and another daubed it with untempered mortar. They strengthen the hands of the evil-doers, that none doth return from his wickedness. They prophesy lies in my name, saith the Lord. They say unto them that despise me, Ye shall have peace, and unto them that walk after the imagination of their own heart, no evil shall come upon you."

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How great will your damnation be, who destroy souls, instead of saving them! Where will you appear, or how will you stand, "in that great and terrible day of the Lord!" How will you lift up your heads, when "the Lord descends from heaven in flaming fire, to take vengeance on his adversaries!" More especially on those who have so betrayed his cause, and done Satan's work under the banner of Christ! With what voice wilt thou say, "Behold me, Lord, and the sheep whom thou hadst given me, whom I gave to the Devil, and told them they were in the way to heaven, till they dropped into hell?"

Were they not just such shepherds of souls as you are, concerning whom God spake by Jeremiah? "Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot; they have made my portion a desolate wilderness:" by Ezekiel, "There is a conspiracy of her prophets, like a roaring lion, ravening the prey, they have devoured souls:" and by Zechariah, "Thus saith the Lord, Feed the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty! and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich; and their own shepherds pity them not."

37. Is not this the real ground, the principal reason of the present contempt of the Clergy? And long since was it assigned as such, by him who cannot lie. The same men of old, who made the Lord's people to transgress, thereby made themselves vile. They were despised both as the natural effect, and the judicial punishment of their wickedness. And the same cause the prophet observes to have produced the same effect, many hundreds of years after this, "Ye are departed out of the way, saith the Lord; ye have caused many to stumble—Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people."

I have now, brethren, "delivered my own soul," and in so doing, I have (as I proposed at first) "used great plainness of speech," as not studying "to please men, but the Lord." The event I leave to him in whose name I have spoken, and who hath the hearts of all men in his hand.

I have brought you heavy tidings this day, and yet I cannot but be persuaded, that some of you will not count me your enemy, because I tell you the truth. O that all of us may taste the good word which we declare! May receive that knowledge of salvation, which we are commanded to preach unto every creature, through the remission of sins! My heart's desire is, That all of us, to whom is committed the ministry of Reconciliation, may ourselves be reconciled to God, through the blood of the everlasting covenant: That he may be henceforth unto us a God, and we may be unto him a people; that we may all know as well as preach the Lord from the least unto the greatest: even by that token, "I am merciful to thy unrighteousness: thy sins I remember no more!"

III. 1. I have hitherto spoken more immediately to those, who profess themselves members of the Church of England. But inas-

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much as I am a debtor also to those who do not, my design is now to apply to them also; and briefly to show, wherein (I fear) they are severally inconsistent with their own principles.

I begin with those who are at the smallest distance from us, whether they are termed Presbyterians or Independents. Of whom in general I cannot but have a widely different opinion, from that I entertained some years ago: as having since that conversed with many among them, "in whom the root of the matter is" undeniably "found:" and who labour "to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and towards man." I cannot therefore doubt, but every serious man, of either one or the other denomination, does utterly condemn all that inward as well as outward unholiness, which has been above described.

But do you, as a people, avoid what you condemn? Are no whoremongers or adulterers found among you? No children disobedient to their parents? No servants that are slothful or careless? That "answer again?" That do not "honour their masters as is meet in the Lord?" Are there none among you that censure or "speak evil of the ruler of their people?" Are there no drunkards, no gluttons, no luxurious men, no regular epicures, none whose belly is their god, who, as their fortune permits, "fare sumptuously every day?" Have you no dishonest dealers, no unfair traders, no usurers, or extortioners? Have you no liars, either for gain, or for good manners, so called? Are you clear of ceremony or compliment? Alas, you are sensible, in most, if not in all these respects, you have now small pre-eminence over us. How much more sensible must you be of this, if you do not rest on the surface, but inquire into the bottom of religion, the religion of the heart? For, what inward unholiness, what evil tempers are among us, which have not a place among you also? You likewise bewail that ignorance of God, that want of faith and of the love of God and man, that inward idolatry of various kinds, that pride, ambition, and vanity, which rule in the hearts even of those who still have "the form of godliness." You lament before God, the deep covetousness that *eats so many souls as doth a gangrene;* and perhaps are sometimes ready to cry out, "Help, Lord, for there is scarce one godly man left." Lay to thine hand: "for the faithful are minished from the children of men!"

2. And yet you retain "the truth that is after godliness," at least, as to the substance of it. You own what is laid down in Scripture, both touching the *nature and condition of Justification and Salvation.* And with regard to the *Author of Faith and Salvation,* you have always avowed, even in the face of your enemies, That "it is God which worketh in us, both to will and to do, of his good pleasure:" that it is his Spirit alone which "teacheth us all things," all we know of "the deep things of God:" that every true believer has an "Unction from the Holy One" to lead him into all *necessary* Truth: that "because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father; and this Spirit "beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God."

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How is it then, my brethren (so I can call you now, although I could not have done it heretofore:) how is it, that the generality of you also are fallen from your steadfastness? In the times of persecution ye stood as a rock, though all the waves and storms went over you. But who can bear ease and fulness of bread? How are you changed, since these came upon you! Do not many of you now (practically I mean) put something else, in the room of Faith that worketh by love? Do not some of you suppose that gravity and composedness of behaviour, are the main parts of Christianity? Especially, provided the persons who possess them neither swear, nor take the name of God in vain. Do not others imagine, that to abstain from idle songs, and those fashionable diversions, commonly used by persons of their fortune, is almost the whole of Religion? To which, if they add family prayer, and a strict observation of the sabbath, then doubtless all is well! Nay, my brethren, this is well, so far as it goes: but how little a way does it go towards Christianity! All these things, you cannot but see, are merely external; whereas Christianity is an inward thing; without which the most beautiful outward form is lighter than vanity.

Do not others of you rest in conviction? Or good desires? Alas, what do these avail! A man may be convinced he is sick, yea deeply convinced, and yet never recover. He may desire food, yea with earnest desire, and nevertheless perish with hunger. And thus I may be convinced I am a sinner: but this will not justify me before God. And I may desire salvation, (perhaps by fits and starts for many years) and yet be lost for ever. Come close then to the point, and keep to your principles. Have you received the Holy Ghost; the Spirit which is of God, and is bestowed by him on all believers, "that we may know the things which are freely given to us of God?" The time is short. Do you experience now that Unction from the Holy One? Without which you confess outward Religion, whether negative or positive, is nothing. Nay, and inward Conviction of our wants is nothing, unless those wants are in fact supplied. Good Desires also are nothing, unless we actually attain what we are stirred up to desire. For still, "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, whatever he desires, he is none of his." O my brother, beware you stop not short! Beware you never account yourself a Christian, no not in the lowest degree, till God "hath sent forth the Spirit of Christ into your heart," and that Spirit "bear witness with your spirit, that you are a child of God."

3. One step farther from us, are you who are called, (though not by your own choice,) Anabaptists. The smallness of your number, compared to that either of the Presbyterians, or those of the Church, makes it easier for you to have an exact knowledge of the behaviour of all your members, and to put away from among you every one that "walketh not according to the doctrine you have received." But is this done? Do all your members adorn the Gospel? Are they all "holy as he who hath called us is holy?" I fear not. I have

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known some instances to the contrary: and doubtless you know many more. There are unholy, outwardly unholy men, in your congregations also: men that profane either the name or the day of the Lord; that do not honour their natural or civil parents; that know not how to possess their bodies in sanctification and honour: that are intemperate, either in meat or drink, gluttonous, sensual, luxurious; that variously offend against justice, mercy, or truth, in their intercourse with their neighbour, and do not walk by that royal law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." But how is this consistent with your leading principles, "that no man ought to be admitted to baptism, till he has that repentance whereby we forsake sin, and living faith in God, through Christ?" For if no man ought to be admitted into a church or congregation, who has not actual faith and repentance, then neither ought any one who has them not, to continue in any congregation. And consequently an open sinner cannot remain among you, unless you practically renounce your main principle.

4. I refer it to your own serious consideration, whether one reason, why unholy men are still suffered to remain among you, may not be this: That many of you have unawares put opinion in the room of faith and repentance? But how fatal a mistake is this? Supposing your opinion to be true, yet a true opinion concerning repentance is wholly different from the thing itself. And you may all your life have a true opinion concerning faith, and yet die an unbeliever. Supposing, therefore, the opinion of particular redemption true, yet how little does it avail towards salvation? Nay, were we to suppose, That none can be saved who do not hold it, it does not follow, that all will be saved who do. So that if the one proved a man to be in ever so bad a state, the other would not prove him to be in a good one. And, consequently, whosoever leans on this opinion, "leans on the staff of a broken reed."

Would to God that ye would mind this one thing, to make your calling and election sure! That every one of you, (leaving the rest of the world to him that made it,) would himself repent and believe the gospel! Not repent alone, (for then you know only the baptism of John,) but believe, and be "baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Are you still a stranger to that inward baptism, wherewith all true believers are baptized? May the Lord constrain you to cry out, "How am I straitened till it be accomplished?" Even till the love of God inflame your heart, and consume all your vile affections. Be not content with any thing less than this! It is this loving faith alone which opens our way into "the general church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven!" Which giveth us to "enter within the veil, where Jesus our Forerunner is gone before us!"

5. There is still a wider difference in some points, between us and the people usually termed Quakers. But not in these points. You, as well as we, condemn "all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men;" all those works of the Devil which were recited above, and all those tempers from which they spring. You agree, that we are

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all to be taught of God: and to be led by his Spirit; that the Spirit alone reveals all truth, and inspires all holiness: that by his inspiration men attain perfect love, the love which purifies them as he is pure; and that through this knowledge and love of God, they have power to do always such things as please him; to worship God, a Spirit, according to his own will, that is, in spirit and in truth. Hence you infer, that formal worship is not acceptable to God, but that alone that springs from God in the heart: you infer also, that they who are led by him, will use great plainness of speech, and great plainness of dress, seeking no "outward adorning, but only the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." I will look no farther now, than simply to inquire, whether you are consistent with these principles?

To begin with the latter: "He that is led by the Spirit will use great plainness of speech." You would have said, *Will use the plain language.* But that term leads you into a grand mistake. That term, *the plain language*, naturally leads you to think of one particular way of speaking; as if plainness of speech implied no more, than the use of that *particular form.* Alas! my brethren! Know ye not, that your ancestors designed this, only as a specimen of plain language? And is it possible that you should mistake the sample for the whole bale of cloth? Consult the light God has given you, and you must see that plainness of speech does not lie in a single point, but implies an open, undisguised sincerity, a child-like simplicity in all we speak. I do not desire you to refrain from saying *thou* or *thee*. I would not spend ten words about it. But I desire you whenever you speak at all, to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. I desire your words may be always the picture of your heart. This is truly plain language. Either do not pretend to plain speech at all, or be uniformly plain. Are you so? I pray consider. Do you never compliment? I do not suppose you say, *Sir, your very humble servant.* But do you say no civil things? Do you never flatter? Do you not commend any man or woman to their face? Perhaps farther than you do behind their back. Is this plainness of speech? Do you never dissemble? Do you speak to all persons, high or low, rich or poor, just what you think, neither more nor less, and in the shortest and clearest manner you can? If not, what a mere jest is your plain language? You carry your condemnation in your own breast.

6. You hold also, That "he which is led by the Spirit, will use great plainness of dress, seeking no outward adorning, but only the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." And that, in particular, "he will leave gold and costly apparel, to those who know not God." Now I appeal to every serious, reasonable man among you, Do your people act consistently with this principle? Do not many of your women wear gold upon their very feet? And many of your men use ornaments of gold? Are you a stranger to these things? Have you not seen with your eyes, (such trifles as will scarce bear the naming,) their canes and snuff-boxes glitter, even in your solemn

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assembly, while ye were waiting together upon God? Surely, they are not yet so lost to modesty, as to pretend, That they do not use them by way of ornament. If they do not, if it be only out of necessity, a plain oaken-stick will supply the place of the one, and a piece of horn or tin will unexceptionably answer all the reasonable ends of the other.

To speak freely, (and do not count me your enemy for this,) you cannot but observe upon cool reflection, That you retain just so much of your ancient practice, as leaves your present without excuse: as makes the inconsistency between the one and the other, glaring and undeniable. For instance: this woman is too strict a Quaker, to lay out a shilling in a necklace. Very well: but she is not too strict to lay out fourscore guineas in a repeating watch. Another would not for the world wear any lace, no not an edging round her cap. But she will wear point; and sees no harm in it at all, though it should be of twelve times the price. In one kind of apron or handkerchief she dares not lay out twenty shillings; but in another sort, lays out twenty pounds. And what multitudes of you are very jealous, as to the colour and form of your apparel, (the least important of all the circumstances that relate to it) while in the most important, the expense, they are without any concern at all? They will not put on a scarlet or crimson stuff, but the richest velvet, so it be black or grave. They will not touch a coloured riband; but will cover themselves with a stiff silk from head to foot. They cannot bear purple; but make no scruple at all of being clothed in fine linen: yea, to such a degree, that the linen of the Quakers is grown almost into a proverb. Surely you cannot be ignorant, that the sinfulness of fine apparel, lies chiefly in the expensiveness. In that it is robbing God and the poor; it is defrauding the fatherless and widow; it is wasting the food of the hungry, and withholding his raiment from the naked, to consume it on our own lusts.

7. Let it not be said, That this affects only a few among you, and those of the younger and lighter sort. Yes it does: your whole body: for why do you, who are elder and graver, suffer such things? Why do ye not vehemently reprove them? And if they repent not, in spite of all worldly considerations, expel them out of your Society? In conniving at their sin, you make it your own; you especially who are Preachers. Do you say, "They cannot bear it; they will not hear:" alas, into what state then are ye fallen! But whether they will bear it or not, what is that to thee? Thou art to speak, "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear." To say the very truth, I am afraid you rather strengthen their hands in their wickedness. For you not only* do not testify against it in the congregation,

* You say, "We do testify against it in the congregation:" Against what? "Against gay and gaudy apparel." I grant it. But this is not the thing I speak of. You quite mistake my mark. Do you testify against the costliness of their apparel, however plain and grave it may be? Against the price of the velvet, the linen, the silk, or raiment of whatever kind? If you do this frequently and explicitly, you are clear. If not, own and amend the fault.

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but even sit at their table and reprove them not. Why then, thou also art one of the "dumb dogs that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber." I fix this charge upon every Preacher, in particular upon those who saw a young woman, daughter to one of the Quakers in London, going to be married in apparel suitable to her diamond buckle, which cost a hundred guineas. Could you see this, and not call heaven and earth to witness against it? Then I witness against thee, in the Name of the Lord, thou art a "blind leader of the blind:" thou "strainest at a gnat and swallowest a camel." Verily the sin both of teachers and hearers, is herein exceeding great. And the little attempts towards plainness of apparel, which are still observable among you, (I mean, in the colour and form of your clothes, and the manner of putting them on,) only testify against you, that you were once what you know in your hearts you are not now.

8. I come now to your main principle, "We are all to be taught of God, to be inspired and led by his Spirit. And then we shall worship him, not with a dead form, but in spirit and in truth." These are deep and weighty words. But many hold fast the words, and are utterly ignorant of their meaning. Is not this an exceeding common case? Are not you conscious, abundance of your friends have done so? With whom the being taught of God, and led by his Spirit, are mere words of course, that mean just nothing. And their crude and undigested accounts, of the things they did not understand, have raised that deep prejudice against these great truths, which we find in the generality of men.

Do some of you ask, "But dost thou acknowledge the Inward Principle?" I do, my friends: and I would to God every one of you acknowledged it as much. I say, all religion is either empty show, or perfection by inspiration; in other words, the obedient love of God, by the supernatural knowledge of God; yea, all that which is not of faith, is sin: all which does not spring from this loving knowledge of God; which knowledge cannot begin, or subsist one moment, without immediate inspiration: not only all public worship, and all private prayer, but every thought in common life, and word, and work. What think you of this? Do you not stagger? Dare you carry the inward principle so far? Do you acknowledge it to be the very truth? But, alas! what is the acknowledging it; dost

It is easy to discern how your people fell into this snare of the Devil. You were at first a poor, despised, afflicted people. Then, what some of you had to spare, was little enough to relieve the needy members of your own Society. In a few years you increased in goods, and were able to relieve more than your own Poor. But you did not bestow all that you had to spare from them, on the Poor belonging to other Societies. It remained either to lay it up, or to expend it in superfluities. Some chose one way, and some the other.

Lay this deeply to heart, ye who are now a poor, despised, afflicted people. Hitherto ye are not able to relieve your own Poor. But if ever your substance increase, see that ye be not straitened in your own bowels, that ye fall not into the same snare of the Devil. Before any of you either lay up treasures on earth or indulge needless expense of any kind, I pray the Lord God to scatter you to the corners of the earth, and blot out your name from under heaven!

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thou experience this principle in thyself: what saith thy heart? Does God dwell therein? And doth it now echo to the voice of God? Hast thou the continual inspiration of his Spirit, filling thy heart with his love, as with a well of water, springing up into everlasting life?

9. Art thou acquainted with the leading of his Spirit, not by notion only, but by living experience? I fear very many of you talk of this, who do not so much as know what it means. How does the Spirit of God lead his children, to this or that particular action? Do you imagine, it is by blind impulse only? By moving you to do it, you know not why? Not so. He leads us by our eye, at least as much as by the hand; and by light as well as by heat. He shows us the way wherein we should go, as well as incites us to walk therein. For example. Here is a man ready to perish with hunger. How am I led by the Spirit to relieve him? First, by his convincing me, it is the will of God I should; and, secondly, by his filling my heart with love towards him. Both this light and this heat are the gift of God; are wrought in me by the same Spirit; who leads me, by this conviction as well as love, to go and feed that man. This is the plain, rational account of the ordinary leading of the Spirit. But how far from that which some have given! Art thou thus led by the Spirit to every good word and work? Till God hath thereby made thy faith perfect? Dost thou know what faith is? It is a loving, obedient sight of a present and reconciled God. Now where this is, there is no dead form; neither can be, so long as it continues. But all that is said or done is full of God, full of spirit, and life, and power.

10. But perhaps, as much as you talk of them, you do not know the difference between form and spirit; or between worshipping God in a formal way, and worshipping him in spirit and in truth. The Lord is that Spirit. The seeing, and feeling, and loving him, is spiritual life. And whatever is said or done in the sight and love of God, that is full of spirit and life. All beside this is form, mere dead form; whether it be in our public addresses to God, or in our private; or in our worldly business, or in our daily conversation. But if so, how poor, and mean, and narrow have your views and conceptions been! You were afraid of formality in public worship. And reason good. But were you afraid of it no where else? Did not you consider, that formality in common life, is also an abomination to the Lord? And that it can have no place in any thing we say or do, but so far as we forget God? O watch against it in every place, every moment, that you may every moment see and love God; and consequently, at all times and in all places, worship him "in spirit and in truth."

My brethren, permit me to add a few words, in tender love to your souls. Do not you lean too much on the spirit and power which you believe rested upon your forefathers? Suppose it did; will that avail you, if you do not drink into the same spirit? And how evident is this! That whatever ye once were, ye are now

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shorn of your strength. Ye are weak and become like other men. The Lord is well nigh departed from you. Where is now the spirit, the life, the power? Be not offended with my plain dealing, when I beseech you who are able to weigh things calmly, to open your eyes and see multitudes even in the church, pursuing, yea, and attaining the substance of spiritual life, and leaving unto you the shadow. Nay, a still greater evil is before you; for if ye find not some effectual means to prevent it, your rising generation will utterly cast off the shadow as well as the substance.

11. There is an abundantly greater difference still, according to your own account, between us who profess ourselves members of the Church of England, and you who are members of the Church of Rome. But notwithstanding this, do you not agree with us in condemning the vices above recited? Profaneness, drunkenness, whoredom, adultery, theft, disobedience to parents, and such like? And how unhappily do you agree with us in practising the very vices which you condemn? And yet you acknowledge, (nay, and frequently contend for this with a peculiar earnestness,) that every Christian is called to be "zealous of good works," as well as to "deny himself and take up his cross daily." How then do you depart from your own principles, when you are gluttons, drunkards, or epicures? When you live at your ease, in all the elegance and voluptuousness of a plentiful fortune! How will you reconcile the being adorned with gold, arrayed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, with the "denying yourselves and taking up your cross daily?" Surely while you indulge the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, and the pride of life, the excellent rules of self-denial that abound in your own writers, leave you of all men most inexcusable.

12. Neither can this self-indulgence be reconciled, with the being zealous of good works. For by this needless and continual expense, you disable yourselves from doing good. You bind your own hands. You make it impossible for you to do that good which otherwise you might. So that you injure the poor in the same proportion as you poison your own souls. You might have clothed the naked; but what was due to them, was thrown away on your costly apparel. You might have fed the hungry, entertained the stranger, relieved them that were sick or in prison. But the superfluities of your own tables swallowed up that whereby they should have been profited. And so this wasting of your Lord's goods, is an instance of complicated wickedness; since hereby your poor brethren perish for whom Christ died.

I will not recommend to you either the writings or examples of those whom you account heretics, (although some of these, if you could view them with impartial eyes, might provoke you to jealousy.) But, O! that God would write in your hearts the rules of self-denial and love, laid down by Thomas à Kempis! Or that you would follow, both in this and in good works, that burning and shining light of your own Church, the Marquis de Renty! Then

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would all who knew and loved the Lord rejoice to acknowledge you as the Church of the living God: when ye were zealous in every good word and work; and abstained from all appearance of evil: when it was hereby shown that you were filled with the Holy Ghost, delivered from all unholy tempers: when ye were all "unblamable and unrebukeable, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, showing forth" to all Jews, infidels, and heretics, by your active, patient, spotless love of God and man, "the praises of him who had called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

13. Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, suffer me to speak a few words to you also: you who do not allow, That Messiah the Prince is already come and cut off. However, you so far hear Moses and the Prophets, as to allow, 1. That "it is the inspiration of the Holy One, which giveth man understanding," and that all the true children of God are taught of God. 2. That the substance both of the law and the Prophets, is contained in that one word: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself." And, 3. That the sure fruit of love is obedience, "ceasing from evil, and doing good."

And do you walk by this rule? Have you yourself that inspiration of the Holy One? Are you taught of God? Hath he opened your understanding? Have you the inward knowledge of the Most High? I fear not. Perhaps you know little more, even of the meaning of the words than a Mahometan.

Let us go a little farther. Do you "love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength?" Can you say, "Whom have I in heaven but thee; and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee?" Do you desire God at all? Do you desire to have any thing to do with him, till you can keep the world no longer? Are you not content so you enjoy the good things of the earth, to let God stand afar off? Only calling upon him now and then, when you cannot do well without him. Why then you do not love God at all, though you will sometimes condescend to use him. You love the world. This possesses your heart. This therefore is your god. You renounce the God of your fathers, the God of Israel: you are still uncircumcised in heart. Your own conscience bears witness, you in this no more hear Moses and the Prophets, than you do Jesus of Nazareth.

14. From Moses and the Prophets it has been shown, that your forefathers were "a faithless and stubborn generation; a generation which set not their hearts aright, and whose spirit cleaved not steadfastly unto God." And this you acknowledge yourselves. If you are asked, how is it that the promise is not fulfilled? Seeing the sceptre is long since departed from Judah, why is not Shiloh come? Your usual answer is, "Because of the sins of our fathers, God hath delayed his coming." Have you then reformed from the sins of your fathers? Are you turned unto the Lord your God? Nay, do ye

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not tread in the same steps? Except that single point of outward idolatry, what abomination did they ever commit, which you have not committed also? Which the generality of you do not commit still, according to your power? If, therefore, the coming of the Messiah was hindered by the sins of your forefathers, then, by the same rule, your continuance therein will hinder his coming to the end of the world.

"Brethren, my heart's desire, and prayer to God is," that he would "gather the outcasts of Israel." And I doubt not, but when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, then all Israel shall be saved. But meantime is there not great cause that ye should say with Daniel, "O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of face, as at this day, to the men of Judah, and unto all Israel. O Lord, we have sinned, we have rebelled against thee, neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God. Yet, O our God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes and behold our desolations: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies. O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive! O Lord, hearken and do! Defer not, for thine own sake; for thy city and thy people that are called by thy name."

15. I cannot conclude without addressing myself to you also, who do not admit either the *Jewish* or *Christian* Revelation. But still you desire to be happy; you own the essential difference between vice and virtue; and acknowledge, (as did all the wiser *Greeks* and *Romans*) that vice cannot consist with happiness. You allow, likewise, that gratitude and benevolence, self-knowledge and modesty, mildness, temperance, patience, and generosity, are justly numbered among virtues; and that ingratitude and malice, envy and ill-nature, pride, insolence, and vanity, gluttony and luxury, covetousness and discontent, are vices of the highest kind.

Now let us calmly inquire, how far your life is consistent with your principles. You seek happiness. But you find it not. You come no nearer it with all your labours. You are not happier than you were a year ago. Nay, I doubt you are more unhappy. Why is this, but because you look for happiness there, where you own it cannot be found? Indeed, what is there on earth which can long satisfy a man of understanding? His soul is too large for the world he lives in. He wants more room.

Æstuat infelix angusto limite Mundi,
Ut brevibus clausus Gyaris, parvaque Scripho.

He has already travelled through all which is called pleasure; diversions and entertainments of every kind. But among these he can find no enjoyment of any depth; they are empty, shallow, superficial things: they pleased for awhile, but the gloss is gone; and now they are dull and tasteless. And what has he next, only the same things again? For this world affords nothing more. It can supply him with no change. Go, feed again: but it is upon one dish still. Thus,

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Occidit miseros crambe repetita.

Yet what remedy under the Sun!

16. The sounder judgment, the stronger understanding you have, the sooner you are sated with the world. And the more deeply convinced, all that cometh is vanity; foolish, insipid, nauseous. You see the foibles of men in so much clearer light, and have the keener sense of the emptiness of life. Here you are, a poor, unsatisfied inhabitant of an unquiet world; turning your weary eyes on this side, and on that side; seeking rest, but finding none. You seem to be out of your place: neither the persons nor things that surround you are such as you want. You have a confused idea of something better than all this; but you know not where to find it. You are always grasping for something which you cannot attain, no, not if you range to the uttermost parts of the earth.

But this is not all. You are not only negatively unhappy, as finding nothing whereon to stay the weight of your soul: but positively so, because you are unholy: you are miserable, because you are vicious. Are you not vicious? Are you then full of gratitude to him, who giveth you life, and breath, and all things? Not so; you rather spurn his gifts, and murmur at him that gave them. How often has your heart said, God did not use you well! How often have you questioned either his wisdom or goodness? Was this well done? What kind of gratitude is this? It is the best you are master of. Then take knowledge of yourself. Black ingratitude is rooted in your inmost frame. You can no more love God than you can see him; or than you can be happy without that love. Neither (how much soever you may pique yourself upon it) are you a lover of mankind. Can love and malice consist? Benevolence and envy? O do not put out your own eyes. And are not these horrid tempers in you? Do not you envy one man, and bear malice or ill-will to another? I know you call these dispositions by softer names; but names change not the nature of things. You are pained that one should enjoy what you cannot enjoy yourself. Call this what you please, it is rank envy. You are grieved, that a second enjoys even what you have yourself; you rejoice in seeing a third unhappy. Do not flatter yourself: this is malice, venomous malice, and nothing else. And how could you ever think of being happy, with malice and envy in your heart? Just as well might you expect to be at ease, while you held burning coals in your bosom.

17. I entreat you to reflect, whether there are not other inhabitants in your breast, which leave no room for happiness there. May you not discover, through a thousand disguises, pride? Too high an opinion of yourself? Vanity, thirst of praise, even (who would believe it?) of the applause of knaves and fools? Unevenness or soreness of temper? Proneness to anger or revenge? Peevishness, fretfulness, or pining discontent? Nay, perhaps even covetousness —And did you ever think happiness could dwell with these? Awake out of that senseless dream. Think not of reconciling things incompatible. All these tempers are essential misery. So long as

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any of these are harboured in your breast, you must be a stranger to inward peace. What avails it you, if there be no other hell? Whenever these fiends are let loose upon you, you will be constrained to own,

"Hell is where'er I am: myself am hell!"

And can the Supreme Being love those tempers, which you yourself abhor in all but yourself? If not, they imply guilt as well as misery. Doubtless they do. Only inquire of your own heart. How often, in the mid career of your vice, have you felt a secret reproof, which you knew not how to bear, and therefore stifled it as soon as possible?

18. And did not even this point at an hereafter! a future state of existence? The more reasonable among you have no doubt of this; you hardly suppose the soul once disengaged, will dwell again in a house of clay. But how will your soul subsist without it? How are you qualified for a separate state? Suppose this earthly covering, this vehicle of organized matter, whereby you hold commerce with the material world, were now to drop off! Now, what would you do in the regions of immortality? You cannot eat or drink there. You cannot indulge either the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life. You love only worldly things; and they are gone, fled as smoke, driven away for ever. Here is no possibility of sensual enjoyments; and you have a relish for nothing else. O what a separation is this, from all that you hold dear! What a breach is made, never to be healed!

But beside this, you are unholy: full of evil tempers: for you did not put off these with the body. You did not leave pride, revenge, malice, envy, discontent, behind you, when you left the world. And now you are no longer cheered by the light of the sun, nor diverted by the various objects: but those dogs of hell are let loose to prey upon your soul, with their whole, unrebated strength. Nor is there any hope, that your spirit will now ever be restored to its original purity: not even that poor hope of a purging fire, so elegantly described by the heathen Poet some ages before the notion was revived among the doctrines of the Romish Church.

—Aliæ tenduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni—
Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.

19. What a great gulf then is fixed between you and happiness, both in this world and that which is to come! Well may you shudder at the thought! More especially when you are about to enter on that untried state of existence. For what a prospect is this, when you stand on the verge of life, ready to launch out into eternity! What can you then think? You see nothing before you. All is dark and dreary. On the very best supposition, how well may you address your parting soul in the words of dying Adrian:

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"Poor, little, pretty, fluttering thing,
Must we no longer live together?
And dost thou prune thy trembling wing,
To take thy flight thou know'st not whither?

Thy pleasing vein, thy hum'rous folly
Is all neglected, all forgot;
And pensive, wavering melancholy,
Thou hop'st, thou fear'st, thou know'st not what."

"Thou know'st not what!" Here is the sting, suppose there were no other. To be thou knowest not what? Not for a month, or year, but through the countless ages of eternity! What a tormenting uncertainty must this be! What racking unwillingness must it occasion, to exchange even this known vale of tears, for the unknown valley of the shadow of death! "And is there no cure for this?" Indeed there is an effectual cure: even the knowledge and love of God. There is a knowledge of God which unvails eternity, and a love of God which endears it. That knowledge makes the great abyss visible; and uncertainty vanishes away. That love makes it amiable to the soul, so that fear has no more place! But the moment God says, by the welcome angel of death, "Come thou up hither," she

"Claps the glad wing and towers away,
And mingles with the blaze of day."

20. See ye not what advantage every way a Christian has over you? Probably the reason you saw it not before was, because you knew none but nominal Christians; men who profess to believe more, (in their way of believing) but had no more of the knowledge or love of God than yourselves. So that with regard to real, inward religion, you stood upon even ground. And perhaps in many branches of outward religion, the advantage was on your side. May the Lord, the God of the Christians, either reform these wretches, or take them away from the earth! That lay this grand stumbling-block in the way of those who desire to know the will of God!

O ye who desire to know his will, regard them not! If it be possible, blot them out of your remembrance. They neither can nor will do you any good. O suffer them not to do you harm. Be not prejudiced against Christianity by those who know nothing at all of it. Nay, they condemn it, all real, substantial Christianity; they speak evil of the thing they know not. They have a kind of cant word for the whole of the religion of the heart. They call it Enthusiasm.

I will briefly lay before you the ground of the matter, and appeal to you yourselves for the reasonableness of it.

21. What a miserable drudgery is the service of God, unless I love the God whom I serve! But I cannot love one whom I know not. How then can I love God till I know him? And how is it possible I should know God, unless he make himself known unto me? By analogy or proportion? Very good. But where is that proportion to be found? What proportion does a creature bear to his Creator? What is the proportion between finite and Infinite?

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I grant the existence of the creatures demonstratively shows the existence of their Creator. The whole creation speaks that there is a God. But that is not the point in question. I know there is a God. Thus far is clear. But who will show me what that God is? The more I reflect, the more convinced I am, that it is not possible for any or all the creatures, to take off the vail which is on my heart, that I might discern this unknown God; to draw the curtain back which now hangs between, that I may see him which is invisible. This vail of flesh now hides him from my sight. And who is able to make it transparent? So that I may perceive *through this glass*, God always before me, till I see him "face to face."

I want to know this great God who filleth heaven and earth: who is above, beneath, and on every side, in all places of his dominion, who just now besets me behind and before, and lays his hand upon me. And yet I am no more acquainted with him, than with one of the inhabitants of Jupiter or Saturn. O my friend, how will you get one step farther, unless God reveal himself to your soul?

22. And why should this seem a thing incredible to you? That God, a Spirit, and the Father of the spirits of all flesh, should discover himself to your spirit, which is itself the breath of God. *Divinæ Particula Auræ?* Any more than that material things should discover themselves to your material eye. Is it any more repugnant to reason, that spirit should influence spirit, than that matter should influence matter? Nay, is not the former the more easily intelligible of the two? For there is the utmost difficulty in conceiving, how matter should influence matter at all. How that which is totally passive should act. Neither can we rationally account either for gravitation, attraction, or any natural motion whatsoever, but by supposing in all the finger of God, who alone conquers that *Vis inertiæ* which is essential to every particle of matter, and worketh in all.

Now if God should ever open the eyes of your understanding, must not the love of God be the immediate consequence? Do you imagine you can see God without loving him? Is it possible in the nature of things? *Si virtus conspiceretur oculis*, said the old heathen, *mirabiles amores excitaret sui.* How much more if you see him who is the Original Fountain, the great Archetype of all virtue, will that sight raise in you a love that is wonderful, such as the gay and busy world know not of!

23. What benevolence also, what tender love to the whole of the human kind, will you drink in, together with the love of God, from the unexhausted source of love! And how easy is it to conceive, that more and more of his image will be then transfused into your soul! That from disinterested love, all other divine tempers will, as it were, naturally spring? Mildness, gentleness, patience, temperance, justice, sincerity, contempt of the world; yea, whatsoever things are venerable and lovely, whatsoever are justly of good report.

And when you thus love God and all mankind, and are trans-

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formed into his likeness, then the commandments of God will not be grievous; you will no more complain, that they destroy the comfort of life. So far from it, that they will be the very joy of your heart; ways of pleasantness, and paths of peace! You will experience here that solid happiness, which you had elsewhere sought in vain. Without servile fear or anxious care, so long as you continue on earth, you will gladly do the will of God here, as the angels do it in heaven. And when the time is come that you should depart hence, when God says, "Arise and come away," you will pass with joy unspeakable out of the body, into all the fulness of God.

Now does not your own heart condemn you, if you call this religion *Enthusiasm?* O leave that to those blind zealots, who tack together a set of opinions and an outside worship, and call this poor, dull, lifeless thing, by the sacred name of *Christianity*. Well might you account *such Christianity* as this, a mere piece of empty pageantry, fit indeed to keep the vulgar in awe, but beneath the regard of a man of understanding. But in how different a light does it now appear! If there be such a religion as I have sketched out, must not every reasonable man see, there is nothing on earth to be desired in comparison to it?—But if any man desire this, let him ask of God: he giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not.

24. May you not ask, quite consistently with your principles, in some manner resembling this: O thou Being of beings, thou Cause of all, thou seest my heart; thou understandest all my thoughts. But how small a part of thy ways do I understand! I know not what is above, beneath, on every side. I know not my own soul. Only this I know, I am not what I ought to be. I see and approve the virtue which I have not. I do not love thee, neither am I thankful. I commend the love of mankind; but I feel it not. Thou hast seen hatred, malice, envy, in my heart. Thou hast seen anger, murmuring, discontent. These uneasy passions harrow up my soul. I cannot rest while I am under this yoke. Nor am I able to shake it off. I am unhappy, and that thou knowest. Have compassion upon me, thou whose years do not fail! On me, who have but a short time to live. I rise up, and am cut down as a flower. I flee as it were a shadow. Yet a little while, and I return to dust, and have no more place under the sun. Yet I know thou hast made my soul to live for ever. But I know not where; and I am unwilling to try. I tremble, I am afraid to go thither, whence I shall not return. I stand quivering on the edge of the gulf; for clouds and darkness rest upon it. O God! must I go always "creeping with terrors, and plunge into eternity with a peradventure!"

O thou Lover of men, is there no help in thee? I have heard (what indeed my heart cannot conceive) that thou revealest thyself to those that seek thee, and pourest thy love into their hearts: and that they who know and love thee, walk through the shadow of death and fear no evil. O that this were so! That there were such an unspeakable gift, given to the children of men! For then might I hope for it. O God, if there be, give it unto me! Speak, that I may see

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thee! Make thyself known unto me also in the manner that thou knowest! In any wise let me know thee and love thee, that I may be formed after thy likeness! That I may be love as thou art love; that I may now be happy in thee; and when thou wilt, fall into the abyss of thy love, and enjoy thee through the ages of eternity!

A FARTHER APPEAL

TO MEN OF REASON AND RELIGION.

And when he came near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! Luke xix. 41, 42.

PART III.

I. 1. NOW, what can an impartial person think concerning the present state of religion in England? Is there a nation under the sun which is so deeply fallen from the very first principles of all religion? Where is the country in which is found so utter a disregard to even Heathen morality? Such a thorough contempt of justice and truth, and all that should be dear and honourable to rational creatures?

What species of vice can possibly be named, even of those that nature itself abhors, of which we have not had, for many years, a plentiful and still increasing harvest? What sin remains either in Rome or Constantinople, which we have not imported long ago, (if it was not of our own native growth,) and improved upon ever since? Such a complication of villanies of every kind, considered with all their aggravations; such a scorn of whatever bears the face of virtue; such *injustice*, *fraud*, and *falsehood*: above all, such *perjury*, and such a *method of law*, we may defy the whole world to produce. What multitudes are found throughout our land, who do not even *profess* any religion at all! And what numbers of those who *profess much*, confute their profession by their *practice*? Yea, and perhaps by their exorbitant pride, vanity, covetousness, rapaciousness, or oppression, cause the very *name of Religion* to stink in the nostrils, of many (otherwise) *reasonable* men?

2. "However, we have many thousands still, of truly *virtuous* and *religious* men." Wherein does their *Religion* consist? In *righteousness* and true *holiness*? In *love* stronger than death? Fervent *gratitude* to God? And tender *affection* to all his creatures? Is their religion the religion of the *heart*? A renewal of the soul in the image of

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God? Do they *resemble* him they *worship?* Are they free from pride, from vanity, from malice and envy; from ambition and avarice; from passion and lust; from every uneasy and unlovely *temper?* Alas, I fear neither they (the greater part at least) nor *you*, know what *this Religion* means; or have any more notion of it, than the peasant that holds the plough, of the religion of the Gymnosophist. It is well if the *genuine Religion* of Christ has any more alliance with what you *call Religion*, than with the Turkish pilgrimages to Mecca, or the Popish worship of our Lady of Loretto. Have not you substituted in the place of the *Religion of the Heart*, something (I do not say equally *sinful*, but) equally vain, and foreign to the *worshipping* of God in *spirit and in truth?*—What else can be said even of *Prayer* (*public* or *private*) in the manner wherein you generally perform it? As a thing of *course*, running round and round, in the same dull track, without either the *knowledge* or *love* of God? Without one heavenly *temper*, either attained or improved? O what mockery of God is this!

And yet even *this Religion*, which can do you no good, may do you much harm. Nay, it is plain it does: it daily increases your *pride*, as you measure your goodness by the *number* and *length* of your performances. It gives you a deep *contempt* of those who do not come up to the full *tale* of your virtues. It inspires men with a *zeal*, which is the very fire of hell, furious, bitter, implacable, unmerciful: often to a degree that extinguishes all compassion, all good nature and humanity. Insomuch that the execrable *fierceness* of spirit, which is the natural fruit of such a Religion, hath many times, in spite of all ties, divine and human, broke out into open violence, into rapine, murder, sedition, rebellion, civil war, to the desolation of whole cities and countries.

Tantum hæc *Religio potuit suadere malorum!*

3. Now if there be a God, and one that is not a mere idle spectator of the things that are done upon the earth, but a rewarder of men and nations according to their works, what can the event of these things be? It was reasonable to believe, that he would have risen long ago, and maintained his own cause, either by sending the famine or pestilence among us, or by pouring out his fury in blood. And many wise and holy men have frequently declared, that they daily expected this, that they daily looked for the patience of God to give place, and judgment to rejoice over mercy.

4. Just at this time, when we wanted little of "filling up the measure of our iniquities," two or three Clergymen of the Church of England began vehemently to *call sinners to repentance*. In two or three years they had sounded the alarm, to the utmost borders of the land. Many thousands gathered together to hear them; and in every place where they came, many began to show such a concern for religion, as they never had done before. A stronger *impression* was made on their minds, of the importance of things eternal, and they had more earnest *desires* of serving God, than they had ever

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had from their earliest childhood. Thus did God begin to draw them toward himself with the cords of love, with the bands of a man.

Many of these were in a short time deeply *convinced* of the *number* and *heinousness* of their *sins*. They were also made thoroughly sensible of those *tempers*, which are justly hateful to God and man, and of their utter *ignorance* of God, and entire *inability*, either to know, love, or serve him. At the same time, they saw in the strongest light, the *insignificancy* of their *outside religion:* nay, and often confessed it before God, as the most abominable *hypocrisy*. Thus did they sink deeper and deeper into that *repentance*, which must ever precede *faith* in the Son of God. And from hence sprung "fruits meet for repentance." The drunkard commenced sober and temperate; the whoremonger abstained from adultery and fornication; the unjust from oppression and wrong. He that had been accustomed to curse and to swear, for many years, now swore no more. The sluggard began to work with his hands, that he might eat his own bread. The miser learned to deal his bread to the hungry, and to cover the naked with a garment. Indeed the whole form of their life was changed. They had *left off doing evil, and learned to do well.*

5. But this was not all. Over and above this *outward change*, they began to experience *inward* religion: "The love of God was shed abroad in their hearts," which they continue to enjoy to this day. They love him "because he first loved us," and withheld not from us his Son, his only Son. And this love constrains them to love all mankind, all the children of the Father of heaven and earth, and inspires them with every holy and heavenly temper, the whole mind that was in Christ. Hence it is that they are now uniform in their behaviour, unblamable in all manner of conversation. And in whatsoever state they are, they have learned therewith to be content: insomuch that now they can "in every thing give thanks:" they more than patiently acquiesce, they rejoice and are exceeding glad, in all God's dispensations toward them. For as long as they love God, (and that love no man taketh from them,) they are always happy in God. Thus they calmly travel on through life, being never weary nor faint in their minds, never repining, murmuring, or dissatisfied, casting all their care upon God, till the hour comes that they should drop this covering of earth, and return unto the great Father of spirits. Then especially it is, that they "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." You who credit it not, come and see. See these living and dying Christians.

"Happy while on earth they breathe;
Mightier joys ordained to know,
Trampling on sin, hell, and death,
To the third heaven they go!"

Now if these things are so, what reasonable man can deny, (supposing the Scriptures to be true,) that God is now visiting this nation, in a far other manner than we had cause to expect? Instead of

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pouring out his fierce displeasure upon us, he hath made us yet another tender of mercy: so that even when "sin did most abound, grace hath much more abounded."

6. Yea, "the grace of God which bringeth salvation," present salvation from inward and outward sin, hath abounded of late years in such a degree, as neither we nor our fathers had known. How extensive is the change which has been wrought on the minds and lives of the people! Know ye not that the sound is gone forth into all the land? That there is scarcely a city or considerable town to be found, where some have not been roused out of the sleep of death, and constrained to cry out in the bitterness of their souls, "What must I do to be saved?" That this *religious concern* has spread to every age and sex; to most orders and degrees of men? To abundance of those in particular, who in time past, were accounted monsters of wickedness, "drinking in iniquity like water," and committing all "uncleanness with greediness."

7. In what age has such a work been wrought, considering the *swiftness* as well as the *extent* of it? When have such *numbers* of sinners, in so *short* a time, been recovered from the error of their ways? When hath religion, I will not say since the Reformation, but since the time of Constantine the Great, made so large a progress in any nation, within so small a space? I believe, hardly can either ancient or modern history, supply us with a parallel instance.

8. Let understanding men observe also the *depth* of the work, so *extensively* and *swiftly* wrought. It is not a slight or superficial thing: but multitudes of men have been so thoroughly *convinced of sin*, that their "bones were smitten asunder," as it were with a "sword dividing the very joints and marrow." Many of these have been shortly after so filled with "peace and joy in believing," that whether they were in the body, or out of the body, they could scarcely tell. And in the power of this faith they have trampled under foot, whatever the world accounts either terrible or desirable: having evidenced in the severest trials, so fervent a love to God, so invariable and tender a good-will to mankind, particularly to their enemies, and such a measure of all the fruits of holiness, as were not unworthy the Apostolic Age. Now so deep a repentance, so firm a faith, so fervent love and unblemished holiness, wrought in so many persons, within so short a time, the world has not seen for many ages.

9. No less remarkable is the *purity* of the religion which has extended itself so *deeply* and *swiftly*. I speak particularly, with regard to the doctrines held by those among whom it is so extended. Those of the Church of England, at least, must acknowledge this. For where is there a body of people in the realm, who, number for number, so closely adhere to what our Church delivers as pure doctrine? Where are those who have approved and do approve themselves more *orthodox*, more sound in their opinions? Is there a Socinian or Arian among them all? Nay, were you to recite the whole catalogue

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of heresies enumerated by Bishop Pearson, it might be asked, Who can lay any one of these to their charge?

Nor is their religion more *pure* from *heresy*, than it is from *superstition*. In former times, wherever an unusual concern for the things of God had appeared, on the one hand, *strange and enormous opinions* continually sprung up with it; on the other, a *zeal* for things which were no part of religion, as though they had been essential branches of it. And many have laid as great (if not greater) stress on trifles, as on the weightier matters of the law. But it has not been so in the present case. No stress has been laid on any thing, as though it were necessary to salvation, but what is undeniably contained in the word of God. And of the things contained therein, the stress laid on each, has been in proportion to the nearness of its relation, to what is there laid down as the sum of all, the love of God and our neighbour. So *pure* from *superstition*, so thoroughly *scriptural* is that religion, which has lately spread in this nation.

10. It is likewise *rational* as well as *scriptural*; it is as *pure* from *enthusiasm*, as from *superstition*. It is true, the contrary has been continually *affirmed*. But to *affirm* is one thing, to *prove* is another. Who will *prove*, that it is *enthusiasm* to *love* God? Even though we love him with all our heart? To *rejoice* in the sense of his love to us? To *praise* him even with all our strength? Who is able to *make good* this charge, against the *love* of *all mankind*? Or, laying rhetorical flourishes aside, to come close to the question, and *demonstrate*, That it is *enthusiasm*, in every state in which we are, therewith to be *content*? I do but just touch on the *general heads*. Ye men of reason, give me a man, who, setting raillery and ill names apart, will maintain this by dint of *argument*. If not, own *this religion* is the thing you seek; sober, manly, rational, divine: however exposed to the censure of those, who are accustomed to revile what they understand not.

11. It may be farther observed, the religion of those we now speak of, is entirely clear from *bigotry*. (Perhaps this might have been ranked with *superstition*, of which it seems to be only a particular species.) They are in nowise *bigotted to opinions*. They do indeed hold right opinions. But they are peculiarly cautious, not to rest the weight of Christianity there. They have no such overgrown fondness for any opinions, as to think those alone will make them Christians, or to confine their affection or esteem to those who agree with them therein. There is nothing they are more fearful of than this, lest it should steal upon them unawares. Nor are they *bigotted* to any particular branch, even of practical religion. They desire indeed to be exact in every jot and tittle, in the very smallest points of *Christian practice*. But they are not attached to one point more than another; they aim at uniform, universal obedience. They contend for nothing *trifling*, as if it were important; for nothing *indifferent*, as if it were necessary; for nothing *circumstantial*, as if it were essential to Christianity; but for every thing in its own order.

12. Above all, let it be observed, that this religion has no mix-

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ture of *vice* or *ungodliness*. It gives no man of any rank or profession, the least license to sin. It makes no allowance to any person, for ungodliness of any kind. Not that all who follow after have attained this, either are already perfect. But however that be, they *plead* for no sin, either inward or outward. They condemn every kind and degree thereof, in themselves as well as in other men. Indeed most in themselves; it being their constant care, to bring those words home to their own case, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."

13. Yet there is not found among them that *bitter zeal*, in points either of small or of great importance, that spirit of *persecution*, which has so often accompanied the spirit of reformation. It is an idle conceit, that the spirit of persecution is among the Papists only; it is wheresoever the Devil, that old murderer, works; and he still "worketh in all the children of disobedience." Of consequence, all the children of disobedience, will, on a thousand different pretences, and in a thousand different ways, so far as God permits, persecute the children of God. But what is still more to be lamented is, that the children of God themselves, have so often used the same weapons and persecuted others, when the power was in their own hands.

Can we wholly excuse those venerable men, our great Reformers themselves, from this charge? I fear not, if we impartially read over any History of the Reformation. What wonder is it then, that when the tables were turned, Bishop Bonner or Gardiner should make reprisals! That they should measure to others (indeed "good measure, shaken together") what had before been measured to them? Nor is it strange, when we consider the single case of Joan Boucher, that God should suffer those (otherwise) holy men, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Bishop Latimer, to drink of the same cup with her.

14. But can you find any tincture of this in the case before us? Do not all who have known the love of God, know "what spirit they are of?" And that "the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them?" Do they approve of the using any kind or degree of *violence*, on any account or pretence whatsoever, in matters of *religion?* Do they not hold the *right* every man has to judge *for himself*, to be sacred and inviolable? Do they allow any method of bringing even those who are the farthest out of the way, who are in the grossest errors, to the knowledge of the truth, except the methods of reason and persuasion? Of love, patience, gentleness, long-suffering? Is there any thing in their *practice* which is inconsistent with this their constant *profession?* Do they in fact hinder their own relations or dependants from worshipping God according to their own *conscience?* When they believe them to be in an error, do they use force of any kind, in order to bring them out of it? Let the instances, if there are such, be produced. But if no such are to be found, then let all reasonable men who believe the Bible, own, that a work of God is wrought in our land: and such a work, (if we

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survey in one view the *extent* of it, the *swiftness* with which it is spread, the *depth* of that Religion which was so swiftly diffused, and its *purity* from all corrupt mixtures,) as it must be acknowledged, cannot be easily paralleled, in all those concurrent circumstances, by any thing that is found in the English Annals, since Christianity was first planted in this island.

II. 1. And yet those, "who can discern the face of the sky, cannot discern the signs of the times." Yet those who are esteemed wise men, do not know that God is now reviving his work upon earth. Indeed concerning some of these the reason is plain; they *know* not, because they *think* not of it. Their thoughts are otherwise employed; their minds are taken up with things of quite a different nature. Or, perhaps they may think of it a *little* now and then, when they have nothing else to do; but not seriously, or deeply; not with any closeness or attention of thought. They are too much in haste to *weigh* the facts whereof we speak, and to draw the just inference therefrom: nor is the conviction which they may sometimes feel suffered to sink into their hearts; but things that have a larger share in their affections soon destroy the very traces of it.

2. True it is, that there are some who think more deeply, who are accustomed to consider things from the foundation, and to lay circumstances together, that they may judge of nothing before they have full evidence: and yet even some of these appear to be *in doubt*, concerning the present work. Now, supposing it to be a work of God, how can this be accounted for? That they who so diligently inquire concerning it, do not know the time of their visitation? Perhaps because of the deeply-rooted *prejudice* which they brought with them to the inquiry, and which, still hanging on their minds, makes it scarce possible for them to form an impartial judgment. Perhaps, even a slight *prepossession* might occasion their stumbling on some of those rocks of *offence*, which, by the wise permission of God, always did and always will attend any revival of his work. Nay, it may be, their very caution was carried to excess. They would not judge before they had such evidence as the nature of the thing would *not* admit, or, at least, God did not see fit to give.

3. All this is very easy to conceive. But it may at first appear surprising, to find men of renown, men supposed to be endowed with knowledge, and with abilities of every kind, flatly, openly, peremptorily *denying* that there has been any *unusual* work of God at all! Yea, a late eminent writer goes farther yet, accounts it an instance of downright *enthusiasm*, to *imagine*, that there is an *extraordinary* work now wrought upon the earth.* It avails not to say, "No, he does not deny this, but he denies it to be the work of God." This is palpably trifling: for the work under consideration, is of such a nature (namely, the conversion of men from all manner of sin, to holiness of heart and life) that if it be at any time wrought at all, it must be the work of God: seeing it is God alone, and not any child of man, who is able to *destroy the works of the Devil*.

* Observations, Part III.

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Yet neither is this difficult to be accounted for, if we consider things more closely: for the same *prejudice* which keeps some *in doubt*, may easily be conceived so to influence others, as to make them wholly *deny* the work of God. And this it may do in several ways: it may either bring them to question the facts related, and hinder their endeavouring to be more fully informed: or prevent their drawing the inferences from those facts, as they would otherwise see to be plain and undeniable. Yea, and it will give ten-fold weight to the offences which must come so as to over-balance all evidence whatsoever.

4. This also may account for the behaviour of those, who not content to suspend their judgment, or to *deny* the work of God, go farther still, even to the length of *contradicting* and *blaspheming*. Nay, some of these have expressed a deeper abhorrence, and shown a stronger enmity against this, than they were ever known to do against Popery, Infidelity, or any Heresy whatsoever. Some have *persecuted* the *instruments* whom it pleased God to use herein, only *not to the death;* and others have treated in the same manner, all those whom they termed their *followers*. A few instances of this it may be proper to mention, out of very many which might be recited.

5. On the 20th of June, 1743, a great multitude of people gathered together, chiefly from Walsal, Darlaston, and Bilston, in Wednesbury Church-yard, Staffordshire. They went from thence (after by sounding a horn they had gathered their whole company together) to Mr. Eaton's house, in the middle of the town, who was at that time *Constable*. He went to the door with his Constable's staff, and began reading the Act of Parliament against Riots; but the stones flew so thick about his head, that he was forced to leave off reading and retire. They broke all his windows, the door of his house, and a large clock in pieces. They went then to above fourscore other houses, in many of which there were not three panes of glass left.

5. About Whitsuntide, 1743, a mob arose at Darlaston, (near Wednesbury) and broke all the windows (beside spoiling many of their goods) of Joshua Constable, John Cotterel, Thomas Butler, Thomas Wilkinson, Aaron Longmore, William Powell, Ann Evans, Walter Carter, Samuel Carter, and Thomas Wilks.

Edward Martin, Ann Low, Joan Fletcher, Edward Horton, Mumford Wilks, Joshua Yardly, and Robert Deacon, had all their windows broken twice.

James Foster, Widow Hires, and Jonathan Jones, had their windows broken, and money extorted to save their houses. James Foster and Joice Wood had their windows broken, and their goods broken and spoiled. Joseph Spittle had his windows broken, his house broken open, some goods spoiled and some taken away. William Wood, had his windows broken twice, and himself was compelled to go along with the rabble.

Elizabeth Lingham, a widow with five children, had her goods spoiled, her spinning wheel (the support of her family) broken; and her *Parish Allowance* reduced from 2s. and 6d. to 1s. and 6d. a week.

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Valentine Ambersley had his windows broken twice, and his wife, big with child, beaten with clubs.

George Wynn had his windows and goods broken, and to save his house, was forced to give them drink.

Thomas Day had his windows and goods broken, and was forced to remove from the town.

Joseph Stubbs had his windows broken twice, and his wife so frightened, that she miscarried.

7. On June 20, 1743, John Baker, at the head of a large mob, came to the house of Jonas Turner, at West-Bromwich near Wednesbury, and asked him, "whether he would *keep from these men* that went preachnig about, and go to the Church?" He answered, "*I do go to the Church.* But I never see any of you there." Presently one Daniel Oniens with a great club, broke great part of the window at one blow. Others laid hold of him, and dragged him about sixty yards, before he could get loose from them. Afterwards they broke all his windows, and threw into his house abundance of stones, to break his goods.

About four in the afternoon they came to the house of Widow Turner of West-Bromwich. They threw in the bricks and stones so fast, that she was forced to open the door and run out among them. One of her daughters cried out, "My mother will be killed!" On which they fell to throwing stones at her. She ran into a neighbour's house, but before she could shut the door, they broke the bottom off with a brick end. They followed her other daughter with stones, and one with a great stake. She ran into another house, much frightened, expecting to be murdered. The Widow asked, "How can you come and abuse us thus?" On which, one came with a large club, and swore, "if she spoke another word, he would knock her on the head, and bury her in the ditch." Then he went and broke all the glass that was left. The same they did to many of the neighbouring houses.

8. On the 19th of June, James Yeoman, of Walsal, saw Mary Bird in her father's house at Wednesbury, and swore, "by G— you are there now: but we will kill you to-morrow." Accordingly he came with a mob the next day; and after they had broken all the windows, he took up a stone, and said, "now by G— I will kill you." He threw it and struck her on the side of the head. The blood gushed out, and she dropped down immediately.

The same day, they came to John Turner's house, and after they had broken all the windows, casements, and ceiling, one of them cried out, "I suppose now you will go to your dear Jesus's wounds and see them opened for you." Another of them took Mr. Hands, of Wednesbury, by the throat, swore he would be the death of him, gave him a great swing round, and threw him upon the ground. As soon as he rose, one Equal Baker gave him a blow on the eye, and knocked him down again. In about half an hour the mob came to his house, and broke all the windows, except about twenty panes. The kitchen windows they cleared, lead, bars, and all, broke the window-posts, and threw them into the house. The shop was shut

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up (he being an Apothecary:) but they quickly broke it open, broke all the pots and bottles in pieces, and destroyed all his medicines. They broke also the shelves and drawers in the shop to pieces, and many of his household goods.

In the latter end of June, John Griffiths, of Wednesbury, and Francis Ware, went to Mr. D. Justice of the Peace. They told him the condition they and their neighbours were in, their houses broken and their goods spoiled. He replied, "I suppose you follow these Parsons that come about. I will neither meddle nor make."

9. On January 13, 1743-4, the mob rose again at Darlaston, broke all the windows of all who *followed this way*, (except two or three who bought themselves off) broke open several houses, and took what they liked, the people belonging to them being fled for their lives. About the same time the Reverend Mr. E—— came to Darlaston; and meeting some others at Thomas Forshew's, they drew up a writing, and Nicholas Winspur, the Crier of the town, gave public notice, "that all the people of the Society must come to Mr. Forshew's and sign it; or else their houses would be pulled down immediately." It was to this effect, "that they would never read, or sing, or pray together, or hear these Parsons any more." Several signed this through fear. They made every one who did, lay down a penny—*To make the mob drink.*

About Candlemas, the wife of Joshua Constable, of Darlaston, was going to Wednesbury, when a mob met her in the road, threw her down several times, and abused her in a manner too horrible to write. A warrant was procured for some of these. But one of them only was carried before Mr. G——, who came back and told his companions, that the Justice said, "that they might go home about their business." On this the mob rose again, came to Joshua's house, and destroyed all the goods therein. They likewise broke and spoiled all his shop tools, threw the tiles off the roof of the house, and pulled down one room, the joist of which they carried away with them. All his gun-locks they took away; they tore in pieces all his wife's linen, cut the bed and bedstead, so that it was good for nothing, and tore her Bible and Common-prayer Book all to pieces. She and her husband retired to another house. But one telling the mob they were there, they swore, "They would tear it down immediately, if the man let them stay any longer." So they went out into the frost and snow, not knowing where to lay their heads.

10. On Tuesday, Jan. 31, 1743-4, Henry Old came to John Griffith's house, saying, "if he did not leave *following this way*, he had a hundred men at his command, who should come and pull his house down." Soon after he brought some with him; but the neighbours gave him money, and sent him away for that time.

Monday, Feb. 6, between seven and eight at night, came part of the same company. Hearing them afar off, John and his wife fastened the door, and left the house. Some of the neighbours going in soon after found them destroying all they could. Two chairs and several bundles of linen were laid upon the fire. After they had

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destroyed what they could, they loaded themselves with clothes and meat, and went their way. The same day public notice was given at Walsal, by a paper fixed up there, "That all who designed to assist in breaking the windows, and plundering the houses of the *Methodists* at Wednesbury, should be ready at ten o'clock, the next morning, on the Church-Hill."

11. The next morning, Feb. 7, (being Shrove-Tuesday) about half an hour after ten, great numbers of men were gathered on the Church-Hill. Thence they marched down, some armed with swords, some with clubs, and some with axes. They first fell upon Benjamin Watson's house, and broke many of the tiles, and all the windows. Next they came to Mr. Addinbrook's, broke a fine clock, with many of his goods, and stole all the things they could carry away. The next house was Jane Smith's, whose windows they broke, with what little goods she had. The next was Mr. Bird's, where they destroyed every thing they found, except what they carried away; cutting the beds in pieces, as they did all the beds which they could any where find. Thence they went to Mr. Edge's house: he was ill of a fever; so, for a sum of money, they passed it over. The next house was Mr. Hand's. They broke all his counters, boxes, and drawers, and all (except some bedsteads) that axe or hammer could break. They spilt all his drugs and chemical medicines, and stole every thing they could carry, even all his and his wife's wearing apparel, beside what they had on.

12. Mr. Eaton's house was next. They broke all his windows, and all his inside doors in pieces, cut the lead off his house, destroyed or stole whatever they could lay their hands on. Some Gentlemen offered to stop them, if he would sign a paper, implying, "That he would never hear these Parsons more." But he told them, "He had felt already what a wounded conscience was; and by the grace of God he would wound his conscience no more." After they had done at Mr. Eaton's, they plundered several other houses in Wednesbury and West-Bromwich. It is scarce possible to describe the outrages they committed. Only they left them they plundered alive. While they were plundering John Turner's house, he waded through the brook, to try if he could save some of his goods, which one David Garrington was carrying away. Upon which Garrington told him, "It would be the same here as it was in Ireland, for there would be a massacre very quickly. And he wished it was now."

13. About eleven o'clock, Sarah the wife of John Sheldon, being told the mob was coming to her house, went and met them at the gate. She asked John Baker, their Captain, "What they were come for?" He answered, "If she would have nothing more to do with those people, not a pennyworth of her goods should be hurt." She made no reply. Then they broke the door open, and began breaking and plundering the goods. One coming out with a fire-shovel, she begged him, "not to take that away." He swore, if she spoke another word, he would beat her brains out.

John Sheldon was this while helping Thomas Parkes to hide his goods, though he knew by the noise they were breaking his own to

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pieces. Between two and three he came to his house with William Sitch. William asked Sarah, how she did? Saying, "For his part, he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods." She answered, that "seeing so much wickedness, she could not rejoice; but she blessed God, she could bear it patiently, and found not the least anger in her." John Sheldon seeing the spoil they had made, smiled and said, "Here is strange work." His wife told him, "if she had complied with their terms, not one pennyworth would have been hurt." He replied, "That if she had complied to deny the truth, and he had found his goods whole on that account, he should never have been easy as long as he lived; but he blessed God that she had rather chosen to suffer wrong." The mob continued to rise for six days together. The damage they did in and about Wednesbury, at the very lowest computation, amounted to five hundred and four pounds, seventeen shillings.

Wednesday, October 19, 1743, I came to Birmingham, in my way to Newcastle. Thursday, October 20, several persons from Wednesbury earnestly desired me to call there. I yielded to their importunity, and went. I was sitting and writing at Francis Ward's, in the afternoon; when the cry arose, "That the Darlaston mob had beset the house." I called together those that were in the house, and prayed, that God would *scatter the people that delight in war*. And it was so: one went one way, and one another; so that in half an hour the house was clear on every side. But, before five, they returned with greater numbers. The cry of all was, "Bring out the Minister!" I desired one to bring the Captain of the mob into the house. After a few words interchanged, the lion was as a lamb. I then desired him to bring in one or two more of the most angry of his companions. He did so; and in two minutes, their minds were changed too. I then bade them who were in the room make way, that I might go out among the people. As soon as I was in the midst of them I said, "Here I am: what do you want with me?" Many cried out, "We want you to go with us to the Justice." I told them, "That I will with all my heart." So I walked before, and two or three hundred of them followed to Bently-Hall, two miles from Wednesbury. But a servant came out and told them, "Justice Lane was not to be spoken with." Here they were at a stand, till one advised to go to Justice Persehouse, at Walsal. About seven we came to his house; but he also sent word, "That he was in bed and could not be spoken with." All the company were now pretty well agreed, to make the best of their way home; but we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of Walsal came pouring in like a flood. The Darlaston mob stood against them for awhile; but in a short time, some being knocked down, and others much hurt, the rest ran away, and left me in their hands. To attempt to speak was vain, the noise being like that of taking a city by storm: so they dragged me along till they came to the town, at a few hundred yards distance; where, seeing the door of a large house open, I endeavoured to go in: but a man, catching me by the hair, (my

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hat having been caught away at the beginning) pulled me back into the middle of the mob; who were as so many ramping and roaring lions. They hurried me from thence, through the main streets, from one end of the town to the other. I continued speaking all the time to those within hearing, feeling no pain or weariness.

At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made towards it, and would have gone in, but a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me, saying "They would pull the house down, if I did." However, here I stood, and asked, "Are you willing to hear me speak?" Many cried out, "No, no; knock his brains out." Others said, "Nay; but we will hear him speak first." I began asking, "What hurt have I done you? Whom among you have I wronged in word or deed?" And continued speaking till my voice failed. Then the floods lifted up their voice again; many crying out, "Bring him away, bring him away!"

Feeling my strength renewed, I spoke again, and broke out aloud into prayer. And now, one of the men who had headed the mob before, turned and said, "Sir, follow me: not a man shall touch the hair of your head." Two or three more confirmed his words. At the same time the Mayor (for it was he that stood in the shop) cried out, "For shame, for shame; let him go." An honest butcher spoke to the same effect: and seconded his words by laying hold on four or five one after another, who were running on the most fiercely. The people then dividing to the right and left, those three or four men who had spoken before, took me between them, and carried me through the midst; bitterly protesting, "They would knock down any that touched him." But on the bridge the mob rallied again; we therefore went on one side, over a mill-dam, and thence through the meadows, till a little after ten, God brought me safe to Wednesbury, having lost only a part of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

I believe every reasonable man will allow, that nothing can possibly excuse these proceedings: seeing they are open, bare-faced violations both of justice and mercy, and of all laws divine and human.

III. 1. I suppose no *Protestant* will undertake to defend such proceedings, even towards the vilest miscreants. But abundance of *excuses* have been made, if not for *opposing* it thus, yet for *denying* this work to be of God, and for not acknowledging the time of our visitation.

1. Some allege, that the *doctrines* of these men are *false, erroneous*, and *enthusiastic:* that they are *new*, and unheard of till of late: that they are Quakerism, fanaticism, Popery.

This whole pretence has been already cut up by the roots; it having been shown at large, that every branch of this doctrine, is the plain doctrine of Scripture, interpreted by our own Church. Therefore it cannot be either *false* or *erroneous*, provided the Scripture be true. Neither can it be *enthusiastic*, unless the same epithet belongs to our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy. Nor yet can these doctrines be termed *new:* no newer at least than the reign of Queen

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Elizabeth; not even with regard to the way of expression, or the manner wherein they are proposed. And as to the substance, they are more ancient still; as ancient not only as the Gospel, as the times of Isaiah, or David, or Moses, but as the first Revelation of God to man. If therefore they were unheard of till of late, in any that is termed a Christian country, the greater guilt is on those, who, as ambassadors of Christ, ought to publish them day by day.

Fanaticism, if it mean any thing at all, means the same as *enthusiasm*, or religious madness, from which (as was observed before) these doctrines are distant as far as the East from the West. However, it is a convenient word to be thrown out, upon any thing we do not like; because scarce one reader in a thousand, has any idea of what it means. If any part of this doctrine be held by the *Quakers*, there is the more reason to rejoice. I would to God they held it all: though the doctrine itself, would be neither better nor worse for this. *Popery* in the mouth of many men means just nothing; or at most, "Something very horrid and bad." But *Popery*, properly speaking, is, *the distinguishing doctrines* of the Church of Rome. They are summed up in the *twelve Articles* which the Council of Trent added to the Nicene Creed. Now who can find the least connexion between any of these, and the doctrines whereof we are speaking?

2. Others allege, "Their doctrine is too strict. They make the way to heaven too narrow." And this is in truth the original objection, (as it was almost the only one for some time) and is secretly at the bottom of a thousand more, which appear in various forms. But do they make the way to heaven any narrower, than our Lord and his Apostles made it? Is their doctrine stricter than that of the Bible? Consider only a few plain texts. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength." "For every idle word which men shall speak, they shall give an account in the day of judgment." "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God." If their doctrine is stricter than this, they are to blame. But you know in your conscience, it is not. And who can be one jot less strict, without *corrupting the word of God?* Can any steward of the mysteries of God be found faithful, if he change any part of that sacred Depositum? No. He can abate nothing, he can soften nothing. He is constrained to declare to all men, "I may not bring down the Scripture to your taste. You must come up to it, or perish for ever."

3. This is the real ground of that other popular cry, concerning "the uncharitableness of these men." Uncharitable are they? In what respect? Do they not feed the hungry and clothe the naked? "No, that is not the thing. They are not wanting in this. But they are so uncharitable in judging! They think none can be saved, but those of their own way. They damn all the world beside themselves."

What do you mean? "They think none can be saved, but those

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of their own way." Most surely they do. For as there is but one heaven, so there is but one way to it; even the way of faith in Christ, (for we speak not of opinions, or outward modes of worship,) the way of love to God and man, the highway of holiness. And is it uncharitable, to think or say, that none can be saved, but those who walk in this way? Was he then uncharitable, who declared, "He that believeth not shall be damned?" Or he that said, "Follow holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord?" And again: "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, yet if I have not (αγαπην) *charity, love,* all this profiteth me nothing."

"But they damn all, you say, beside themselves." Damn all! What kind of word is this? They damn no man. None is able to damn any man, but the Lord and Judge of all. What you probably mean by that strange expression is, they declare that God condemns all, beside those who believe in Jesus Christ, and love him, and keep his commandments. And so must you also, or you sin against God, and your neighbour, and your own soul. But is there any uncharitableness in this? In warning sinners to flee from the wrath to come? On the contrary, not to warn a poor, blind, stupid wretch, that he is hanging over the mouth of hell, would be so inexcusable a want of charity, as would bring his blood upon our heads.

4. But there is no room for dispute, touching these doctrines in general, seeing our Lord gives you so plain a rule, by which you may easily and infallibly know, whether they be of God. "The tree is known by its fruit: either therefore make the tree good, and its fruit good: or else make the tree corrupt, and its fruit corrupt." (Matt. xii. 33.) Now what fruit does the tree before us bring forth? Look and see; believe your own eyes and ears. Sinners leave their sins. The servants of the Devil become the servants of God. Is this good or evil fruit? That vice loses ground, and virtue, practical religion, gains? O dispute no more. Know the tree by its fruit. Bow and own the finger of God.

5. But many who own these doctrines to be of God, yet cannot be reconciled to the instruments he hath made use of. A very common exception taken against these is (and was from the beginning) "that they are so young." Therefore (abundance of men have readily inferred) "this work cannot be of God."

Perhaps they are not so young as you conceive. Mr. Whitefield is now upwards of thirty: my brother is thirty-seven years of age. I have lived above forty-two years. And a gentleman in Cornwall, for whom I often preach, has the merit of having lived threescore and seventeen years.

But, supposing the antecedent true, what a consequence is this? What shadow of Scripture have you to support it? Doth not God send by whom he will send? And who shall say to him, What dost thou? "These are too young; send elder men." What shadow of reason? Is it not possible, that a person of thirty or forty may have as true a judgment in the things of God, and as great a blessing at-

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tending his preaching, as one of fifty or fourscore? I wish you would explain yourself a little on this head:

Scire velim, verbo, pretium quotus arroget annus?

How old do you require a man to be, before God shall have leave to speak by his mouth? O my brethren, who could have believed any serious man would once have named such an argument as this? Seeing both Scripture and reason teach, that God herein giveth account to none, of his ways. But he worketh by whomsoever he will work; he showeth mercy by whom he will show mercy.

6. "But there are only a few young heads." I cannot but observe here, what great pains have been taken, what diligence shown, to make and to keep them few. What arts have not been used, to keep back those, of the Clergy in particular, who have been clearly convinced from time to time, that they ought to join hearts and hands in the work? On this occasion, it has been accounted meritorious to say all manner of evil of us falsely: to promise them whatever their hearts desired, if they would refrain from these men: and, on the other hand, to threaten them with heavy things, if ever they went among them more. So that how fully soever they were convinced, they could not act according to their conviction, unless they could give up at once all thought of preferment either in Church or State; nay, all hope of even a fellowship, or poor scholarship in either University. Many also have been threatened, that if they went on in this way, what little they had should be taken from them. And many have, on this very account, been disowned by their dearest friends and nearest relations. So that there was no possibility the number of these labours should ever be increased at all, unless by those who could break through all these ties, who desired nothing in the present world, who counted neither their fortunes, nor friends, nor lives, dear unto themselves, so they might only keep a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men.

7. But what do you infer from their fewness? That because they are few, therefore God cannot work by them? Upon what Scripture do you ground this? I thought it was the same to him to save by many or by few. Upon what reason? Why cannot God save ten thousand souls by one man, as well as by ten thousand? How little, how inconsiderable a circumstance is number before God! Nay, is there not reason to believe, that whensoever God is pleased to work a great deliverance, spiritual or temporal, he may first say, as of old, the people are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hands? May he not purposely choose few as well as inconsiderable instruments, for the greater manifestation of his own glory? Very few, I grant, are the instruments now employed; yet a great work is wrought already. And the fewer they are by whom this large harvest hath hitherto been gathered in, the more evident must it appear to unprejudiced minds, that the work is not of man, but of God.

8. "But they are not only few, but unlearned also." This is an-

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other grievous offence; and is by many esteemed a sufficient excuse, for not acknowledging the work to be of God.

The ground of this offence is partly true. Some of those who now preach are unlearned. They neither understand the ancient languages, nor any of the branches of philosophy. And yet this objection might have been spared, by many of those who have frequently made it; because they are unlearned too (though accounted otherwise.) They have not themselves the very thing they require in others.

Men in general are under a great mistake with regard to what is called "the Learned World." They do not know, they cannot easily imagine, how little learning there is among them. I do not speak of abstruse learning; but of what all Divines, at least of any note, are supposed to have, viz. The knowledge of the Tongues, at least Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and of the common Arts and Sciences.

How few men of learning, so called, understand Hebrew! Even so far as to read a plain chapter in Genesis! Nay, how few understand Greek! Make an easy experiment. Desire that grave man who is urging this objection, only to tell you the English of the first paragraph that occurs in one of Plato's Dialogues! I am afraid we may go farther still. How few understand Latin! Give one of them an Epistle of Tully, and see how readily he will explain it without his Dictionary. If he can hobble through that, 'tis odds but a Georgick in Virgil, or a Satire of Persius sets him fast.

And with regard to the Arts and Sciences: how few understand so much as the general principles of Logic? Can one in ten of the Clergy (O grief of heart!) or of the Masters of Arts in either University, when an argument is brought, tell you even the Mood and Figure wherein it is proposed? Or complete an Enthymeme? Perhaps, you do not so much as understand the term: supply the premiss which is wanting, in order to make it a full Categorical Syllogism. Can one in ten of them demonstrate a Problem or Theorem in Euclid's Elements? Or define the common terms used in Metaphysics? Or intelligibly explain the first Principles of it? Why then will they pretend to that learning, which they are conscious to themselves they have not? Nay, and censure others who have it not, and do not pretend to it? Where are Sincerity and Candour fled?

It will easily be observed, that I do not depreciate Learning of any kind. The knowledge of the Languages is a valuable talent; so is the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences. Both the one and the other may be employed to the glory of God, and the good of men. But yet I ask, Where hath God declared in his word, that he cannot, or will not make use of men that have it not? Has Moses, or any of the Prophets affirmed this? Or our Lord? Or any of his Apostles? You are sensible all these are against you. You know the Apostles themselves, all except St. Paul, were ἀνθρωποι ἀγραμματοι και ἰδιωται common, unphilosophical, unlettered men.

9. "What! Then you make yourselves like the Apostles." Because this silly objection has so often been urged, I will, for once,

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spend a few words upon it, though it does not deserve that honour. Why, must not every man, whether Clergyman or Layman, be in some respects like the Apostles, or go to hell? Can any man be saved, if he be not holy like the Apostles? A follower of them as they were of Christ? And ought not every Preacher of the Gospel, to be in a peculiar manner like the Apostles, both in holy tempers, in exemplariness of life, and in his indefatigable labours for the good of souls? Wo unto every Ambassador of Christ, who is not like the Apostles in this! In holiness; in making full proof of his ministry; in spending and being spent for Christ! We cannot, and therefore we need not be like them, in working outward miracles. But we may and ought, in working together with God for the salvation of men. And the same God who was always ready to help their infirmities, is ready to help ours also. He who made them workmen that needed not to be ashamed, will teach us also rightly to divide the word of truth. In this respect, likewise, in respect of his having help from God, for the work whereunto he is called, every Preacher of the Gospel is like the Apostles. Otherwise he is of all men most miserable.

10. And I am bold to affirm, that these unlettered men have help from God, for that great work, the saving souls from death; seeing he hath enabled, and doth enable them still, to turn many to righteousness. Thus hath he destroyed the wisdom of the wise, and brought to naught the understanding of the prudent." When they imagined they had effectually shut the door, and locked up every passage, whereby any help could come to two or three Preachers, weak in body as well as soul; who they might reasonably believe would, humanly speaking, wear themselves out in a short time: when they had gained their point, by securing (as they supposed) all the men of learning in the nation: *He that sitteth in heaven laughed them to scorn*, and came upon them by a way they thought not of. *Out of the stones he raised up* those who should beget children to Abraham. We had no more foresight of this than you. Nay, we had the deepest prejudices against it: until we could not but own, that God gave wisdom from above to these unlearned and ignorant men: so that the work of the Lord prospered in their hands, and sinners were daily converted to God.

Indeed in the one thing which they profess to know, they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination, in substantial, practical, experimental Divinity, as few of our Candidates for Holy Orders, even in the University (I speak it with sorrow and shame, and in tender love) are able to do. But, oh! what manner of examination do most of those Candidates go through? And what proof are the Testimonials commonly brought (as solemn as the form is wherein they run) either of their piety or knowledge, to whom are intrusted those sheep which God hath purchased with his own blood!

11. "But they are Laymen. You seem to be sensible yourself of the strength of this objection. For as many as you have an-

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swered, I observe you have never once so much as touched on *this.*" I have not. Yet it was not distrust of my cause, but tenderness to you which occasioned my silence. I had something to advance on this head also: but I was afraid you could not bear it. I was conscious to myself, some years since, to touch this point, was to touch the apple of my eye. And this makes me almost unwilling to speak now; lest I should shock the prejudices I cannot remove. Suffer me, however, just to intimate to you some things, which I would leave to your farther consideration. The Scribes of old, who were the ordinary preachers among the Jews, were not Priests; they were not better than laymen. Yea, many of them were incapable of the Priesthood, being of the tribe of Simeon, not of Levi. Hence probably it was, that the Jews themselves never urge it as an objection to our Lord's preaching, (even those who did not acknowledge or believe, that he was sent of God in an extraordinary character,) that he was no priest after the order of Aaron. Nor indeed could be; seeing he was of the tribe of Judah. Nor does it appear, that any objected this to the Apostles. So far from it, that at Antioch in Pisidia, we find the Ruler of the Synagogue sending unto Paul and Barnabas, strangers just come into the city, "saying, Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on." Acts xiii. 15.

If we consider these things, we shall be less surprised at what occurs in the 8th chapter of the Acts; "At that time there was a great persecution against the church, and they were all scattered abroad:" [i. e. all the church, all the believers in Jesus throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria,] (ver. 1.) "Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word." (v. 4.) Now what shadow of reason have we to say, or think, that all these were *ordained* before they preached?

12. If we come to later times: Was Mr. Calvin ordained? Was he either Priest or Deacon? And were not most of those whom it pleased God to employ in promoting the Reformation abroad, laymen also? Could that great work have been promoted at all in many places, if laymen had not preached? And yet how seldom do the very Papists urge this, as an objection against the Reformation? Nay, as rigorous as they are in things of this kind, they themselves appoint, even in some of their strictest orders, that "if any lay brother believes himself called of God, to preach as a Missionary, the Superior of the Order, being informed thereof, shall immediately send him away."

In all Protestant churches, it is still more evident, that ordination is not held a necessary prerequisite of preaching: for in Sweden, in Germany, in Holland, and, I believe, in every reformed Church in Europe, it is not only permitted, but required, that before any one is ordained, (before he is admitted even into deacon's orders, wherever the distinction between priests and deacons is retained) he should publicly preach a year or more, *ad probandum facultatem.* And for this practice, they believe they have the authority of an

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express command of God: "Let these first be proved: then let them use the office of a deacon being found blameless." 1 Tim. iii. 10.

13. "In England, however, there is nothing of this kind; no layman is permitted to speak in public." No! Can you be ignorant, that in a hundred churches they do it continually? In how many (particularly in the west of England) does the parish-clerk read one of the lessons? (In some he reads the whole service of the church, perhaps every Lord's day.) And do not other laymen constantly do the same thing, yea, in our very cathedrals? Which being under the more immediate inspection of the bishops, should be patterns to all other churches.

Perhaps it will be said, "But this is not preaching." Yes, but it is, essentially such. For what is it to preach, but *prædicare Verbum Dei?* To publish the word of God? And this laymen do all over England; particularly under the eye of every bishop in the nation.

Nay, is it not done in the universities themselves? Who ordained that singing-man at Christ-Church? Who is likewise utterly unqualified for the work, murdering every lesson he reads? Not even endeavouring to read it as the word of God, but rather as an old song! Such a layman as this, meddling at all with the word of God, I grant is a scandal to the English nation.

To go a step farther.—Do not the fundamental constitutions of the University of Oxford, the statutes, even as revised by Archbishop Laud, require every Bachelor of Arts, nine in ten of whom are laymen, to read three public lectures in moral philosophy, on whatever subject he chooses? My subject, I well remember, was, the Love of God. Now, what was this but preaching?

Nay, may not a man be a Doctor of Divinity even in Oxford, though he never was ordained at all? The instance of Dr. Attwell, (late) rector of Exeter College, is fresh in every one's memory.—These are a few of the considerations that may readily occur to any thinking man on this head. But I do not rest the cause on these. I believe it may be defended a shorter way.

14. It pleased God by two or three ministers of the Church of England, to call many sinners to repentance; who, in several parts, were undeniably turned from a course of sin, to a course of holiness. The ministers of the places where this was done, ought to have received those ministers with open arms; and to have taken them who had just begun to serve God, into their peculiar care; watching over them in tender love, lest they should fall back into the snare of the Devil. Instead of this, the greater part spoke of those ministers, as if the Devil, not God, had sent them. Some repelled them from the Lord's table: others stirred up the people against them, representing them even in their public discourses, as *Fellows not fit to live: Papists, heretics, traitors; conspirators* against their *King* and *country*.

And how did they watch over the sinners lately reformed? Even as a leopard watcheth over his prey. They drove some of them also

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from the Lord's table; to which, till now, they had no desire to approach. They preached all manner of evil concerning them, openly cursing them in the name of the Lord. They turned many out of their work; persuaded others to do so too, and harassed them all manner of ways. The event was, that some were wearied out, and so turned back to their vomit again. And then these good pastors gloried over them, and endeavoured to shake others by their example.

15. When the ministers by whom God had helped them before, came again to those places, great part of their work was to begin again, if it could be begun again: but the relapsers were often so hardened in sin, that no impression could be made upon them. What could they do in a case of so extreme necessity? Where so many souls lay at stake? No clergyman would assist at all. The expedient that remained was, to find some one among themselves, who was upright of heart, and of sound judgment in the things of God: and to desire him to meet the rest as often as he could, in order to confirm them, as he was able, in the ways of God: either by reading to them, or by prayer, or by exhortation. God immediately gave a blessing hereto. In several places, by means of these plain men, not only those who had already begun to run well, were hindered from drawing back to perdition; but other sinners also, from time to time, were converted from the error of their ways.

This plain account of the whole proceeding, I take to be the best defence of it. I know no Scripture which forbids making use of such help, in a case of such necessity. And I praise God who has given even this help to those poor sheep, when "their own shepherds pitied them not."

16. "But does not the Scripture say, 'No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron?'" Nor do these. The *honour* here mentioned is the priesthood. But they no more take upon them to be priests than to be kings. They take not upon them to administer the sacraments, an honour peculiar to the priests of God. Only according to their power, they exhort their brethren, to continue in the grace of God.

"But for these laymen to exhort at all, is a violation of all order." What is this order of which you speak? Will it serve instead of the knowledge and love of God? Will this order rescue those from the snare of the Devil, who are now taken captive at his will? Will it keep them who are escaped a little way, from turning back into Egypt? If not, how should I answer it to God, if rather than violate I know not what order, I should sacrifice thousands of souls thereto? I dare not do it. It is at the peril of my own soul.

Indeed if by order were meant, *True Christian Discipline*, whereby all the living members of Christ are knit together in one, and all that are putrid and dead, immediately cut off from the body: this order I reverence; for it is of God. But where is it to be found? In what diocess? In what town or parish, within England or Wales? Are you rector of a parish? Then let us go no farther. Does this order obtain there? Nothing less. Your parishioners are a rope of

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sand. As few (if any) of them are alive to God; so they have no connexion with each other, unless such as might be among Turks or Heathens. Neither have you any power to cut off from that body, were it alive, the dead and putrid members. Perhaps you have no desire: but all are jumbled together without any care or concern of yours. It is plain then, that what order is to be found, is not among you, who so loudly contend for it, but among that very people whom you continually blame, for their violation and contempt of it. The flock you condemn is united together in one body, by one spirit: so that "if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; if one be honoured, all rejoice with it." Nor does any dead member long remain; but as soon as the hope of recovering it is past, it is cut off.

Now suppose we were willing to relinquish our charge, and to give up this flock into your hands; would you observe the same order, as we do now, with them and the other souls under your care? You dare not: because you have respect of persons. You fear the faces of men. You cannot; because you have not "overcome the world." You are not above the desire of earthly things. And it is impossible you should ever have any true order, or exercise any *Christian discipline*, till you are wholly "crucified to the world," till you desire nothing more but God.

17. Consider this matter, I entreat you, a little farther. Here are seven thousand persons (perhaps somewhat more) of whom I take care, watching over their souls as he that must give account. In order hereto it lies upon me (so I judge) at the peril of my own salvation, to know not only their names, but their outward and inward states, their difficulties and dangers. Otherwise how can I know either how to guide them aright, or to commend them to God in prayer? Now if I am willing to make these over to you, will you watch over them in the same manner? Will you take the same care (or as much more as you please) of each soul as I have hitherto done? Not such *Curam Animarum* as you have taken these ten years in your own parish. Poor empty name! has not your parish been in fact, as much a sinecure to you as your prebend? Oh what account have you to give to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls!

18. There is one more excuse for denying this work of God, taken from the Instruments employed therein; that is, "That they are wicked men." And a thousand stories have been handed about to prove it. But you may observe, their wickedness was not heard of, till after they went about doing good. Their reputation for honesty was till then unblemished. But it was impossible it should continue so, when they were publicly employed in "testifying of the world, that its deeds were evil." It could not be but the Scriptures should be fulfilled. "The servant is not above his Master. If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household?"

Yet I cannot but remind considerate men, in how remarkable a manner the wisdom of God has for many years guarded against this

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pretence, with respect to my brother and me in particular. Scarcely any two men in Great Britain, of our rank, have been so held out, as it were to all the world: especially of those who from their childhood had always loved and studiously sought retirement. And I had procured what I had sought; I was quite safe, as I supposed, in a little country town, when I was required to return to Oxford, without delay, to take the charge of some young gentlemen, by Dr. Morley, the only man then in England to whom I could deny nothing. From that time both my brother and I (utterly against our wills) came to be more and more observed and known, till we were more spoken of, than, perhaps, two so inconsiderable persons ever were before in the nation. To make us more public still, as honest madmen at least, by a strange concurrence of providences, overturning all our preceding resolutions, we were hurried away to America. However, at our return from thence, we were resolved to retire out of the world at once; being sated with noise, hurry, and fatigue, and seeking nothing but to be at rest. Indeed for a long season, the greatest pleasure I had desired, on this side eternity was

Tacitum Sylvas inter reptare salubres,
Quærentem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque.

And we had attained our desire. We wanted nothing. We looked for nothing more in this world, when we were dragged out again, by earnest importunity, to preach at one place and another, and another, and so carried on, we knew not how, without any design, but the general one, of saving souls, into a situation, which had it been named to us at first, would have appeared far worse than death.

19. What a surprising apparatus of Providence was here! And what stronger demonstrations could have been given, of men's acting from a zeal for God, whether it were according to knowledge or not? What persons could, in the nature of things, have been (antecedently) less liable to exception, with regard to their moral character, at least, than those the All-wise God had employed? Indeed I cannot devise what manner of men could have been more unexceptionable on all accounts. Had God endued us with greater natural or acquired abilities, that very thing might have been turned into an objection. Had we been remarkably defective, it would have been matter of objection on the other hand. Had we been dissenters of any kind, or even Low-Church men, (so called,) it would have been a great stumbling-block in the way of those who are zealous for the Church. And yet had we continued in the impetuosity of our High Church zeal, neither should we have been willing to converse with Dissenters, nor they to receive any good at our hands. Some objections were kept out of the way, by our known contempt of money and preferment: and others, by that rigorous strictness of life, which we exacted, not of others, but ourselves only. Insomuch, that twelve or fourteen years ago, the censure of one who had narrowly observed us, (me, in particular,) went no farther than this:

"Does JOHN beyond his strength persist to go,
To his frail carcase literally foe?

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Careless of health, as if in haste to die,
And lavish time to ensure eternity!"

So that upon the whole, I see not what God could have done more in this respect which he hath not done. Or what instruments he could have employed in such a work, who would have been less liable to exception.

20. Neither can I conceive how it was possible to do that work, the doing of which, we are still under the strongest conviction, is bound upon us at the peril of our own souls, in a less exceptionable manner. We have, by the grace of God, behaved not only with meekness, but with all tenderness towards all men; with all the tenderness which we conceived it was possible to use without betraying their souls. And from the very first, it has been our special care, to deal tenderly with our brethren of the Clergy. We have not willingly provoked them at any time; neither any *single* Clergyman. We have not sought occasion to publish their faults; we have not used a thousand occasions that offered. When we were constrained to speak something, we spake as little as we believed we could, without offending God: and that little, though in plain and strong words, yet as mildly and lovingly as we were able. And in the same course we have steadily persevered (as well as in earnestly advising others to tread in our steps) even though we saw that with regard to them, by all this we profited nothing; though we knew we were still continually represented as *implacable enemies to the Clergy*, as railers against them, as slanderers of them, as seeking all opportunities to blacken and asperse them. When a Clergyman himself has vehemently accused me of doing this, I bless God, he could not provoke me to do it. I still *kept my mouth as it were with a bridle*, and committed my cause to a higher Hand.

21. The truth is, you impute that hatred to us, which is in your own breasts. (I speak not this of all the Clergy; God forbid! But let it fall on whom it concerns.) You, it is certain, have shown the utmost hatred to us, and in every possible way: unless you were actually to beat us (of which also we are not without precedent) or to shoot us through the head. And if you could prevail upon others to do this, I suppose you would think you did God service. I do not speak without ground. I have heard with my own ears such sermons (in Staffordshire particularly) that I should not have wondered if as soon as we came out of the Church, the people had stoned me with stones. And it was a natural consequence of what that poor Minister had lately heard, at the Bishop's Visitation; as it was one great cause of the miserable riots and outrages which soon followed.

It is this, my brethren, it is your own preaching, and not ours, which sets the people against you. The very same persons, who are diverted with those sermons, cannot but despise you for them in their hearts: even those who on your authority believe most of the assertions which you advance. What then must they think of you, who know the greatest part of what you assert to be utterly false?

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They may pity and pray for you; but they can esteem you no other, than false witnesses against God and your brethren.

22. "But what need is there (say even some of a milder spirit) of this preaching in fields and streets? Are there not Churches enough to preach in?" No, my friend, there are not; not for *us* to preach in. You forget: we are not suffered to preach there; else we should prefer them to any places whatever. "Well, there are Ministers enough without you." Ministers enough, and churches enough: for what? To reclaim all the sinners within the four seas? If there were, they would all be reclaimed. But they are not reclaimed. Therefore it is evident, there are not Churches enough. And one plain reason why, notwithstanding all these Churches, they are no nearer being reclaimed is this: they never come into a Church; perhaps not once in a twelvemonth, perhaps not for many years together. Will you say (as I have known some tender-hearted Christians) "Then it is their own fault; let them die and be damned." I grant it is their own fault. And so it was my fault and yours, when we went astray, like sheep that were lost. Yet the Shepherd of Souls sought after us, and went after us into the wilderness. And "oughtest not thou to have compassion on thy fellow servants, as he had pity on thee?" Ought not we also to seek, as far as in us lies, and to save that which is lost?

Behold the amazing love of God to the outcasts of men! His tender condescension to their folly! They would regard nothing done in the usual way. All this was lost upon them. The ordinary preaching of the word of God, they would not even deign to hear. So the Devil made sure of these careless ones. For who should pluck them out of his hand? Then God was moved to jealousy, and went out of the usual way to save the souls which he had made. Then over and above what was ordinarily spoken in his name, in all the houses of God in the land, he commanded a voice to cry in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord. The time is fulfilled. The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Repent ye, and believe the gospel."

23. Consider coolly, if it was not highly expedient, that something of this kind should be? How expedient, were it only on the account of those poor sinners against their own souls, who (to all human appearance) were utterly inaccessible every other way! And what numbers of these are still to be found, even in or near our most populous cities! What multitudes of them were some years since, both in Kingswood, and the Fells about Newcastle! Who, week after week, spent the Lord's day, either in the alehouses, or in idle diversions, and never troubled themselves about going to Church, or to any public worship at all! Now would you really have desired that these poor wretches should have sinned on, till they dropped into hell? Surely you would not. But by what other means was it possible they should have been plucked out of the fire? Had the Minister of the parish preached like an angel, it had profited them nothing; for they heard him not. But when one came and

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said, "Yonder is a man preaching on the top of the mountain," they ran in droves to hear what he would say. And God spoke to their hearts. It is hard to conceive any thing else which could have reached them. Had it not been for field-preaching, the uncommonness of which was the very circumstance that recommended it, they must have run on in the error of their way, and perished in their blood.

24. But suppose field-preaching to be, in a case of this kind, ever so expedient, or even necessary, yet who will contest with us for this province?—May we not enjoy this quiet and unmolested? Unmolested, I mean by any competitors.—For who is there among you, brethren, that is willing (examine your own hearts) even to save souls from death at this price? Would not you let a thousand souls perish, rather than you would be the instrument of rescuing them thus? I do not speak now with regard to conscience, but to the inconveniences that must accompany it. Can you sustain them, if you would? Can you bear the summer sun to beat upon your naked head? Can you suffer the wintry rain or wind, from whatever quarter it blows? Are you able to stand in the open air, without any covering or defence, when God casteth abroad his snow like wool, or scattereth his hoar-frost like ashes? And yet these are some of the smallest inconveniences which accompany field-preaching. For beyond all these, are the contradiction of sinners, the scoffs both of the great vulgar and the small; contempt and reproach of every kind; often more than verbal affronts, stupid, brutal violence, sometimes at the hazard of health, or limbs, or life. Brethren, do you envy us this honour? What, I pray, would buy you to be a field-preacher? Or what, think you, could induce any man of common sense, to continue therein one year, unless he had a full conviction in himself, that it was the will of God concerning him? Upon this conviction it is (were we to submit to these things on any other motive whatsoever, it would furnish you with a better proof of our distraction than any that has yet been found,) that we now do, for the good of souls, what you cannot, will not, dare not do. And we desire not that you should; but this one thing we may reasonably desire of you; do not increase the difficulties which are already so great, that without the mighty power of God, we must sink under them. Do not assist in trampling down a little handful of men, who for the present stand in the gap, between ten thousand poor wretches and destruction, till you find some others to take their places.

25. Highly needful it is, that some should do this, lest those poor souls be lost without remedy. And it should rejoice the hearts of all who desire the kingdom of God should come, that so many of them have been snatched already from the mouth of the lion, by an uncommon (though not unlawful) way. This circumstance therefore is no just excuse, for not acknowledging the work of God. Especially, if we consider, that whenever it has pleased God to work any great work upon the earth, even from the earliest times, he hath

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stept more or less out of the common way: whether to excite the attention of a greater number of people, than might otherwise have regarded it; or to separate the proud and haughty of heart, from those of an humble, child-like spirit: the former of whom he foresaw, trusting in their own wisdom, would fall on that stone and be broken: while the latter, inquiring with simplicity, would soon know of the work, that it was of God.

26. "Nay (some say) but God is a God of wisdom. And it is his work, to give understanding. Whereas this man is one of them, and he is a fool. You see the fruits of their preaching." No, my friend, you do not. That is your mistake. A fool very possibly he may be. So it appears by his talking, perhaps writing too. But this is none of the fruits of our preaching. He was a fool before ever he heard us. We found and are likely to leave him so. Therefore his folly is not to be imputed to us, even if it continued to the day of his death. As we were not the cause, so we undertake not the cure of disorders of this kind. No fair man, therefore, can excuse himself thus, from acknowledging the work of God.

Perhaps you will say, "He is not a natural fool neither. But he is so ignorant. He knows not the first principles of religion." It is very possible. But have patience with him, and he will know them by and by. Yea, if he be in earnest to save his soul, far sooner than you can conceive. And in the mean time, neither is this an objection of any weight. Many, when they begin to hear us, may, without any fault of ours, be utter strangers to the whole of religion. But this is no incurable disease. Yet a little while and they may become wise unto salvation.

Is the ignorance you complain of among this people (you who object to the people more than their teachers) of another kind? Do not they "know, how in meekness to reprove or instruct those that oppose themselves?" I believe what you say: all of them do not: they have not put on gentleness and long-suffering. I wish they had: pray for them that they may; that they may be mild and patient toward all men. But what if they are not? Sure you do not make this an argument that God hath not sent us? Our Lord came, and we come, "not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance:" passionate sinners, (such as these whereof you complain) as well as those of every other kind. Nor can it be expected they should be wholly delivered from their sin, as soon as they begin to hear his word.

27. A greater stumbling-block than this is laid before you, by those that say and do not. Such I take it for granted will be among us, although we purge them out as fast as we can: persons that talk much of religion, that commend the preachers, perhaps are diligent in hearing them: it may be, read all their books, and sing their hymns; and yet no change is wrought in their hearts. Were they of old time as lions in their houses? They are the same still. Were they (in low life) slothful or intemperate? Were they tricking or dishonest? Over-reaching or oppressive? Or did they use to

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borrow and not pay? *The Ethiopian hath not changed his skin.* Were they (in high life) delicate, tender, self-indulgent? Were they nice in furniture or apparel? Were they fond of trifles, or of their own dear persons? *The leopard hath not changed her spots.* Yet their being with us for a time proves no more, than that we have not the miraculous discernment of spirits.

Others you may find in whom there was a real change. But it was only for a season. They are now turned back, and are twofold more the children of hell than before. Yet neither is this any manner of proof, that the former work was not of God. No, not though these apostates should, with the utmost confidence, say all manner of evil against us. I expect they should. For every other injury hath been forgiven, and will be to the end of the world. But hardly shall any one forgive the intolerable injury, of *almost persuading him to be a Christian.* When these men therefore who were with us, but went out from among us, assert things that may cause your ears to tingle, if you consider either the Scripture, or the nature of man, it will not stagger you at all. Much less will it excuse you, for not acknowledging the work in general to be of God.

28. But to all this it may possibly be replied, "When you bring your credentials with you, when you prove by miracles what you assert, then we will acknowledge that God hath sent you."

What is it you would have us prove by miracles? That the doctrines we preach are true? This is not the way to prove that: (as our first Reformers replied to those of the Church of Rome, who, you may probably remember, were continually urging them with this very demand.) We prove the doctrines we preach, by Scripture and reason; and if need be, by antiquity.

What else is it then we are to prove by miracles? Is it, 1. That *A. B.* was for many years without God in the world, a common swearer, a drunkard, a sabbath-breaker? Or, 2. That he is not so now? Or, 3. That he continued so till he heard us preach, and from that time was another man?

Not so. The proper way to prove these facts, is by the testimony of competent witnesses: and these witnesses are ready, whenever required, to give full evidence of them.

Or would you have us prove by miracles, 4. That this was not done by our own power or holiness? That God only is able to raise the dead, those who are dead in trespasses and sins? Nay, if you hear not Moses, and the Prophets, and Apostles on this head, neither would you believe though one rose from the dead. It is therefore utterly unreasonable and absurd, to require or expect the proof of miracles, in questions of such a kind, as are always decided by proofs of quite a contrary nature.

29. "But you relate them yourself." I relate just what I saw, from time to time: and this is true, that some of those circumstances seem to go beyond the ordinary course of nature. But I do not peremptorily determine, whether they were supernatural, or not. Much less do I rest upon them, either the proof of other facts, or

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of those doctrines which I preach. I prove these in the ordinary way; the one by testimony, the other by Scripture and reason.

"But if you can work miracles when you please, is not this the surest way of proving them? This would put the matter out of dispute at once, and supersede all other proof."

You seem to lie under an entire mistake, both as to the nature and use of miracles. It may reasonably be questioned, whether there ever was that man living upon earth, except the man Christ Jesus, that could work miracles when he pleased. God only, when he pleased, exerted that power, and by whomsoever it pleased him. But if a man could work miracles when he pleased, yet is there no Scripture authority, nor even example for doing it in order to satisfy such a demand as this. I do not read, that either our Lord or any of his Apostles, wrought any miracle on such an occasion. Nay, how sharply does our Lord rebuke those who made a demand of this kind? When "certain of the Scribes and Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee;" (observe, this was their method of answering the strong reasons whereby he had just proved the works in question to be of God!) "He answered and said to them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign. But there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas," Matt. xii. 38, 39. "An evil and adulterous generation!" Else they would not have needed such a kind of proof. Had they been willing to do his will, they would, without this, have known that the doctrine was of God.

Miracles, therefore, are quite needless in such a case. Nor are they so conclusive a proof as you imagine. If a man could and did work them in defence of any doctrine, yet this would not supersede other proof. For there may be τερατα ψευδη, lying wonders, miracles wrought in support of falsehood. Still therefore this doctrine would remain to be proved, from the proper topics of Scripture and reason. And these even without miracles are sufficient. But miracles without these are not. Accordingly our Saviour and all his Apostles, in the midst of their greatest miracles, never failed to prove every doctrine they taught, by clear Scripture and cogent reason.

30. I presume, by this time you may perceive the gross absurdity, of demanding miracles in the present case: seeing one of the propositions in question, (over and above our general doctrines) viz. "That sinners are reformed," can only be proved by testimony: and the other, "This cannot be done but by the power of God," needs no proof, being self-evident.

"Why, I did once myself rejoice to hear, (says a grave citizen, with an air of great importance) that so many sinners were reformed, till I found they were only turned from one wickedness to another; that they were turned from cursing, or swearing, or drunkenness, into the no less damnable sin of *Schism*." Do you know what you say? You have, I am afraid, a confused huddle of ideas in your head. And I doubt, you have not capacity to clear them up your-

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self; nor coolness enough to receive help from others. However, I will try. What is *Schism?* Have you any determinate idea of it? I ask the rather because I have found, by repeated experiments, that a common English tradesman receives no more light, when he hears or reads, "This is Schism," than if heard or read,

Bombalio, stridor, clangor, tarantara, murmur.

Honest neighbour do not be angry. Lay down your hammer, and let us talk a little on this head. You say, "we are in the damnable sin of Schism, and therefore in as bad a state as adulterers and murderers."

I ask once more, what do you mean by Schism? "Schism! Schism! Why, it is separating from the Church." Aye, so it is. And yet every separation from the Church to which we once belonged, is not Schism. Else you will make all the English to be Schismatics, in separating from the Church of Rome. "But we had just cause." So doubtless we had: whereas Schism is a causeless separation from the Church of Christ. So far so good. But you have many steps to take before you can make good that conclusion, that a separation from a particular National Church, such as the Church of England is, whether with sufficient cause or without, comes under the scriptural notion of Schism.

However, taking this for granted, will you aver in cool blood, That every one who dies a Quaker, a Baptist, an Independent, or a Presbyterian, is as infallibly damned as if he died in the act of murder or adultery? Surely you start at the thought! It makes even nature recoil. How then can you reconcile it to the Love that hopeth all things?

31. But whatever state they are in, who causelessly separate from the Church of England, it affects not those of whom we are speaking; for they do not separate from it at all. You may easily be convinced of this, if you will only weigh the particulars following.

1. A great part of these went to no Church at all, before they heard us preach. They no more pretended to belong to the Church of England, than to the Church of Muscovy. If therefore they went to no Church now, they would be no farther from the Church than they were before.

2. Those who did sometimes go to Church before, go three times as often now. These therefore do not separate from the Church. Nay, they are united to it more closely than before.

3. Those who never went to Church at all before, do go now at all opportunities. Will common sense allow any one to say, that these are separated from the church.

4. The main question is, Are they turned from doing the works of the Devil, to do the works of God? Do they now live soberly, righteously, and godly, in the present world? If they do, if they live according to the directions of the church, believe her doctrines, and join in her ordinances: with what face can you say, that these men separate from the Church of England?

32. But in what state are they whom the clergy and gentry (and

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perhaps you for one) have successfully laboured to preserve from this damnable sin of schism? Whom you have kept from hearing these men, and separating from the church? Is not the drunkard that was, a drunkard still? Inquire of his poor wife and family. Is not the common swearer still horribly crying to God for damnation upon his own soul? Is not the sinner in every other kind, exactly the same man still? Not better at least, if he be not worse than he was ten years ago.

Now consider, 1. Does the Church of England gain either honour, or strength, or blessing, by such wretches as these calling themselves her members? By ten thousand drunkards, or whoremongers, or common swearers? Nay, ought she not immediately to spew them out? To renounce all fellowship with them? Would she not be far better without them than with them? Let any man of reason judge.

2. Is this drunkard's calling himself of the Church of England, of any more use to him, than to the church? Will this save him from hell, if he die in his sin? Will it not rather increase his damnation?

3. Is not a drunkard of any other church, just as good as a drunkard of the Church of England? Yea, is not a drunken Papist as much in the favour of God, as a drunken Protestant?

4. Is not a cursing, swearing Turk, (if there be such an one to be found) full as acceptable to God, as a cursing, swearing Christian?

Nay, 5. If there be any advantage, does it not lie on the side of the former? Is he not the less inexcusable of the two? As sinning against less light? O why will you sink these poor souls deeper into perdition, than they are sunk already? Why will you prophesy unto them, Peace, Peace; when there is no Peace? Why, if you do it not yourself (whether you cannot, or will not; God knoweth) should you hinder us from guiding them into the way of Peace?

33. Will you endeavour to excuse yourself by saying, "There are not many who are the better for your preaching: and these by and by will be as bad as ever; as such and such an one is already?"

I would to God I could set this in a just light! But I cannot. All language fails.

God begins a glorious work in our land. You set yourself against it with all your might: to prevent its beginning where it does not yet appear, and to destroy it wherever it does. In part you prevail. You keep many from hearing the word that is able to save their souls. Others who had heard it you induce to turn back from God, and to list under the Devil's banner again. Then you make the success of your own wickedness an excuse for not acknowledging the work of God! You urge "that not many sinners were reformed! And that some of those are now as bad as ever!"

Whose fault is this? Is it ours? Or your own? Why have not thousands more been reformed? Yea, for every one who is now turned to God, why are there not ten thousand? Because you and your associates laboured so heartily in the cause of hell; because you and they spared no pains, either to prevent or to destroy the

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work of God! By using all the power and wisdom you had, you hindered thousands from hearing the Gospel, which they might have found to be the power of God unto salvation. Their blood is upon your heads. By inventing, or countenancing, or retailing lies, some refined, some gross and palpable, you hindered others from profiting by what they did hear. You are answerable to God for these souls also. Many who began to taste the good word, and run the way of God's commandments, you, by various methods, prevailed on to hear it no more. So they soon drew back to perdition. But know, that for every one of these also, God will require an account of you in the day of judgment.

34. And yet, in spite of all the malice, and wisdom, and strength, not only of men, but of "Principalities and powers, of the rulers of the darkness of this world, of the wicked spirits in high places;" there are thousands found, who are turned from "dumb idols, to serve the living and true God." What a harvest then might we have seen before now, if all who say, they are *on the Lord's side*, had come, as in all reason they ought, *to the help of the Lord against the mighty?* Yea, had they only not opposed the work of God, had they only refrained from his messengers; might not the trumpet of God have been heard long since in every corner of our land? And thousands of sinners in every county been brought to *fear God and honour the King*.

Judge of what immense service we might have been, even in this single point, both to our King and Country. All who hear and regard the word we preach, "honour the King" for God's sake. They "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars," as well as "unto God the things that are God's."—They have no conception of piety without loyalty; knowing "the powers that be, are ordained of God." I pray God to strengthen all that are of this mind, how many soever they be! But might there not have been at this day, a hundred thousand in England, thus minded more than are now? Yea, verily; even by our Ministry, had not they who should have strengthened us, weakened our hands.

35. Surely you are not wise! What advantages do you throw away? What opportunities do you lose? Such as another day you may earnestly seek, and nevertheless may not find them. For if it please God to remove us, whom will you find to supply our place? We are in all things your servants for Jesus' sake; though the more we love you, the less we are loved. Let us be employed not in the highest, but in the meanest; and not in the easiest, but in the hottest service. Ease and plenty we leave to those that want them. Let us go on in toil, in weariness, in painfulness, in cold or hunger, so we may but testify the Gospel of the grace of God. The rich, the honourable, the great, we are thoroughly willing (if it be the will of our Lord) to leave to you. Only let us alone with the poor, the vulgar, the base, the outcasts of men.—Take also to yourselves the saints of the world: but suffer us to call sinners to repentance; even the most vile, the most ignorant, the most abandoned, the most fierce and

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savage of whom we can hear. To these we will go forth *in the* name of our Lord, desiring nothing, receiving nothing of any man (save the bread we eat, while we are under his roof) and let it be seen, whether God hath sent us. Only, let not your hands, who fear the Lord, be upon us. Why should we be stricken of you any more?

IV. 1. Surely ye are without excuse, all who do not yet know the day of your visitation? The day, wherein the great God, who hath been forgotten among us, days without number, is arising at once to be avenged of his adversaries, and to visit and redeem his people. And are not his judgments and mercies both abroad? And still, will ye not learn righteousness? Is not the Lord passing by? Doth not a great and strong wind already begin to rend the mountains, and to break in pieces the rocks before the Lord? Is not the earthquake also felt already? And a fire hath begun to burn in his anger. Who knoweth what will be the end thereof? But at the same time, he is speaking to man in a still, small voice. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear, lest he be suddenly destroyed, and that without remedy!

2. What excuse can possibly be made for those, who are regardless of such a season as this? Who are at such a crisis, stupid, senseless, unapprehensive; caring for none of these things? Who do not give themselves the pains to think about them, but are still easy and unconcerned? What! can there ever be a point, on which it more behooves you to think? And that with the coolest and deepest attention? As long as the heaven and the earth remain, can there be any thing of so vast importance, as God's Last Call to a guilty land, just perishing in its iniquity?

You, with those round about you, deserved long ago to have "drank the dregs of the cup of trembling:" yea, to have been "punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." But he hath not dealt with you according to your sins, neither rewarded you after your iniquities. And once more he is mixing mercy with judgment. Once more he is crying aloud, "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O House of Israel;" and will you not deign to give him the hearing; if you are not careful to answer him in this matter? Do you still shut your eyes, and stop your ears, and harden your stubborn heart?—Oh, beware, lest God laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh!

3. Will you plead that you have other concerns to mind? That other business engages your thoughts? It does so indeed; but this is your foolishness; this is the very thing that leaves you without excuse.—For what business can be of equal moment? The mariner may have many concerns to mind, and many businesses to engage his thoughts: but not when the ship is sinking. In such a circumstance (it is your own!) you have but one thing to think of. Save the ship and your own life together! And the higher post you are in, the more deeply intent should you be on this one point. Is this a time

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for diversions? For eating and drinking, and rising up to play? Keep the ship above water. Let all else go, and mind *This one thing!*

4. Perhaps you will say, "So I do. I do mind this one thing, how to save the sinking nation. And therefore now I must think of arms and provisions. I have no time now to think of Religion." This is exactly as if the mariner should say, "Now I must think of my guns and stores. I have no time now to think of the hold." Why man, you must think of this, or perish. It is there the leak is sprung. Stop that, or you and all your stores will go together to the bottom of the sea.

Is not this your case? Then, whatever you do, stop the leak: else you go to the bottom! I do not speak against your stores. They are good in their kind; and it may be well they are laid in.—But all your stores will not save the sinking ship, unless you can stop the leak. Unless you can some way keep out these floods of ungodliness, that are still continually pouring in, you must soon be swallowed up in the great deep, in the abyss of God's judgments. This, this is the destruction of the English nation. It is vice bursting in on every side, that is just ready to sink us into slavery first, and then into the nethermost hell.—"Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you?" Let him think of this. Think of this, all that love your country, or care for your own souls. If now especially you do not think of this one thing, you have no excuse before God or man.

5. Little more excuse have you, who are still in doubt concerning this day of your visitation. For you have all the proof that you can reasonably expect or desire, all that the nature of the thing requires. That in many places, abundance of notorious sinners are totally reformed, is declared by a thousand eye and ear witnesses, both of their present and past behaviour. And you are sensible, the proof of such a point as this must, in the nature of things, rest upon testimony. And that God alone is able to work such a reformation, you know all the Scriptures testify. What would you have more? What pretence can you have, for doubting any longer? You have not the least room to expect or desire any other, or any stronger evidence.

I trust, you are not of those who fortify themselves against conviction: who are "resolved they will never believe this." They ask, "Who are these men?" We tell them plainly; but they credit us not. Another and another of their own friends is convinced, and tells them the same thing. But their answer is ready, "Are you turned Methodist too?" So their testimony likewise goes for nothing. Now how is it possible these should ever be convinced? For they will believe none but those who speak on one side.

6. Do you delay fixing your judgment, till you see a work of God, without any stumbling-block attending it? That never was yet, nor ever will. *It must needs be, that offences should come.* And scarce ever was there such a work of God before, with so few as have attended this.

When the Reformation began, what mountainous offences lay in

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the way, of even the sincere members of the Church of Rome! They saw such failings in those great men, Luther and Calvin! Their vehement tenaciousness of their own opinion: their bitterness towards all who differed from them; their impatience of contradiction, and utter want of forbearance, even with their own brethren.

But the grand stumbling-block of all was, their open, avowed separation from the Church; their rejecting so many of the doctrines and practices, which the others accounted the most sacred; and their continual invectives against the Church they separated from, so much sharper than Michael's reproof of Satan.

Were there fewer stumbling-blocks attending the Reformation in England? Surely not; for what was Henry the Eighth? Consider either his character, his motives to the work, or his manner of pursuing it! And even King Edward's ministry we cannot clear of persecuting in their turns, yea, and burning heretics. The main stumbling-block also still remained, viz. open separation from the Church.

7. Full as many were the offences that lay in the way of even the sincere members of the Church of England, when the people called Quakers first professed that they were sent of God to reform the land. Whether they were or not, is beside our question: it suffices for the present purpose to observe, that over and above their open, avowed, total separation from the Church, and their vehement invectives against many of her doctrines, and the whole frame of her discipline; they spent their main strength in disputing about Opinions and Externals, rather than in preaching faith, mercy, and the love of God.

In these respects, the case was nearly the same when the Baptists first appeared in England. They immediately commenced a warm dispute, not concerning the vitals of Christianity, but concerning the manner and time of administering one of the external ordinances of it. And as their opinion hereof totally differed from that of all the other members of the Church of England, so they soon openly declared their separation from it, not without sharp censures of those that continued therein.

8. The same occasion of offence was, in a smaller degree, given by the Presbyterians and Independents: for they also spent great part of their time and strength, in opposing the commonly received Opinions concerning some of the circumstantials of Religion; and for the sake of these, separated from the Church.

But I do not include that venerable man, Mr. Philip Henry, nor any that were of his spirit in this number. I know they abhorred contending about Externals. Neither did they separate themselves from the Church. They continued therein, till they were driven out, whether they would or not. I cannot but tenderly sympathize with these; and the more, because this is, in part, our own case. Warm men spare no pains, at this very day, to drive us out of the Church. They cry out to the people, wherever one of us comes, "A mad dog! a mad dog!" if haply we might flee for our lives, as many have done before us. And sure it is, we should have complied

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with their desire, we should merely for peace and quietness have left the Church long before now, but that we could not in conscience do it. And it is on this single motive, it is for conscience' sake that we still continue therein; and shall continue (God being our helper) unless they by violence thrust us out.

9. But to return. What are the stumbling-blocks in the present case, compared to those in any of the preceding?

We do not dispute concerning any of the externals or circumstantials of Religion. There is no room; for we agree with you therein. We approve of, and adhere to them all: all that we learned together when we were children, in our Catechism and Common-Prayer Book. We were born and bred up in your own Church, and desire to die therein. We always were, and are now, zealous for the Church; only not with a blind, angry zeal. We hold, and ever have done, the same opinions, which you and we received from our forefathers. But we do not lay the main stress of our Religion on any opinions, right or wrong: neither do we ever begin, or willingly join in any dispute concerning them. The weight of all Religion, we apprehend, rests on holiness of heart and life. And consequently, wherever we come, we press this with all our might. How wide then is the difference between our case and the case of any of those that are above mentioned? They avowedly separated from the Church: we utterly disavow any such design. They severely, and almost continually, inveighed against the doctrines and discipline of the Church they left. We approve both the doctrines and discipline of our Church, and inveigh only against ungodliness and unrighteousness. They spent great part of their time and strength in contending about externals and circumstantials. We agree with you in both; so that having no room to spend any time in such vain contention, we have our desire of spending and being spent, in promoting plain practical religion. How many stumbling-blocks are removed out of your way! Why do not you acknowledge the work of God?

10. If you say, "Because you hold opinions which I cannot believe are true:" I answer, believe them true or false; I will not quarrel with you about any opinion. Only see that your heart be right towards God, that you know and love the Lord Jesus Christ: that you love your neighbour, and walk as your Master walked, and I desire no more. I am sick of opinions: I am weary to bear them. My soul loathes this frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion. Give me an humble, gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy: a man laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. Let my soul be with these Christians, wheresoever they are, and whatsoever opinion they are of. "Whosoever" thus "doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

11. Inexcusably infatuated must you be, if you can even doubt whether the propagation of this religion be of God! Only more in-

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excusable are those unhappy men, who oppose, contradict, and blaspheme it.

How long will you stop your ears against him, that still crieth, "Why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks;" for a man to "contend with his Maker." How long will you despise the well-known advice of a great and learned man, "Refrain from these men, and let them alone. If this work be of man, it will come to naught. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." And why should you "be found even to fight against God?" If a man fight with God, shall he prevail? "Canst thou thunder with a voice like him?" Make haste! Fall down! Humble thyself before him! Lest he put forth his hand, and thou perish.

12. How long will you fight under the banner of the great enemy of God and man? You are now in his service: you are taking part with the Devil against God. Even supposing there were no other proof, this would undeniably appear, from the goodly company among whom you are enlisted, and who war one and the same warfare. I have heard some affirm, that the most bitter enemies to the present work of God, were Pharisees. They meant, men who had the form of godliness, but denied the power of it. But I cannot say so. The sharpest adversaries thereof whom I have hitherto known, (unless one might except a few honourable men, whom I may be excused from naming,) were the scum of Cornwall, the rabble of Bilston and Darlaston, the wild beasts of Walsal, and the turnkeys of Newgate.

13. Might not the very sight of these troops show any reasonable man to what General they belonged? As well as the weapons they never fail to use; the most horrid oaths and execrations, and lawless violence, carrying away as a flood whatsoever it is which stands before it: having no eyes, nor ears, no regard to the loudest cries of reason, justice, or humanity: can you join heart or hands with these any longer? With such an infamous, scandalous rabble-rout, roaring and raging as if they were just broke loose, with their Captain Apollyon, from the bottomless pit? Does it not rather concern you, and that in the highest degree, as well as every friend to his King and country, every lover of peace, justice, and mercy, immediately to join and stop any such godless crews, as they would join to stop a fire just beginning to spread, or an inundation of the sea?

14. If, on the contrary, you join with that godless crew, and strengthen their hands in their wickedness, must not you, in all reason, be accounted (like them) a public enemy of mankind? And indeed such must every one appear, in the eye of unprejudiced reason, who opposes directly or indirectly the reformation of mankind. By reformation I mean, the bringing them back (not to this or that system of opinions, or to this or that set of rites and ceremonies, how decent and significant soever; but (to the calm love of God and one another, to a uniform practice of justice, mercy, and truth. With what colour can you lay any claim to humanity, to benevo-

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lence, to public spirit, if you can once open your mouth, or stir one finger, against such a reformation as this?

It is a poor excuse to say, "O, but the people are brought into several erroneous opinions." It matters not a straw, whether they are or not: (I speak of such opinions as do not touch the foundation) it is scarcely worth while to spend ten words about it. Whether they embrace this religious opinion or that, is no more concern to me, than whether they embrace this or that system of astronomy. Are they brought to holy tempers and holy lives? This is mine, and should be your inquiry; since on this, both social and personal happiness depend: happiness, temporal and eternal. Are they brought to the love of God and the love of their neighbour? Pure religion and undefiled is this, how long then will you darken counsel, by words without knowledge? The plain religion now propagated is LOVE. And can you oppose this, without being an enemy to mankind?

15. No; nor without being an enemy to your King and country: especially at such a time as this. For however men of no thought may not see or regard it, or hectoring cowards may brave it out, it is evident to every man of calm reflection, that our nation stands on the very brink of destruction. And why are we thus, but because the cry of our wickedness is gone up to heaven, because we have so exceedingly, abundantly beyond measure, corrupted our ways before the Lord. And because, to all our other abominations we have added, the open fighting against God; the not only rejecting, but even denying, yea, blaspheming his last offers of mercy; the hindering others who were desirous to close therewith: the despitefully using his messengers, and the variously troubling and oppressing those who did accept of his grace, break off their sins, and turn to him with their whole heart.

16. I cannot but believe, it is chiefly on this account, that God hath now "a controversy with our land." And must not any considerate man be inclined to form the same judgment, if he reviews the state of public affairs for only a few years last past? I will not enter into particulars. But, in general, can you possibly help observing, that whenever there has been any thing like a public attempt to suppress *this new Sect*, (for so it was artfully represented,) another and another public trouble arose. This has been repeated so often, that it is surprising any man of sense can avoid taking notice of it. May we turn at length "to him that smiteth us, hear the rod, and him that appointeth it!" May we "humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God," before the great deep swallow us up!

17. Just now, viz. on the 4th of this instant December, the Reverend Mr. Henry Wickham, one of his Majesty's Justices of Peace for the West-Riding of Yorkshire, writes an order,

To the Constable of Keighley, commanding him, "to convey the body of Jonathan Reeves, (whose real crime is the calling sinners to repentance,) to his Majesty's Jail and Castle of York; suspect-

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ed (saith the precept) of being a spy among us, and a dangerous man to the person and government of his Majesty King George."

God avert the omen! I fear this is no presage either of the repentance or deliverance of our poor nation!

18. If we will not turn and repent, if we will harden our hearts, and acknowledge neither his judgments nor mercies; what remains but the fulfilling of that dreadful word, which God spake by the Prophet Ezekiel; "Son of man, when the land sinneth against me, by trespassing grievously; then will I stretch forth my hand upon it, and break the staff of the bread thereof.—Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls. Or if I bring a sword upon that land, and say, 'Sword go through the land:'—Or if I send a pestilence into that land, and pour out my fury upon it in blood:—Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as I live, saith the Lord God, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter; they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness," ch. xiv. ver. 13, 14. 17. 19, 20.

"Yet behold, therein shall be left a remnant, that shall be brought forth, both sons and daughters.—And ye shall be comforted concerning the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem.—And ye shall know that I have not done without cause, all that I have done in it, saith the Lord God," ver. 22, 23.

London, Dec. 18, 1745.

AN ANSWER

TO THE

Rev. Mr. Church's "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's last Journal:" in a Letter to that Gentleman.

"Let not him that putteth on his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off." 1 Kings xx. 11.

REVEREND SIR,

1. MY first desire (and prayer to God) is, That I may live peaceably with all men. My next, That if I must dispute at all, it may be with a man of understanding. Thus far, therefore, I rejoice on the present occasion. I rejoice also in that I have confidence of your sincerity, of your real desire, to promote the glory of God, by peace and good-will among men. I am likewise thankful to God, for your calm manner of writing; (a few paragraphs excepted:) and yet more for this, That *such* an opponent should, by writing in *such* a manner, give me an opportunity of explaining myself on those very heads, whereon I wanted an occasion so to do.

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2. I do not want indeed (though perhaps you think I do) to widen the breach between us, or to represent the difference of the doctrines we severally teach, as greater than it really is. So far from it, that I earnestly wish, there were none at all; or if there must be some, that it may be as small as possible: being fully persuaded, that could we once agree in doctrines, other differences would soon fall to the ground.

3. In order to contribute, as I am able, to this, it will be my endeavour, to acknowledge what I think you have spoken right, and to answer what I cannot think right as yet, with what brevity and clearness I can. I desire to do this, in as inoffensive a manner, as the nature of the thing will bear; and consistently with that brotherly love, which I cannot deny you, without wronging my own soul.

4. You sum up your charge thus: "You have now, Sir, my sentiments—It is impossible for you to put an entire stop, to the enormities of the Moravians, while you still, I. Too much commend these men; II. Hold principles in common with them, from which these enormities naturally follow; and, III. Maintain other errors more than theirs, and are guilty of enthusiasm to the highest degree."*

I. 1. You, first, charge me with *too much commending the* Moravians. That the case may be fully understood, I will transcribe the passages which you cite from the Journal concerning them, and then give a general answer.

'She told me, Mr. Molther had advised her, till she received faith, to be *still, ceasing from outward works.*—In the evening, Mr. Bray was also commending the being *still*:—He likewise spoke largely, of the *great danger* that attended the doing of *outward works*, and of the folly of people that keep *running about to church and sacrament.*'

'Sund. Nov. 4. Our society met, and continued *silent* till eight.'

'Sund. June 22. I spoke thus: Eight or nine months ago, certain men arose, who affirmed, that there is no such thing as any *means of grace*;—and that we ought to leave off these *works of the law.*' 'You (Mr. Molther) believe, that the way to attain faith, is, not to go to church, not to communicate, not to fast, not to use *so much* private prayer, not to read the Scripture; not to do temporal good, or attempt to do spiritual good.' 'You undervalue *good works*, especially works of *outward mercy*, never publicly insisting on the necessity of them.'

'Some of our brethren asserted, 1. That till they had true faith, they ought to be *still*, that is, (as they explained themselves,) to abstain from the *means of grace*, as they are called, the Lord's Supper in particular. 2. That the ordinances are not *means of grace*, there being no other means than Christ.' 'I could not agree, either that none has any faith, so long as he is liable to any doubt or fear, or that till we have it, we ought to abstain from the ordinances of God.'

'Mr. Br——d speaks so slightly of the *means of grace*, that many

* Remarks, p. 73, 74.

N. B. The Sentences quoted from the REMARKS, are all distinguished with inverted commas.

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are much grieved to hear him. But others are greatly delighted with him. Ten or fourteen of them meet at our brother Clark's, with Mr. Molther, and make a mere jest of going to church or to the sacrament.'

'You (Mr. Molther) believe, it is impossible for a man to *use these means*, without *trusting in them*.'

'Believers (said Mr. Simpson) are *not subject* to ordinances, and unbelievers have nothing to do with them.' 'Believers *need not*, and unbelievers *may not* use them. These *do not* sin when they *abstain* from them; but those *do sin*, when they do not abstain.'

'For one who is not born of God, to read the Scriptures, or to pray, or to communicate, or to do any outward work, is *deadly poison*.—If he does any of these things, he *destroys* himself.' 'Mr. Bell earnestly defended this.'

'At eight the society (at Nottingham) met; I could not but observe—that not one who came in, used any prayer at all.—I looked for one of our hymn-books, but both that and the Bible were vanished away, and in the room thereof lay, the Moravian hymns and the Count's Sermons.'

'One of our English brethren, joined with you, said in his public expounding, As many go to hell by *praying*, as by *thieving*. Another, I knew one, who, leaning over the back of a chair, received a great gift. But he must kneel down, to give God thanks. So he lost it immediately. And I know not whether he will ever have it again. And yet another, You have lost your first joy. Therefore you pray. That is the Devil. You read the Bible. That is the Devil. You communicate. That is the Devil'.

'They affirmed, that there is *no commandment* in the New Testament, but to *believe;* that no other *duty* lies upon us; and, that when a man does believe, he is not *bound* or *obliged*, to do any thing which is commanded there.' 'Mr. St—— told me, No one has *any degree* of faith, till he is perfect as God is perfect.' 'You believe there are *no degrees* in faith.' 'I have heard Mr. Molther affirm, that there is no justifying faith, where there is ever any doubt.' 'The moment a man is justified, he is sanctified wholly. Thenceforth, till death, he is neither more nor less holy.' 'We are to grow in grace, but not in holiness.'

2. I have frequently observed, that I wholly disapprove of all these positions, 'That there are *no degrees* in faith;' 'That in order to attain faith, we must *abstain* from all the *ordinances* of God;' 'That a believer does not *grow in holiness*,' and 'That he is not *obliged* to keep the commandments of God.' But I must also observe, 1. That you ought not to charge the Moravian church with the first of these; since in the very page from which you quote those words, 'There is no justifying faith where there is ever any doubt' that note occurs, 'In the preface to the second Journal, the Moravian church is cleared from this mistake.' 2. That with respect to the ordinances of God, their practice is better than their principle. They do use them themselves, I am a witness; and that with reverence and godly fear.

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Those expressions, however, of our own countrymen, are utterly indefensible; as, I think, are Mr. Molther's also; who was quickly after recalled into Germany. The great fault of the Moravian church seems to lie in not openly disclaiming all he had said: which in all probability they would have done, had they not leaned to the same opinion. I must, 3. Observe, that I never knew one of the Moravian church, but that single person affirm, 'That a believer does not grow in holiness.' And perhaps he would not affirm it, on reflection. But I am still afraid their whole church is tainted with quietism, Universal Salvation, and Antinomianism: 'I speak (as I said elsewhere) of *Antinomian opinions*, abstracted from practice, good or bad.'

3. But I should rejoice if there lay no other objection against them, than that of erroneous opinions. I know in some measure, how to have compassion on the ignorant: I know the incredible force of pre-possession. And God only knows, what ignorance or error (all things considered) is invincible; and what allowance his mercy will make in such cases, to those who desire to be led into all truth. But how far what follows may be imputed to invincible ignorance or pre-possession, I cannot tell.

Many of 'you greatly, yea above measure, exalt yourselves (as a church) and despise others: I have scarcely heard one Moravian brother own *his church* to be wrong in any thing;' 'Many of you I have heard speak of it, as if it were infallible:' 'Some of you have set it up, as the judge of all the earth, of all persons as well as doctrines:' 'Some of you have said, that there is no *true church* but yours; yea, that there are no *true Christians* out of it:' 'And your own members you require to have *implicit faith* in her decisions, and to pay *implicit* obedience to her directions.'

I can in no degree justify these things. And yet neither can I look upon them in the same light that you do, as * "some of the very worst things which are objected to the Church of Rome." They are exceedingly great mistakes: yet in as great mistakes have holy men both lived and died: Thomas à Kempis, for instance, and Francis Sales. And yet I doubt not, they are now in Abraham's bosom.

4. I am more concerned for their 'Despising and decrying self-denial;' for their 'extending Christian liberty beyond all warrant of Holy Writ;' for their 'Want of zeal for good works;' and above all for their supposing, that 'we may, on some accounts, use guile:' in consequence of which they do 'use guile or dissimulation in many cases.' 'Nay, in many of them I have found (not in all, nor in most) much subtlety, much evasion and disguise; so *becoming all things to all men*, as to take the colour and shape of any that were near them.' I can neither defend nor excuse those among the Moravians, whom I have found guilty of this. But neither can I condemn *all* for the sake of *some*. *Every man shall give an account of himself to God.*

* Remarks, p. 7.

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But you say, * "Your protesting against some of their opinions, is not sufficient to discharge you—Have you not prepared the way for these Moravians, by—countenancing and commending them: and by still speaking of them as if they were in the main the best Christians in the world, and only deluded or mistaken in a few points?"

I cannot speak of them otherwise than I think. And I still think, 1. That God has some thousands in our own church, who have the faith and love which is among them, without those errors either of judgment or practice; 2. That next to these, *the body* of the *Moravian* church, however *mistaken some of them* are, are *in the main*, of all whom I have seen, the *best Christians* in the world.

5. Because I am continually charged with inconsistency herein, even by the Moravians themselves, it may be 'needful to give a short account of what has occurred between us from the beginning.' † 'My first acquaintance with the Moravian brethren began in my voyage to Georgia. Being then with many of them in the same ship, I narrowly observed their whole behaviour. And I greatly approved of all I saw.' (The particulars are related in the first Journal.)

'From Feb. 14, 1735, to Dec. 2, 1737, being with them, (except when I went to Frederica or Carolina,) twice or thrice every day, I loved and esteemed them more and more. *Yet a few things I could not approve of.* These I mentioned to them from time to time, and then commended the cause to God.

'In February following I met with Peter Bohler. My heart clave to him as soon as he spoke. And the more we conversed, so much the more did I esteem both him and the Moravian church. So that I had no rest in my spirit, till I executed the design which I had formed long before; till after a short stay in Holland, I hastened forward, first to Marienbourn, and then to Hernhuth.'

It may be observed, that I had before seen *a few things* in the Moravians *which I could not approve of.* In this journey I saw *a few more*, in the midst of many excellent things: in consequence whereof,

'In Sept. 1738, soon after my return to England, I began the following letter to the Moravian church. But being fearful of trusting my own judgment, I determined to wait yet a little longer, and so laid it by unfinished.'

'MY DEAR BRETHREN,

'I CANNOT but rejoice in your steadfast faith, in your love to our blessed Redeemer, your deadness to the world, your meekness, temperance, and chastity, and love of one another. I greatly approve of your conferences and ‡bands, of your methods of instructing

* Remarks, p. 11, 12.

† These are the words of the 4th Journal.

‡ The Band Society in London, began May 1, some time before I set out for Germany.

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children; and in general, of your great care of the souls committed to your charge.

'But of some other things I stand in doubt, which I will mention in love and meekness. And I wish that, in order to remove those doubts, you would, on each of those heads, first, plainly answer, whether the fact be as I suppose; and if so, secondly, consider, whether it be right? Is not the Count all in all among you? Do you not magnify your own church too much? Do you not use guile and dissimulation in many cases? Are you not of a close, dark, reserved temper and behaviour?'——

It may easily be seen, that my objections then were nearly the same as now. (Only with this difference; I was not then assured, that the facts were as I supposed. Yet I cannot say my affection was lessened at all, for I did not dare to determine any thing.) But from Nov. 1, I could not but see more and more, things which I could not reconcile with the gospel.

These I have set down with all simplicity:—Yet do I this, because I love them not? God knoweth: yea, and *in part*, I esteem them still: because I verily believe, they have a sincere desire to serve God; because many of them have tasted of his love, and some retain it in simplicity; because they love one another; because they have *so much* of the truth of the gospel, and *so far* abstain from outward sin. And, lastly, because their discipline is, *in most respects*, so truly excellent: (notwithstanding that visible blemish, the paying *too much* regard, to their great patron and benefactor, Count Zinzendorf.)

6. I believe, if you coolly consider this account, you will not find, either that it is inconsistent with itself; or that it lays you under any necessity of speaking in the following manner: *"What charms there may be in a demure look and a sour behaviour, I know not. But sure they must be in your eye very extraordinary, as they can be sufficient to cover such a multitude of errors and crimes, and keep up the same regard and affection for the authors and abettors of them. I doubt your regard for them was not lessened, till they began to interfere with what you thought your province.—You were influenced, not by a just resentment to see the honour of religion and virtue so injuriously and scandalously trampled upon, but by a fear of losing your own authority."

I doubt, there is scarcely one line of all these, which is consistent either with truth or love. But I will transcribe a few more, before I answer. "How could you so long and so intimately converse with, so much commend, and give such countenance to such desperately wicked people, as the Moravians, according to your own account, were known by you to be?—And you still speak of them, as if they were in the main, the best Christians in the world.—In one place you say, 'A few things I could not approve of.' But in God's name, Sir, is the contempt of almost the whole of our duty, of every

* Remarks, p. 18, 19.

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Christian ordinance, to be so gently touched? Can detestation, in such a case, be too strongly expressed? Either they are some of the vilest wretches in the world, or you are the falsest accuser in the world. Christian charity has scarcely an allowance to make for them, as you have described them. If you have done this truly, they ought to be discouraged, by all means that can be imagined."

7. Let us now weigh these assertions. "They (i. e. the charms of their sour behaviour) must be in your eye very extraordinary."—Do not you stumble at the threshold? The Moravians excel in *sweetness* of behaviour—"as they can be sufficient to cover such a multitude of errors and crimes"—Such a *multitude* of *errors* and *crimes!* I believe, as to errors, they hold *universal salvation*, and are partly Antinomians, (in opinion) and partly Quietists. And for this cause I cannot join with them. But where is the *multitude* of errors? Whosoever knows two or three hundred more, let him please to mention them.

Such a *multitude* of *crimes* too! That some of them have used guile, and are of a close and reserved behaviour, I know. And I excuse them not. But to this multitude of crimes I am an utter stranger. Let *him* prove this charge upon them who *can*. For *me*, I declare, I *cannot*.

"To keep up the same regard and affection."—Not so. My affection was *not lessened, till* after September, 1739, till I had proof of what I had *feared* before. But I had not the same degree of regard for them, when I saw the dark as well as the bright side of their character. "I doubt your regard for them was not lessened, till they began to interfere with what you thought your province." If this were only a *doubt*, it were not much amiss; but it presently shoots up into an *assertion;* equally groundless: for my *regard* for them *lessened*, even while I was in Georgia. But it increased again, after my return from thence, especially while I was at Hernhuth. And it gradually *lessened* again for some years, as I saw more and more which I approved not. How then does it appear, that I was influenced herein, "by a fear of losing mine own authority? Not by a just resentment to see the honour of religion and virtue so scandalously trampled upon."—*Trampled upon!* By whom? Not by the Moravians: I never saw any such thing among them.

But what do you mean by a just resentment? I hope you do not mean, what is *commonly* called *zeal:* a flame which often 'sets on fire the whole course of nature, and is itself set on fire of hell.'—'Rivers of water run from my eyes, because men keep not thy law.' This resentment, on such an occasion, I understand. From all other, may God deliver me!

8. You go on. "How could you so long and so intimately converse with—such desperately wicked people, as the Moravians, according to your own account, were known by you to be?" O Sir, what another assertion is this! "The Moravians, according to your own account, were known by you to be desperately wicked people, while you intimately conversed with them!" Utterly false and in-

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jurious. I never gave any such account. I conversed intimately with them, both at Savannah and Hernhuth. But neither then, nor at any other time, did I *know*, or think, or say, they were desperately wicked people. I think and say, nay, you blame me for saying, just the reverse, viz. That though I soon "found among them a few things which I could not approve," yet I believe they are "in the main some of the best Christians in the world."

You surprise me yet more in going on thus: "In God's name, Sir, is the contempt of almost the whole of our duty, of every Christian ordinance, to be so very gently touched?" Sir, this is not the case. This charge no more belongs to the Moravians, than that of murder. Some of our countrymen spoke very wicked things. The Moravians did not sufficiently disavow them. These are the premises. By what art can you extort so dreadful a conclusion from them?

"Can detestation in such a case, be too strongly expressed?"—Indeed it can; even were the case as you suppose.—"Either they are some of the vilest wretches in the world, or you are the falsest accuser in the world;"—neither one, nor the other; though I prove what I allege, yet they may be, in the main, good men;—"Charity has scarcely an allowance to make for them, as you have described them:"—I have described them, as of a mixed character, with much evil among them, but more good. Is it not a strange kind of charity, which cannot find an allowance, to make in such a case?—"If you have described them truly, they ought to be discouraged by all means that can be imagined;"—By all means! I hope not by fire and fagot: though the *House of Mercy* imagines these to be of all means most effectual.

9. You proceed. *"How can you justify the many good things you say of the Moravians, notwithstanding this character? You say they love God. But how can this be, when they even plead against keeping most of his commandments? You say, you believe, they have a sincere desire to serve God. How then can they despise his service in so many instances? You declare some of them much holier than any people you had yet known. Strange! if they fail in so many prime points of Christian duty, and this not only habitually and presumptuously, but even to the denying their use and necessity. You praise them, for trampling under foot the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. And yet you make them a close, reserved, insincere, deceitful people.

"How you will explain those things, I know not." By nakedly declaring each thing as it is. They are, I believe, the most self-inconsistent people, now under the sun: and I describe them just as I find them, neither better nor worse, but leaving the good and bad together. Upon this ground I can very easily justify, the saying *many good things* of them, as well as bad. For instance, I am still persuaded, that *they* (many of them) *love* God: although many

*Remarks, p. 20, 21.

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others of them ignorantly "plead against the keeping" not *most*, but *some* "of his commandments." I believe, "they have a sincere desire to serve God." And yet, in several instances, some of them (I think) *despise* that manner *of serving him*, which I know God hath ordained. I believe "some of them are much holier than any people I had known in August, 1740." Yet sure I am, that others among them *fail*, not indeed in the "prime points of Christian duty," (for these are faith and the love of God and man) but in several points of no small importance. Not that they herein sin *presumptuously* neither; for they are "fully (though erroneously) persuaded in their own minds." From the same persuasion they act, when they (in some sense) "deny the use or necessity of those ordinances." How far that persuasion will justify or excuse them, I leave to him who knoweth their hearts. Lastly, I believe "they trample under foot," in a good degree, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life." And yet many of them *use reserve*, yea, *guile*. Therefore my soul mourns for them in secret places.

10. "But I must observe," you say, "that *you fall not only into inconsistencies, but into direct contradictions. You commend them for 'loving one another in a manner the world knoweth not of.' And yet you charge them with being 'in the utmost confusion, biting and devouring one another.' You say, 'They caution us against natural love of one another:—And had well nigh destroyed brotherly love from among us.'

"You praise them, for 'using no diversions but such as become saints,' and for 'not regarding outward adorning.' Yet you say, they 'conform to the world in wearing gold and costly apparel: and by joining in worldly diversions to do good.'

"You call their discipline, 'in most respects, truly excellent.' I wish you had more fully explained yourself. I am sure it is no sign of good discipline, to permit such abominations. And you tell them yourself, 'I can show you such a subordination, as answers all Christian purposes, and yet it is as distant from that among you, as the heavens are from the earth.'

"You mention it as a good effect of their discipline, that 'every one knows and keeps his proper rank.' Soon after, as if it were a design to confute yourself, you say, 'Our brethren have neither wisdom enough to guide, nor prudence enough to let it alone.'

"And now, Sir, how can you reconcile these opposite descriptions?" Just as easily as those before, by simply declaring the thing as it is. "You commend them (the Moravians) for loving one another. And yet charge them with biting and devouring one another." Them! whom? Not the Moravians; but the English brethren of Fetterlane, before their union with the Moravians. Here then is no shadow of contradiction. For the two sentences do not relate to the same persons.

"You say, 'They had well nigh destroyed brotherly love from

*Remarks, p. 21, 22.

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among us;' partly by 'cautions against natural love.' It is a melancholy truth; so they had. But *we* had then no connexion with *them*. Neither therefore, does this contradict 'their *loving one another*, in a manner the world knoweth not of.'

"You praise them for using no diversions but such as become saints: and yet say, (I recite the whole sentence) 'I have heard some of you affirm, that Christian salvation implies to conform to the world, by joining in worldly diversions, in order to do good.' And both these are true. The Moravians, in general, 'use no diversions but such as become saints:' and yet I have heard some of them affirm (in contradiction to their own practice) that 'One then mentioned did well, when he joined in *playing at tennis*, in order to do good.'

11. "You praise them for not 'regarding outward adorning.'" So I do, the bulk of the congregation. "And yet you say, (I again recite the whole sentence,) 'I have heard some of you affirm, that Christian salvation implies liberty to conform to the world, by putting on of gold and costly apparel.'" I have so. And I blame them the more, because they are condemned by the general practice of their own church.

"You call their discipline, 'in most respects truly excellent.' I could wish you had more fully explained yourself."—I have in the second Journal, from the 223d to the 228th page. "It is no sign of good discipline, to permit such abominations," (i. e. error, in opinion; and guile, in practice:) true, it is not; nor is it any demonstration against it. For there may be *good discipline* even in a college of Jesuits. Another fault is, too great a deference to the Count. And yet, 'in *most respects*, their discipline is truly excellent.'

"You mention it as a good effect of their discipline, that 'every one knows and keeps his proper rank.' Soon after, as if it were with a design to confute yourself, you say, 'Our brethren have neither wisdom enough to guide, nor prudence enough to let it alone.'" Pardon me, Sir, I have no design either to confute or to contradict myself in these words. The former sentence is spoken of the Moravian brethren: the latter, of the English brethren of Fetter-lane.

12. You need not therefore* "imagine, that either the strong pretences or warm professions of the Moravians, or their agreeing with me in some favourite topics, (for my love to them was antecedent to any such *agreement*,) induce me to overlook their iniquity, and to forgive their other crimes." No. I love them upon quite different grounds: even, because I believe (notwithstanding all their faults) they *love the* Lord Jesus *in sincerity*, and have a measure of *the mind that was in* him. And I am *in* great *earnest when I declare* once more, That I have a deep, abiding conviction, by how many degrees the good which is among them overbalances the evil: That I cannot speak of them but with *tender affection*, were it only for the benefits I have received from them: and that at this hour, *I desire union with*

* Remarks, p. 23.

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them (were those stumbling-blocks once put away, which have hitherto made that desire ineffectual) *above all things under heaven.*

II. 1. Your second charge is, "That I hold, in common with them, principles from which their errors naturally follow." You mean, justification by faith alone. To set things in the clearest light I can, I will, first, observe, what I hold, and what you object, and then inquire, what the consequences have been?

First, As to what I hold, my latest thoughts upon justification, are expressed, in the following words: 'Justification sometimes means our acquittal at the last day. But this is out of the present question: that justification whereof our Articles and Homilies speak, meaning present pardon, and acceptance with God: who therein *declares his righteousness and mercy*, by or *for the remision of the sins* that are past.' 'I believe, the condition of this is faith: I mean not only, that without faith we cannot be justified: but also, that as soon as any one has true faith, in that moment he is justified.' 'Good works follow this faith, but cannot go before it. Much less can sanctification, which implies a continued course of good works, springing from holiness of heart. But, entire sanctification goes before our justification at the last day.

'It is allowed, that repentance and *fruits meet for repentance*, go before faith. Repentance *absolutely* must go before faith: *fruits meet for it*, if there be opportunity. By *repentance* I mean, conviction of sin, producing real desires and sincere resolutions of amendment: and by *fruits meet for repentance*, forgiving our brother, ceasing from evil, doing good, using the ordinances of God, and in general, obeying him according to the measure of grace which we have received. But these I cannot, as yet, term *good works;* because they do not spring from faith and the love of God.'

2. 'Faith in general is a divine, supernatural ἔλεγχος (evidence or conviction) of things not seen, not discoverable by our bodily senses, as being either past, future, or spiritual. Justifying faith implies, not only a divine ἔλεγχος, that *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself*, but a sure trust and confidence, that Christ died for *my* sins, that he loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*. And the moment a *penitent* sinner *thus* believes, God *pardons* and absolves him.'

'Now, it being allowed, that both inward and outward holiness are the stated conditions of final justification: what more can you desire, who have hitherto opposed *justification by faith alone*, merely upon a principle of conscience; because you were zealous for holiness and good works? Do I not effectually secure these from contempt, at the same time that I defend the doctrines of the church? I not only allow, but vehemently contend, that none shall ever enter into glory, who is not holy on earth, as well in heart, as *in all manner of conversation.* I cry aloud, 'Let all that have believed, be careful to maintain good works:' and, 'Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from all iniquity.' I exhort even those who are conscious they do not believe, 'Cease to do evil, learn to do well.' 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand;' therefore, 'repent, and bring

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forth fruits meet for repentance.' Are not these directions the very same, in substance, which you yourself would give to persons so circumstanced?

3. 'Many of those who are perhaps as zealous of good works as you, think I have allowed you too much: nay, my brethren, but how can we help allowing it, if we allow the Scriptures to be from God? For is it not written, and do not you yourselves believe, 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord?' And how then, without fighting about words, can we deny, that holiness is a condition of final acceptance? And as to the first acceptance or pardon, does not all experience as well as Scripture prove, that no man ever yet truly *believed the gospel*, who did not first *repent?* Repentance, therefore, we cannot deny, to be necessarily previous to faith. Is it not equally undeniable, that the running back into wilful, known sin, (suppose it were drunkenness or uncleanness,) stifles that repentance or conviction? And can that repentance come to any good issue in his soul, who resolves, not to forgive his brother? Or who obstinately refrains from what God convinces him is right, whether it be prayer, or hearing his word? Would you scruple yourself to tell one of these 'Unto him that hath shall be given: but from him that hath not,' i. e. uses it not, 'shall be taken even that which he hath?' Would you scruple to say this?—But in saying this, you allow all which I have said, viz. That previous to justifying faith, there *must* be 'repentance,' and if opportunity permit, 'fruits meet for repentance.'

'And yet I allow you this, That although both repentance and the fruits thereof are in *some sense* necessary before justification, yet neither the one nor the other is necessary in the *same sense*, or in the *same degree* with faith; for in whatever moment a man believes, (in the Christian sense of the word,) he is justified, his sins are blotted out, 'his faith is counted to him for righteousness.' But it is not so, at whatever moment he repents, or brings forth any or all the fruits of repentance. Faith alone therefore justifies; which repentance alone does not; much less any outward work. And, consequently, none of these are necessary to justification, in the *same degree* with faith.

'Nor in the *same sense*. For none of these has so direct immediate a relation to justification as faith. This is *proximately* necessary thereto; repentance, *remotely*, as it is necessary to the increase or continuance of faith. And even in this sense, these are only necessary on supposition, if there be time and opportunity for them: for in many instances there is not; but God cuts short his work, and faith prevents the fruits of repentance. So that the general proposition is not overthrown, but clearly established by these concessions; and we conclude still, That faith alone is the proximate condition of justification.'

4. This is what I hold concerning justification. I am next briefly to observe what you object. * "If faith, say you, is the sole condi-

* Remarks, p. 25.

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tion of justification, then it is our sole duty." I deny the consequence. Faith may be (in the sense above described) the sole condition of justification, and yet not only repentance be our duty *before*, but all obedience *after* we believe.

You go on. "If *good works are not conditions of our justification, they are not conditions of our (final) salvation." I deny the consequence again. *Good works*, (properly so called,) cannot be the conditions of justification: because it is impossible to do any good work *before* we are justified. And yet, notwithstanding, good works may be (and are) conditions of final salvation. For who will say it is impossible to do any good work, *before* we are finally saved?

You proceed. † "Can we be saved, in the contemptuous neglect of repentance, prayer, &c.?" No: nor justified neither; but while they are previous to faith, these are not allowed to be *good works*.

You afterwards argue from my own concessions thus:—‡ "Your notion of true stillness is, 'A patient waiting upon God, by lowliness, meekness, resignation, in all the ways of his holy law, and the works of his commandments.'—But how is it possible to reconcile to this the position, that these duties are not conditions of our justification? If we are justified without them, we may be saved without them.—This consequence cannot be too often repeated."

Let it be repeated ever so often, it is good for nothing. For, far other qualifications are required, in order to our standing before God in glory, than were required in order to his giving us faith and pardon. In order to this, nothing is *indispensably* required, but repentance, or conviction of sin. But in order to the other it is indispensably required, that we be fully *cleansed from all sin:* that the very God *of peace* sanctify us wholly, even το ολοκληρον ημων, our entire body, soul, and spirit. It is not necessary therefore (nor indeed possible) that we should *before* justification, *patiently wait upon God, by lowliness, meekness, and resignation, in all the ways of his holy law.* And yet it is necessary in the highest degree, that we should thus wait upon him *after* justification. Otherwise, how shall we be 'meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light?'

5. Soon after, you add, § "In the passages last cited, you plead for the necessity of a good life. But in others, the force of your principles shows itself.—An answer approved by you is, 'My heart is desperately wicked. But I have no doubt or fear. I know my Saviour loves me and I love him.'—Both these particulars are impossible, if the Scripture be true."

You amaze me! Is it possible you should be ignorant, that your own heart is desperately wicked! Yet I dare not say, either that God does not love you, or that you do not love him.

‖ "Again, you say, 'you described the state of those who have forgiveness of sins, but not a clean heart;'" (not in the full, proper sense.) Very true: but even then, they had power over both in-

* Remarks, p. 25. † p. 26. ‡ Ibid. § p. 29. ‖ p. 30.

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ward and outward corruptions: far from being, as you suppose, "still wedded to their vices, and resolved to continue in them."

* "In another place, after having observed, that 'Sin does *remain* in one that is justified, though it has not *dominion* over him,' you go on, 'But fear not, though you have an evil heart; yet a little while and you shall be endued with power from on high, whereby ye may purify yourselves, even as he is pure.'—Sinners, if they believe this, may be quite secure, and imagine they have nothing to fear, though they continue in their iniquities.—For God's sake, Sir, speak out.—If they that have an evil heart have not, who has reason to fear?"—All who have not *dominion* over sin: all who *continue in their iniquities.* You, for one, if any sin has dominion over you. If so, I testify against you this day, (and you will not be *quite secure, if you believe me,*) 'The wrath of God abideth on you!'

† "What do you mean by 'Sin remains in one that is justified?' That he is guilty of any known, wilful, habitual sin?"—Judge by what has gone before:—I mean the same as our church means by "Sin remains in the regenerate."

6. You proceed to another passage, which in the Journal stands thus: 'After we had wandered many years, in the *new path* of *salvation by faith and works*, about two years ago it pleased God to show us the *old way* of *salvation by faith only.* And many soon tasted of this *salvation*, being justified freely, having *peace* with God, *rejoicing* in hope of the glory of God, and having his love shed abroad in their hearts.' Thus I define what I mean by *this salvation*, viz. righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

But you object, ‡ "Here you deny the necessity of *good works* in order to salvation." I deny the necessity, nay possibility, of *good works* as previous to *this* salvation; as previous to faith or those fruits of faith, righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. This is my *real sentiment*, not *a slip of my pen*, neither *any proof of my* want of accuracy.

7. § "I shall now," you say, "consider the account you give in this journal, of the doctrine of justification."

I will recite the whole, just as it stands, together with the occasion of it.—'In the afternoon, I was informed how many who cannot, in terms, deny it—*explain* justification by faith. They say, 1. Justification is *two-fold;* the *first*, in this life, the *second*, at the last day. 2. Both these are by *faith alone*, that is, by *objective faith*, or by the merits of Christ which are the object of our faith. And this, they say, is all that St Paul and the church mean by 'We are justified by faith only.' But they add, 3. We are not justified by *subjective faith* alone, that is, by the faith which is in us. But good works also must be added to this faith, as a *joint* condition both of the *first* and *second* justification.

'In flat opposition to this, I cannot but maintain (at least till I have clearer light) 1. That the justification which is spoken of by

* Remarks, p. 31. † p. 32. ‡ p. 33. § p. 30.

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St. Paul to the Romans, and in our articles, is not two-fold. It is one and no more. It is the present remission of our sins, or our first acceptance with God. 2. It is true, that the merits of Christ are the sole cause of this our justification. But it is not true, that this is all which St. Paul and our church mean, by our being justified by faith only: neither is it true, that either St. Paul or the church mean by faith, the merits of Christ. But, 3. By our being justified by faith only, both St. Paul and the church mean, that the condition of our justification is faith alone, and not good works: inasmuch as all works done before justification, have in them the nature of sin. Lastly, That faith which is the sole condition of justification, is the faith which is wrought in us, by the grace of God. It is a sure trust which a man hath, that Christ hath loved *him* and died for *him*.'

8. To the first of these propositions you object, "That * justification is not only two-fold, but manifold. For a man may possibly sin many times, and as many times be justified or forgiven."

I grant it. I grant also, that justification sometimes means a *state* of acceptance with God. But all this does not in the least affect my assertion, that '*that justification* which is spoken of by St. Paul to the Romans, and by our church in the 11th, 12th, and 13th articles, is not *our acquittal* at the last day, but the *present remission* of our sins."

You add, † "You write in other places so variously about this matter, that I despair to find any consistency. Once you held 'a degree of justifying faith, short of *the full assurance* of faith, the *abiding witness* of the Spirit, or the clear perception that Christ abideth in him.'—And yet you afterwards 'warned all, not to think they were justified, before they had a *clear assurance*, That God had forgiven their sins.'—What difference there is between this *clear assurance*, and the former *full assurance* and *clear perception*, I know not."

Let us go on step by step, and you will know. "Once you held a '*Degree* of justifying faith, short of the *full assurance* of faith, *the abiding* witness of the Spirit, or the *clear perception that Christ abideth* in him.'" And so I hold still, and have done for some years. "And yet you afterwards 'warned all not to think they were justified, before they had a clear assurance that God had forgiven their sins.'" —I did so.—"What difference there is between this *clear assurance*, and that *full assurance* and *clear perception*, I know not."—Sir, I will tell you: The one is an *assurance* that *my* sins are forgiven, *clear* at first, but soon clouded with doubt or fear. The other is such a plerophory, or full assurance, that I am forgiven, and so clear a perception that Christ abideth in me, as utterly excludes all doubt and fear, and leaves them no place, no, not for an hour. So that the difference between them is as great as the difference between the light of the morning and that of the mid-day sun.

9. On the second proposition you remark, 1. That ‡ "I ought

* Remarks, p. 37, 38, 39. † p. 40. ‡ p. 41.

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to have said the merits of Christ, are (not the *sole* cause, but) the *sole meritorious* cause of this our justification. 2. That St. Paul and the church, by justifying *faith* mean, faith in the gospel and merits of Christ." The very thing; so I contend, in flat opposition to those, who say they mean, only the object of this faith.

Upon the third proposition, 'By our being justified by faith only, both St. Paul and the church mean, that the condition of our justification is *faith alone*, and not good works;' You say, * "Neither of them mean any such thing. You greatly wrong them in ascribing so mischievous a sentiment to them." Let me beg you, Sir, to have patience, and calmly to consider, 1. What I mean by this proposition. Why should you any longer run as uncertainly, and fight as one that beateth the air? 2. What is advanced touching the sentiments of the church, in the tract referred to above. Till you have done this, it would be mere loss of time to dispute with you on this head.

I waive, therefore, for the present, the consideration of some of your following pages. Only I cannot quite pass over that (I believe, new) assertion, † "That the 13th Article, entitled, 'Of Works done before Justification,' does not speak of works done *before justification*, but of works *before grace*, which is a very different thing!" I beseech you, Sir, to consider the 11th, 12th, and 13th articles, just as they lie, in one view. And you cannot but see, that it is as absolutely impossible to maintain that proposition, as it is to prove, that the 11th and 12th articles *speak not of justification*, but of some *very different thing*.

10. Against that part of the 4th proposition, 'faith is a sure trust which a man hath, that Christ loved *him* and died for *him*:' you object, ‡ "This definition is absurd; as it supposes that such a sure trust can be in one who does not repent of his sins."—I suppose quite the contrary, as I have declared over and over: nor, therefore, is there any such *danger* as you apprehend.

But you say, § "There is nothing distinguishing enough in this, to point out the true justifying faith." I grant it: supposing a man were to write a book, and say this of it, and no more. But did you ever see any treatise of mine, wherein I said this of faith, and no more? Nothing whereby to distinguish *true* faith from *false?* Touching this journal, your own quotations prove the contrary. Yea, and I every where insist, that we are to distinguish them by *their* fruits, by inward and outward *righteousness*, by the *peace* of God filling and ruling the heart, and by patient, active *joy* in the Holy Ghost.

You conclude this point: ‖ "I have now, Sir, examined at large your account of justification; and I hope fully refuted the several articles in which you have comprised it."—We differ in our judgment. I do not apprehend, you have *refuted* any one proposition of

* Remarks, p. 41. † p. 45. ‡ p. 48. § Ibid. ‖ p. 49.

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the four. You have indeed amended the second, by adding the word *meritorious*; for which I give you thanks.

11. You next give what you style * "The Christian scheme of justification," and afterwards point out the consequences, which you apprehend to have attended the preaching justification by faith: the third point into which I was to inquire.

You open the cause thus: † "The denying the necessity of good works, as the condition of justification, directly draws after it, or rather includes in it, all manner of impiety and vice.—It has often perplexed and disturbed the minds of men, and in the last century occasioned great confusions in this nation.—These are points which are ever liable to misconstructions, and have ever yet been more or less attended with them. And it appears from what you have lately published, that since you have preached the doctrine, it has had its old consequences, or rather worse ones: it has been more misunderstood, more perverted and abused than ever."

"The denying the necessity of good works, as the condition of justification, draws after it, or rather includes in it, all manner of impiety and vice." Here stands the proposition: but where is the proof? Till that appears, I simply say, *It does not.*

"It has often perplexed and disturbed the minds of men." And so have many other points in St. Paul's epistles.

But "these are points which are ever liable to misconstructions, and have ever yet, more or less been attended with them."—And what points of revealed religion are those, which are not ever liable to misconceptions? Or of what material point can we say, that it has not ever yet, more or less, been attended with them?

"In the last century it occasioned great confusions in this nation."—It occasioned! No; in nowise. It is demonstrable, the occasions of those confusions were quite of another kind.

"And it appears—That since you have preached the doctrine, it has had its old consequences, or rather worse. It has been more misunderstood, more perverted and abused than ever."—What! Worse consequences than regicide, (which you say was the old one) and making our whole land a field of blood? Or has it been more perverted and abused, than when (in your account) it overturned the whole frame both of church and state?

12. You go on. ‡ "The terms of the gospel are, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.—But when we undervalue either of these terms, we involve the consciences of the weak in fatal perplexities; we give a handle to others to justify their impieties; we confirm the enemies of religion in their prejudices."

All this I grant; but it affects not me. For I do not undervalue either faith or repentance.

§ "Was not irreligion and vice already prevailing enough in the nation, but we must—throw snares in people's way, and root out the remains of piety and devotion, in the weak and well-meaning? That

* Remarks, p. 50. † p. 1, 2. ‡ p. 2. § p. 3.

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this has been the case, your own confessions put beyond all doubt. And you even now hold and teach the principles, from which these dangerous consequences do plainly and directly follow."

"Was not irreligion and vice already prevailing enough" (whether I have increased them, we will consider by and by)—"but we must throw snares in people's way."—God forbid! My whole life is employed in taking those snares out of people's way, which the world and the Devil have thrown there.—"And root out the remains of piety and devotion in the weak and well-meaning?" Of whom speaketh the prophet this? Of himself? Or of some other man?—"Your own confessions put this beyond all doubt."—What? That "I root out the remains of piety and devotion?" Not so. The sum of them all (recited above) amounts to this and no more: 'That while my brother and I were absent from London, many weak men were tainted with wrong opinions: most of whom we recovered at our return: but even those who continued therein, did notwithstanding continue to live a holier life, than ever they did before they heard us preach.' "And you even now hold the principles from which these dangerous consequences do plainly and directly follow." But I know not where to find these consequences—unless it be in your titlepage: there, indeed, I read of the very fatal tendency of justification by faith only, "the divisions and perplexities of the Methodists, and the many errors relating both to faith and practice which" (as you conceive) "have already arisen among these deluded people."

However * "you charitably believe, I was not aware of these consequences at first." No, nor am I yet: though it is strange I should not, if they "so naturally succeed that doctrine." I will go a step farther. I do not know, neither believe, that they ever did *succeed that doctrine:* unless perhaps *accidentally;* as they might have succeeded any doctrine whatsoever. And till the contrary is proved, those consequences cannot *show*, that *these principles are not true.*

13. Another consequence which you charge on my preaching justification by faith, is, the introducing the errors of the Moravians. † "Had the people," say you, "gone on in a quiet and regular practice of their duty, as most of them did before you deluded them, it would have been impossible for the Moravian tenets to have prevailed among them. But when they had been long and often used to hear good works undervalued, I cannot wonder that they should plunge into new errors, and wax worse and worse."

This is one string of mistakes. "Had the people gone on in a quiet and regular practice of their duty, as most of them did before you deluded them." Deluded them! Into what? Into the love of God and all mankind, and a zealous care to keep his commandments. I would to God this delusion, (if such it is accounted) may spread to the four corners of the earth! But how did most of them

* Remarks, p. 4. † p. 12.

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go on before they were thus deluded? Four in five, by a moderate computation, even as other baptized heathens; in the works of the Devil, in all the wretchedness of unclean living—"In a quiet and regular practice of their duty!"—What duty? The duty of cursing and swearing! The duty of gluttony and drunkenness! The duty of whoredom and adultery! Or of beating one another, and any that came in their way! In this (not very quiet or regular) *practice, did most of* those *go on before* they heard us, who have now *put off the old man with his deeds*, and are holy in all manner of conversation.

Have these, think you, "been long and often used to hear good works undervalued?" Or, are they *prepared for* receiving the Moravian errors, by the knowledge and love of God? O Sir, the Moravians know, if you do not, that there is no such barrier under heaven against their tenets, as those very people, whom you suppose just prepared for receiving them.

But "complaints," (you say) "of their errors, come very ill from you, because you have occasioned them." Nay, if it were so, for that very cause they ought to *come* from me. If I had *occasioned* an evil, surely I am the very person who ought to *remove* it as far as I can: to recover, if possible, those who are hurt already, and to caution others against it.

14. On some of those complaints (as you term them) you remark as follows: * "Many of those who once knew in whom they had believed" (these are my words) "were thrown into idle reasonings, and thereby filled with doubts and fears." "This," you add, "it is to be feared, has been too much the case of the Methodists in general. Accordingly we find in this journal, several instances not barely of doubts and fears, but of the most desperate despair. This is the consequence of resting so much on sensible impressions. Bad men may be led into presumption thereby: an instance of which you give, p. 66."

That instance will come in our way again. "Many of those who once knew in whom they had believed, were thrown (by the Antinomians) into idle reasonings, and thereby filled with doubts and fears. This, *you* fear, has been the case with the Methodists in general." You must mean (to make it a parallel case) 'That the generality of the people, now termed Methodists, were true believers till they heard us preach; but *were* thereby *thrown into idle reasonings, and filled with* needless *doubts and fears.*' Exactly contrary to truth in every particular. For, 1. They lived in open sins *till they heard us preach*, and consequently were no better *believers* than their father, the Devil. 2. They were not then thrown into *idle reasonings*, but into *serious thought*, how to flee from the wrath to come. Nor, 3. were they filled with *needless doubts and fears;* but with such as were *needful* in the highest degree; such as actually issued in repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

* Remarks, p. 13.

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"Accordingly we find in this journal several instances of the most desperate despair:" Vol. I. p. 309, 317, 334. Then I am greatly mistaken. But I will set down at length the several instances you refer to.

Page 309. 'I was a little surprised in going out of the room, at one who catched hold of me, and said abruptly, "I must speak with you and will. I have sinned against light and against love." (N. B. She was soon after, if not at that very time, a common prostitute.) "I have sinned beyond forgiveness. I have been cursing you in my heart, and blaspheming God, ever since I came here. I am damned. I know it. I feel it. I am in hell. I have hell in my heart." I desired two or three who had confidence in God, to join in crying to him on her behalf. Immediately that horrible dread was taken away, and she began to see some dawnings of hope.'

Page 317. 'The attention of all was soon fixed, on poor L—— S——. One so violently and variously torn of the evil one, did I never see before. Sometimes, she laughed till almost strangled; and then broke out into cursing and blaspheming; then stamped and struggled with incredible strength, so that four or five could scarcely hold her: then cried out, "O eternity: eternity! O that I had no soul! O that I had never been born!" At last she faintly called on Christ to help her. And the violence of her pangs ceased." (It should be remembered, that from that time to this, her conversation has been as becometh the gospel.)

Page 334. Thurs. Dec. 25. 'I met with such a case as I do not remember either to have known or heard of before. L— S—, (the same person) after many years of mourning, (long before she heard of us) was filled with peace and joy in believing. In the midst of this, without any discernible cause, such a cloud suddenly overwhelmed her, that she could not believe her sins were ever forgiven at all, nor that there was any such thing as forgiveness of sins. She could not believe, that the Scriptures were true, that there was any heaven, or hell, or angel, or spirit, or any God. One more I have since found in the same state. (But observe, neither of these continued therein: nor did I ever know one that did.) So sure it is, that all faith is the gift of God, which the moment he withdraws, the evil heart of unbelief will poison the whole soul.'

Which of these is an "instance of the most desperate despair?" Surely the most desperate of any, yea, the only one which is properly said to be desperate at all, is that which produces instant self-murder: which causes a poor wretch, by a sin which he cannot repent of, to rush straight through death into hell. But that was not the case in any of these instances; in all which we have already seen the end of the Lord.

15. That I raise separate* "societies against the Church," is a charge which I need not examine till the evidence is produced. You next cite a Moravian's words to me, (an Englishman joined with the

* Remarks, p. 14.

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Moravians,) "You have eyes full of adultery, and cannot cease from sin; you take upon you to guide unstable souls, and lead them in the way of damnation:" and remark, "This is only returning some of your own treatment upon yourself. Here also you set the pattern." At what time and place? When and where were "such abuses as these thrown out by me, against our universities, and against our regular clergy, not the highest or the worthiest excepted?" I am altogether clear in this matter, as often as it has been objected: neither do I desire to receive any other treatment from the clergy, than they have received from me to this day.

You have a note at the bottom of this page which runs thus: "See page 338, and 340, where some Methodists said, they had heard both your brother and you many times preach popery." I am afraid, you advance here a wilful untruth, purely *ad movendam invidiam*. For you cannot but know, 1. That there is not one word of *preaching popery*, either in the 338th or 340th page: and, 2. That when Mr. C. and two other Predestinarians (as is related, p. 340) affirmed, 'They had heard both my brother and me many times preach popery,' they meant neither more nor less thereby, than the doctrine of General Redemption.

16. You proceed,* "Kingswood you call your own house. And when one Mr. C. opposed you there, you reply to him, 'You should not have supplanted me in my own house, stealing the hearts of the people.' The parochial clergy may call their several districts their *own houses*, with much more propriety than you could call Kingswood yours. And yet how have you supplanted them therein, and laboured to steal the hearts of the people. You have suffered by the same ways you took to discharge your spleen and malice against your brethren.

"Your brother's words to Mr. C. are, 'Whether his doctrine is true or false is not the question. But you ought first to have fairly told him, I preach contrary to you. Are you willing notwithstanding, that I should continue *in your house*, gainsaying you? Shall I stay here opposing you, or shall I depart?' Think you hear this spoken to *you* by *us*:—What can you justly reply? Again, if Mr. C. had said thus to you, and you had refused him leave to stay; I ask you, whether in such a case he would have had reason to resent such a refusal? I think you cannot say he would. And yet how loudly have you objected our refusing our pulpits to you!"

So you judge these to be exactly parallel cases. It lies therefore upon me to show, that they are not parallel at all: that there is, in many respects, an essential difference between them.

1. "Kingswood you call your own house." So I do, that is, the schoolhouse there. For I bought the ground where it stands, and paid for the building it, partly from the contribution of my friends (one of whom contributed fifty pounds) partly from the income of my own fellowship. No clergyman therefore can call his parish *his own house* with *more propriety* than I can call this house *mine*.

* Remarks, p. 15.

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2. "Mr. C. opposed you there." True: but who was Mr. C.? One I had sent for to *assist me there;* a friend that was as my own soul; that even while he opposed me, lay in my bosom. What resemblance then does Mr. C. *thus* opposing *me*, bear to *me* opposing (if I really did) a *parochial minister?*

3 "You said to Mr. C. 'You should not have supplanted me in my own house, stealing the hearts of the people.' Yet you have supplanted the clergy in their own houses"—*What!* in the *same manner* as Mr. C. did *me?* Have I done to any of *them*, as he has done to *me?* You may as justly say, I have cut their throats? "Stealing the hearts of their people."—Now are these *their* people in the *same sense* wherein those were *mine*, viz. Servants of the Devil brought through my ministry, to be servants and children of God. "You have suffered by the same ways you took to discharge your spleen and malice against your brethren."—"To discharge your spleen and malice!" Say, your muskets and blunderbusses. I have just as much to do with one as the other.

4. "Your brother said to Mr. C., 'You ought to have told my brother fairly, I preach contrary to you. Are you willing I should continue in your house gainsaying you? Shall I stay here opposing you, or shall I depart?" Think you hear this spoken to *you* by *us*.—What can you justly reply?" I can justly reply, 'Sir, Mr. C.'s case totally differs from *your's*. Therefore it makes absolutely nothing to your purpose.'

17. A farther consequence (you think) of my preaching this doctrine, is "the *introducing that of absolute predestination. And whenever these errors," say you, "gain ground, there can be no wonder, that confusion, presumption, and despair, many very shocking instances of all which you give us among your followers, should be the consequences." You should by all means have specified a few of those instances, or at least, the pages where they occur. Till this is done, I can look upon this assertion, as no other than a flourish of your pen.

To conclude this head. You roundly affirm once for all, †"The grossest corruptions have ever followed the spreading of this tenet. The greatest heats and animosities have been raised thereby. The widest errors have been thus occasioned. And in proportion to its getting ground, it has never failed—to perplex the weak, to harden the wicked, and to please the profane. Your Journal is a proof, that these terrible consequences have of late prevailed, perhaps more than ever." Suppose that Journal gives a true account of facts, (which you seem not to deny) could you find there no other fruits of my preaching, than these terrible ones you here mention?

'O who so blind, as he that *will* not see?'

18. But that we may not still talk at large, let us bring this question, into as narrow a compass as possible. Let us go no farther, as to time, than seven years last past; as to place, than London and

* Remarks, p. 52. † p. 51.

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the parts adjoining; as to persons, than you and me, Thomas Church preaching one doctrine, John Wesley, the other. Now then let us consider with meekness and fear, what have been the consequences of each doctrine?

You have preached *justification by faith and works*, at Battersea and St. Ann's, Westminster; while I preached *justification by faith alone*, near Moorfields, and at Short's Gardens. I beseech you then to consider, in the secret of your heart, how many sinners have you converted to God? By their fruits we shall know them. This is a plain rule. By this test let them be tried. How many outwardly and habitually wicked men, have you brought to uniform habits of outward holiness? It is an awful thought! Can you instance in a a hundred? In fifty? In twenty? In ten?—If not, take heed unto yourself and to your doctrine. It cannot be, that both are right before God.

Consider now, (I would not speak; but I dare not refrain,) what have been the consequences of even my preaching the other doctrine? By the fruits shall we know those of whom I speak: even the cloud of witnesses, who at this hour experience the gospel I preach, to be the power of God unto salvation. The habitual drunkard, that was, is now temperate in all things. The whoremonger, now flees fornication. He that stole, steals no more, but works with his hands. He that cursed or swore, perhaps at every sentence, has now learned to serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence. Those formerly enslaved to various habits of sin, are now brought to uniform habits of holiness. These are demonstrable facts. I can name the men, with their several places of abode. One of them was an avowed Atheist for many years; some were Jews; a considerable number Papists: the greatest part of them as much strangers to the form, as to the power of godliness.

When you have weighed these things touching the consequences of *my preaching*, on the one hand, (somewhat different from those set down in your Remarks, and of *your preaching* on the other, I would earnestly recommend the following words to your deepest consideration: *Beware of false prophets; ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree* (every true prophet or teacher) *bringeth forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire.**

III. 1. Having spoken more largely than I designed, on the principle *I hold in common with the Moravians*, I shall touch very briefly on †*those errors* (so called) which you say, I *hold, more than theirs*.

"You name, as the first, my holding, 'that a †man may have a *degree* of justifying faith, before he has, in the *full, proper sense*, a new, a *clean heart*.'"

I have so often explained this, that I cannot throw away time in adding any more now: only this, That the moment a sinner is jus-

* Matt. vi. 15, &c. † Remarks, p. 55.

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tified, his *heart* is *cleansed* in a *low degree*. But yet he has not a clean heart, in the *full, proper sense*, till he is made *perfect in love*.

2. Another error you mention, is this *"doctrine of perfection." To save you from a continued *ignoratio elenchi*, I waive disputing on this point also, till you are better acquainted with my real sentiments. I have declared them on that head again and again; particularly in the Sermon on Christian Perfection.

3. Into this fallacy you plunge from the beginning to the end of what you speak on my third *error*, (so you term it,) relating to the Lord's Supper; confuting, as mine, †notions which I know not. I cannot think any farther answer is needful here, than the bare recital of my own words.

‡'Frid. June 27. I preached on, *Do this in remembrance of me.*

'It has been diligently taught among us, that none but those who are converted, who have received the Holy Ghost, who are believers in the full sense, ought to communicate.

But experience shows the gross falsehood of that assertion, that the Lord's Supper is not a converting ordinance. Ye are witnesses. For many now present know, the very beginning of your *conversion* to God, (perhaps, in some the first deep *conviction*,) was brought at the Lord's Supper. Now one single instance of this kind, overthrows that whole assertion.

'The falsehood of the other assertion appears both from Scripture precept, and example. Our Lord commanded those very men who were then *unconverted*, who had *not* yet *received the Holy Ghost*, who (in the full sense of the word) were not *believers*, to *do this in remembrance of him*. Here the precept is clear. And to these he delivered the elements with his own hands. Here is example equally indisputable.

'Sat. 28. I showed at large, 1. That the Lord's Supper was ordained by God, to be a *means of conveying* to men, either *preventing*, or *justifying*, or *sanctifying grace*, according to their several necessities. 2. That the persons for whom it was ordained, are all those who know and feel that they want the grace of God, either to *restrain* them from sin, or to *show their sins forgiven*, or to *renew their souls* in the image of God. 3. That inasmuch as we come to his table, not to give him any thing, but to receive whatsoever he sees best for us, there is no previous preparation necessary; but a desire to receive whatsoever he pleases to give. And, 4. That no fitness is required at the time of communicating, but a sense of our state, of our utter sinfulness and helplessness; every one who knows he is fit for hell, being just fit to come to Christ, in this as well as all other ways of his appointment.'

4. §"A stoical insensibility," you add, "is the next error I have to charge you with. You say, 'The servants of God suffer nothing,' and suppose, that we ought to be here so free, as in the strongest pain, not once to desire to have a moment's ease.

* Remarks, p. 60. † p. 56, 57. ‡ Journal, Vol. I. p. 323. § Remarks, p. 58.

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"At the end of one of your hymns, you seem to carry this notion to the very height of extravagance and presumption. You say,

'Doom, if thou canst, to endless pains,
And drive me from thy face.'

"A stoical insensibility is the next error I have to charge you with." And how do you support the charge? Why thus: "You say, 'The servants of God suffer nothing.'" And can you possibly misunderstand these words, if you read those that immediately follow? 'His body was well nigh torn asunder with pain. But God made all his bed in his sickness. So that he was continually giving thanks to God, and making his boast of his praise.'

"You suppose, we ought to be so free, as in the strongest pain, not once to desire to have a moment's ease." O Sir, with what eyes did you read those words?

'I dined with one who told me in all simplicity, Sir, I thought last week, there could be no such rest as you describe; none in this world, wherein we should be so free, as not to desire ease in pain. But God has taught me better: for on Friday and Saturday, when I was in the strongest pain, I never once had one moment's desire of ease, but only that the will of God might be done.' Do I say here, that "we ought not, in the strongest pain, once to desire to have a moment's ease?" What a frightful distortion of my words is this? What I say is, 'A serious person affirmed to me, that God kept her for two days in such a state.' And why not? Where is the absurdity?

"At the end of one of your hymns, you seem to carry this notion, to the very height of extravagancy and presumption. You say,

'Doom, if thou canst, to endless pains,
And drive me from thy face.'"

"If thou canst"—i. e. *If thou canst* deny thyself, *if thou canst* forget to be gracious, *if thou canst* cease to be truth and love. So the lines, both preceding and following, fix the sense. I see nothing of "stoical insensibility," neither of "extravagancy or presumption" in this.

5. Your last charge is, that I am "guilty of enthusiasm to the highest degree. * Enthusiasm (you say) is a false persuasion of an extraordinary divine assistance, which leads men on to such conduct as is only to be justified by the supposition of such assistance. An enthusiast is then sincere, but mistaken. His intentions are good—but his actions most abominable. Instead of making the word of God the rule of his actions, he follows only that secret impulse, which is owing to a warm imagination. Instead of judging of his spiritual estate by the improvement of his heart, he rests only on ecstasies, &c. He is very liable to err, as not considering things coolly and carefully. He is very difficult to be convinced, by reason and argument, as he acts upon a supposed principle superior to it, the directions of God's Spirit. Whoever opposes him is charged

* Remarks, p. 60, 61.

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with rejecting the Spirit. His own dreams must be regarded as oracles. Whatever he does, is to be accounted the work of God. Hence he talks in the style of inspired persons: and applies Scripture phrases to himself, without attending to their original meaning, or once considering the difference of times and circumstances."

You have drawn, Sir, (in the main,) a true picture of an *enthusiast*. But it is no more like me, than I am like a centaur. Yet you say, "they are these very things which have been charged upon you, and which you could never yet disprove:" I will try for once; and to that end, will go over these articles, one by one.

"Enthusiasm is a false persuasion of an extraordinary divine assistance, which leads men on to such conduct as is only to be justified by the supposition of such assistance." Before this touches *me*, you are to prove, (which I conceive you have not done yet) that *my* conduct is such, as is only to be justified by the supposition of an extraordinary divine assistance. "An enthusiast is then sincere, but mistaken," that I am "mistaken" remains also to be proved. "His intentions are good; but his actions most abominable." Sometimes they are; yet not *always*. For there may be *innocent* madmen. But what actions of mine are "most abominable?" I wait to learn. "Instead of making the word of God the rule of his actions, he follows only his secret impulse." In the whole compass of language, there is not a proposition which less belongs to me than this. I have declared again and again, that I make the Word of God the rule of all my actions: and that I no more follow any "secret impulse" instead thereof, than I follow Mahomet or Confucius.

> "Not even a word or look
> Do I approve or own,
> But by the model of thy book,
> Thy sacred book alone."

"Instead of judging of his spiritual estate by the improvement of his heart, he rests only on ecstasies." Neither is this my case. I rest not on them at all. Nor did I ever experience any. I do judge of my spiritual estate by the improvement of my heart and the tenor of my life conjointly. "He is very liable to err." So indeed I am. I find it every day more and more. But I do not yet find, that this is owing to my want of "considering things coolly and carefully." Perhaps you do not know many persons (excuse my simplicity in speaking it) who more carefully consider every step they take. Yet I know I am not cool or careful enough. My God, supply this and all my wants! "He is very difficult to be convinced, by reason and argument, as he acts upon a supposed principle superior to it, the direction of God's Spirit." I am very difficult to be convinced, by dry blows or hard names; (both of which I have not wanted:) but not, by reason and argument. At least that difficulty cannot spring from the cause you mention. For I claim no other direction of God's Spirit, than is common to all believers. "Whoever opposes him is charged with rejecting the Spirit." What! whoever opposes *me*, John Wesley? Do I charge every such person with rejecting

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the Spirit? No more than I charge him with robbing on the highway. I cite you yourself, to confute your own words. For do I charge *you* with rejecting the Spirit? "His own dreams must be regarded as oracles!" Whose? I desire. neither my dreams nor my waking thoughts, may be regarded at all, unless just so far as they agree with the oracles of God. "Whatever he does is to be accounted the work of God." You strike quite wide of *me* still. I never said so of what I do. I never thought so. Yet I trust what I do is pleasing to God. "Hence he talks in the style of inspired persons." No otherwise inspired, than you are, if you love God. "And applies Scripture phrases to himself, without attending to their original meaning, or once considering the difference of times and circumstances." I am not conscious of any thing like *this*. I apply no Scripture phrase either to myself or any other, without carefully considering both its *original* meaning, and the *secondary* sense, wherein (allowing for different times and circumstances) it may be applied to ordinary Christians.

6. So much for the bulk of your charge. But it concerns me likewise, to gather up the fragments of it. You say, "* We desire no more, than to try your sentiments and proceedings, by the written word." Agreed. Begin when and where you please. "We find there good works as strongly insisted on as faith." I do as strongly insist on them as on faith. But each in its own order. "We find all railing, &c. condemned therein." True; and so you may in all I write or preach. "We are assured, that the doing what God commands, is the sure way of knowing, that we have received his Spirit." We have doubtless received it, if we love God (as he commands) with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength: "And not by any sensible impulses or feelings whatsoever."—"Any sensible impulses whatsoever?" Do you then exclude *all sensible impulses?* Do you reject *inward feelings* toto genere? Then you reject both the *love* of God and of our neighbour. For if these cannot be *inwardly felt*, nothing can. You reject all *joy* in the Holy Ghost. For if we cannot be sensible of this, it is no joy at all. You reject the peace of God, which if it be not felt in the inmost soul, is a dream, a notion, an empty name. You, therefore reject the whole *inward kingdom* of God, that is, in effect, the whole gospel of Jesus Christ.

You have, therefore, yourself abundantly shown (what I do not *insinuate*, but proclaim on the house-top) that I am charged with *enthusiasm*, for *asserting the power* (as well as the form) *of godliness*.

7. You go on † "The character of the Enthusiast above drawn, will fit, I believe, all such of the Methodists as can be thought sincere." I believe not. I have tried it on one, and it fitted him, just as Saul's armour did David. However, *a few instances* of enthusiasm you undertake to show *in this very journal*.

And first, "You give us one" (these are your words) "of a private revelation, which you seem to pay great credit to." You partly

* Remarks, p. 63. † Ibid.

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relate this, and then remark, "What enthusiasm is here? To represent the conjectures of a woman, whose brain appears to have been too much heated, as if they had been owing to a particular and miraculous spirit of prophecy?" Descant, Sir, as you please, on this *enthusiasm*; on the credit I paid to this private revelation: and my *representing the conjectures* of this brain-sick woman, as owing to the miraculous *power of the Spirit of* God. And when you have done, I will desire you to read that passage once more, where you will find my express words are (introducing this account) '*Sunday* 11. *I met with a surprising instance of the *power of the Devil*.' Such was the *credit* I paid to this revelation! All that I ascribe to *the Spirit of God is*, the enabling her to strive against the *power of the Devil*, and at length restoring peace to her soul.

8. As a second instance of enthusiasm, you cite those words, †'I expounded out of the fulness which was given me.' The whole sentence is, 'Out of the fulness that was given me, I expounded those words of St. Paul, (indeed of every true believer,) *To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain*.' I mean, I had then a *fuller*, deeper sense of that great truth than I *ordinarily* have. And I still think it right, to ascribe this, not to myself, but to the *Giver of every good and perfect gift*.

You relate what follows as a third ‡ "very extraordinary instance of enthusiasm." 'Tues. §Feb. 17. I left London. In the afternoon I reached Oxford, and leaving my horse there, (for he was tired, and the horse-road exceeding bad, and my business admitted of no delay) set out on foot for Stanton-harcourt. The night overtook me in about an hour, accompanied with heavy rain. Being wet and weary, and not well knowing my way, I could not help saying in my heart, (though ashamed of my want of resignation to God's will) O that thou wouldst *stay the bottles of heaven!* Or at least, give me light, or an honest guide! Or some help in the manner thou knowest: presently the rain ceased; the moon broke out, and a friendly man overtook me, who set me on his own horse, and walked by my side, till we came to Mr. Gambold's door.'

Here you remark, "If you would not have us look on this as miraculous, there is nothing in it worthy of being related." It may be so: let it pass then as a trifle not worth relating: but still it is no proof of enthusiasm. For I "would not have you look on it as miraculous." I do not myself look upon it as such; but as a signal instance of God's *particular providence* over all those who call upon him.

9. ‖ "In the same spirit of enthusiasm" (you go on citing this as a fourth instance) "you describe heaven as executing judgments, immediate punishments, on those who oppose you. You say, 'Mr. Molther was taken ill this day. I believe it was the hand of God that was upon him.'" I do. But I do not say, as a *judgment from* God for opposing me. That *you* say for me. "Again, you tell us of 'one who was exceedingly angry, at those who pretended to be

* Vol. II. p. 335. † p. 334. ‡ Remarks, p. 65. § Vol. II. p. 337. ‖ Remarks, p. 66.

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in fits; and was just going to kick one of them out of the way, when she dropped down herself, and was in violent agonies for an hour.' And you say you left her—under a deep sense of the *just judgment* of God." So she termed it, and so I believe it was. But observe, not for *opposing me*. "Again, you mention, 'as an awful providence, the case of a poor wretch, who was last week cursing and blaspheming, and had boasted to many that he would come again on Sunday, and no man should stop his mouth then. (His mouth was stopped before in the midst of the most horrid blasphemies, by asking him, 'If he was stronger than God?') 'But on Friday, God laid his hand upon him, and on Sunday he was buried.'" I do look on this as a manifest judgment of God, on a hardened sinner, for his complicated wickedness. * "Again, 'one being just going to beat his wife, (which he frequently did,) God smote him in a moment, so that his hand dropped, and he fell down upon the ground, having no more strength than a new-born child.'" And can you, Sir, "consider this, as one of the common dispensations of providence?" Have you known a parallel one in your life? But it was never cited by me, as it is by you, as *an immediate punishment* on a man for *opposing me*. You have no authority from any sentence or word of mine, for putting such a construction upon it: no more than you have for that strange intimation (how remote both from justice and charity!) That "I paralleled these cases, with those of Ananias and Sapphira, or of Elymas the Sorcerer!"

10. You proceed to what you account a fifth instance of enthusiasm. † "With regard to people's falling in fits, it is plain, you look upon both the disorders and removals of them to be supernatural." It is not quite plain. I look upon some of these cases as wholly natural: on the rest, as mixt; both the disorder and the removal being partly natural and partly not. Six of these you pick out from, it may be, two hundred, and add, "From all which you leave no room to doubt, that you would have these cases considered, as those of the demoniacs in the New Testament; in order, I suppose, to parallel your supposed cures of them, with the highest miracles of Christ and his disciples." I should once have wondered at your making such a supposition: but I now wonder at nothing of this kind. Only be pleased to remember till this supposition is made good, it is no *confirmation* at all *of my enthusiasm*.

You then attempt to account for those fits, by "obstructions or irregularities of the blood and spirits; hysterical disorders; watchings, fastings, closeness of rooms, great crowds, violent heat." And, lastly, by "terrors, perplexities, and doubts, in weak and well-meaning men;" which, you think, in many of the cases before us, have "quite overset their understandings."

As to each of the rest, let it go as far as it can go. But I require proof of the last way whereby you would account for these disorders. Why, "The instances," you say, "of religious madness, have much increased since you began to disturb the world." ‡ I

* Remarks, p. 67. † p. 68, 69.

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doubt the fact. Although if these instances had increased lately, it is easy to account for them another way. "Most have heard of or known several of the Methodists thus driven to distraction." You may have *heard* of five hundred. But how many have you *known?* Be pleased to name eight or ten of them. I cannot find them, no not one of them to this day, either man, woman, or child. I find some indeed, whom *you told*, "They *would be distracted*, if they continued to follow these men:" and whom at that time you threw into much doubt, and terror, and perplexity. But though they did continue to hear them ever since, they are not distracted yet.

As for "* the abilities, learning, and experience" of Dr. M——, if you are personally acquainted with him, you do well to testify them. But if not, permit me to remind you of the old advice,

Qualem commendes, etiam atque; etiam aspice; ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.

In endeavouring to account for the people's recovery from those disorders, you say, † "I shall not dispute how far prayer may have naturally a good effect." (Nay, I am persuaded you will not dispute but it may have supernatural good effects also.) "However, there is no need of supposing these recoveries miraculous." Who affirms there is? I have set down the facts just as they were, passing no judgment upon them myself, (consequently here is no foundation for the charge of *enthusiasm*,) and leaving every man else to judge as he pleases.

11. The next passage you quote as a proof of my *enthusiasm*, taking the whole together runs thus: 'After communicating at St. James's, our parish church, I visited several of the sick. Most of them were ill of the spotted fever, which they informed me, had been extremely mortal, few persons recovering from it. But God had said, *Hitherto shalt thou come.* I believe there was not one with whom we were, but recovered.' On which you comment thus: "Here is, indeed, no intimation of any thing miraculous." No! Not so much as an intimation! Then, why is this cited as an instance of my *enthusiasm?* Why, "You seem to desire to have it believed, that an extraordinary blessing attended your prayers; whereas, I believe they would not have failed of an equal blessing and success, had they had the prayers of their own parish ministers." I believe this argument will have extraordinary success, if it convince any one, that I am an *enthusiast.*

12. You add, ‡ "I shall give but one account more, and this is, what you give of yourself." The sum whereof is, 'At two several times, being ill and in violent pain, I prayed to God and found immediate ease.' I did so. I assert the fact still. "Now if these" (you say) "are not miraculous cures, all this is rank *enthusiasm.*"

I will put your argument in form:

He that believes those are miraculous cures which are not so, is a rank enthusiast:

But you believe those to be miraculous cures which are not so:

Therefore, you are a rank enthusiast.

* Remarks, p. 70. † p. 71. ‡ p. 72.

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Before I answer, I must know, what you mean by miraculous? If you term every thing so, which is not strictly to be accounted for, by the ordinary course of natural causes; then I deny the latter part of the minor proposition. And unless you can make this good, unless you can prove the effects in question may strictly be accounted for, by the *ordinary course* of natural causes, your argument is nothing worth.

You conclude this head with, * "Can you work miracles? All your present pretences to the Spirit, till they are proved by miracles, cannot be excused, or acquitted from *enthusiasm.*"

My short answer is this: I pretend to the Spirit just so far, as is essential to a state of salvation. And cannot I be acquitted from enthusiasm, till I prove by miracles, that I am in a state of salvation?

13. We now draw to a period. † "The consequences of Methodism," (you say) i. e. of our preaching this doctrine, "which have hitherto appeared, are bad enough to induce you to leave it. It has, in fact, introduced many disorders. Enthusiasm, Antinomianism, Calvinism, a neglect and contempt of God's ordinances, and almost all other duties."

That whenever God revives his work upon earth, many tares will spring up with the wheat, both the word of God gives us ground to expect, and the experience of all ages. But where, Sir, have you been, that you have heard of the tares only? And that you rank among the consequences of my preaching, "A neglect and contempt of God's ordinances, and almost of all duties?" Does not the very reverse appear at London, at Bristol, at Kingswood, at Newcastle? In every one of which places, multitudes of those (I am able to name the persons) who before lived in a thorough neglect and contempt of God's ordinances and all duties, do now zealously discharge their duties to God and man, and walk in all his ordinances blameless.

And as to those drunkards, whoremongers, and other servants of the Devil, as they were before, who heard us awhile and then fell to the Calvinists or Moravians; are they not even now in a far better state, than they were before they heard us? Admit they are in error, yea and die therein, yet who dares affirm, they will perish everlastingly? But had they died in those sins, we are sure they would have fallen into *the fire that never shall be quenched.*

I hope, Sir, you will rejoice in considering this, how much their gain still outweighs their loss; as well as in finding the sentiments you could not reconcile together, clearly and consistently explained. I am very willing to consider whatever farther you have to offer. May God give us both a right judgment in all things! I am persuaded you will readily join in this prayer with,

Reverend Sir,

Your servant for Christ's sake,

BRISTOL, *Feb.* 2, 1744-5. JOHN WESLEY.

* Remarks, p. 73. † p. 75.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF A METHODIST,

FARTHER EXPLAINED:

OCCASIONED BY THE REV. MR. CHURCH'S SECOND LETTER TO MR. WESLEY.

IN A SECOND LETTER TO THAT GENTLEMAN.

REVEREND SIR,

1. AT the time that I was reading your former letter, I expected to hear from you again. And I was not displeased with the expectation; believing it would give me a fresh opportunity of weighing the sentiments I might have too lightly espoused, and the actions which, perhaps, I had not enough considered. Viewing things in this light, I cannot but esteem you, not an enemy, but a friend; and one, in some respects, better qualified to do me real service than those whom the world accounts so; who may be hindered by their prejudice in my favour, either from observing what is reprovable, or from using that freedom and plainness of speech, which are requisite to convince me of it.

2. It is at least as much with a view to learn myself, as to show others (what I think) the truth, that I intend to set down a few reflections on some parts of the Tract you have lately published. I say, *some* parts; for it is not my design to answer every sentence in this, any more than in the former. Many things I pass over, because I think them true; many more, because I think them not material; and some, because I am determined not to engage in a useless, if not hurtful controversy.

3. Fear indeed is one cause of my declining this: fear (as I said elsewhere*) not of my *adversary*, but of *myself*. I fear my own spirit, lest "I fall where many mightier have been slain." I never knew one (or but one) man write controversy with what I thought a right spirit. Every disputant seems to think (as every soldier) that he may hurt his opponent as much as he can; nay, that he *ought* to do his worst to him, or he cannot make the best of his own cause: that so he do not belie, or wilfully misrepresent him, he must expose him as much as he is able. It is enough, we suppose, if we do not show heat or passion against our adversary. But, not to despise him, or endeavour to make others do so, is quite a work of supererogation.

4. But ought these things to be so? (I speak on the Christian

* In the Preface to the Answer to Mr. Tucker.

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scheme.) Ought we not to love our neighbour as ourselves? And does a man cease to be our neighbour, because he is of a different opinion? Nay, and declares himself to be? Ought we not, for all this, to do to him as we would he should do to us? But do we ourselves love to be *exposed*, or set in the worst light? Would we willingly be treated with contempt? If not, why do we treat others thus? And yet, who scruples it? Who does not hit every blot he can, however foreign to the merits of the cause? Who, in controversy, casts the mantle of love over the nakedness of his brother? Who keeps steadily and uniformly to the question, without ever striking at the person? Who shows in every sentence, that he loves his brother only less than the truth?

5. I fear neither you nor I have attained to this. I believe brotherly love might have found a better construction than that of *unfairness*, *art*, or *disingenuity*, to have put either on my not answering *every part* of your book, (a thing which never once entered my thoughts,) or on my not reciting *all the words* of those parts which I did answer. I cannot yet perceive any blame herein. I still account it *fair* and *ingenuous*, to pass over both what I believe is right, and what I believe is not dangerously wrong. Neither can I see any *disingenuity* at all, in quoting only *that part* of any sentence, against which I conceive the objection lies: nor in *abridging* any part of any treatise to which I reply, whether in the author's, or in my own words.

6. If indeed it were so abridged as to alter the sense, this would be *unfair*. And if this were designedly done, it would be *artful* and *disingenuous*. But I am not conscious of having done this at all; although you speak as if I had done it a thousand times. And yet I cannot undertake now, either to transcribe your whole book, or every page or paragraph, which I answer. But I must generally abridge before I reply: and that not only to save time (of which I have none to spare) but often to make the argument clearer, which is best understood when couched in few words.

7. You complain also, of my mentioning all at once, sentences which you placed at a distance from each other. I do so; and I think it quite *fair* and *ingenuous*, to lay together what was before scattered abroad. For instance: you now speak of the conditions of justification, in the 18th and following pages: again, from the 89th to the 102d: and yet again, in the 127th page. Now I have not leisure to follow you to and fro. Therefore what I say on one head, I set in one place.

I. 1. This premised, I come to the letter itself. I begin, as before, with the case of the Moravians: of whom you say, * "I collected together the character which you had given of these men; the errors and vices which you had charged upon them, and the mischiefs—they had done among your followers. And I proved, that, in several respects, you had been the occasion of this mischief; and are therefore, in some measure, accountable for it. Let us see what answer you give to all this." Second letter, page 79.

* Mr. Church's words are inserted between inverted commas.

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"'With regard to the denying degrees in faith, you mentioned, that 'the Moravian church was cleared from this mistake.' But did you not mention this as one of the tenets of the Moravians? Do you not say, that 'you could not agree with Mr. Spangenberg, that none has any faith, so long as he is liable to any doubt or fear?' Do not you represent Mr. Molther, and other Moravians in England, as teaching the same? In short, I have not charged the Moravian church with any thing; but only repeat after you. And if you have accused them, when you knew them to be guiltless, you must bear the blame.

"'They do use the ordinances of God with reverence and godly fear.'—You have charged Mr. Spangenberg and Mr. Molther with teaching, that we ought to abstain from them. And the same you say in general of the Moravian brethren, in your letter to them. 'But Mr. Molther was quickly after recalled into Germany.' This might be on other accounts. You do not say it was out of any dislike of his doctrines or proceedings. Nor indeed can you, consistently with your next words: 'The great fault of the Moravian church seems to lie, in not openly disclaiming all he had said: which, in all probability, they would have done, had they not leaned to the same opinion.'

"You 'never knew but one of the Moravian church affirm, that a believer does not grow in holiness.' But who was this? No less a person than Count Zinzendorf, their great bishop and patron, whose authority is very high, all in all with them, and to whom you think they pay *too much* regard."

2. This is the whole of your reply to this part of my answer. I will now consider it, part by part.

First, "With regard to the denying degrees in faith, you mentioned, 'that the Moravian church was cleared from this mistake.' But did you not mention this as one of the tenets of the Moravians?" No; not of the Moravians in general. "Do you not say, that you 'could not agree with Mr. Spangenberg, that none has any faith, so long as he is liable to any doubt or fear?'" I do say so still. But Spangenberg is not the Moravian church. "Do you not represent Mr. Molther, and other Moravians in England, as teaching the same?" I do; three or four in all. But neither are these, the *Moravian church*.—"In short, I have not charged the Moravian church with any thing; but only repeat after you."—Indeed you have in the very case before us. You charge them *with denying degrees in faith*. I do not charge them herewith. I openly cleared them from any such charge near six years ago. "If therefore you have accused them when you knew them to be guiltless, you must bear the blame." In this case, I must entreat *you* to bear it in my stead. For I have not *accused them* (the Moravian church.) It is *you* that have accused them. I have again and again declared, they are *not guilty*.

Secondly, "'They do use the ordinances of God with reverence and godly fear.' You have charged Mr. Spangenberg and Mr. Molther with teaching, that we ought to abstain from them." That *we?* No. That *unbelievers* ought. The assertion relates to them only.—"And the same you say in general of the Moravian brethren in your letter." I say, they hold that '*unbelievers* ought to abstain from them.'

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But yet I know and bear witness, they use them themselves, and that with reverence and godly fear? "'Mr. Molther was quickly after recalled to Germany.'—This might be on other accounts. You do not say, it was out of any dislike of his doctrines or proceedings." I do not say so; because I am not sure; but I believe it was out of a dislike to *some* of his proceedings, if not, of his doctrines too. "Nor indeed can you, consistently with your next words: 'The great fault of the Moravian church seems to lie, in not openly disclaiming all he had said'" (relating to this head.) They did *privately disclaim* what he had said, of degrees in faith. But I think, that was not enough. And I still believe, they would have done more, 'had they not leaned themselves to the same opinion,' touching the ordinances.

Thirdly, "You 'never knew but one of the Moravian church affirm, that a believer does not grow in holiness.' But who was this? No less a person than Count Zinzendorf, their great bishop and patron, whose authority is very high, all in all with them, and to whom you think they pay 'too much regard.'" Do you apprehend, where the stress of the argument lies? I never heard one Moravian affirm this, but the Count alone; and him only once; and that once was in the heat of dispute. And hence I inferred, it was not a doctrine *of* the Moravian church: nay, I doubt, whether it be the Count's own settled judgment.

3. But I may not dismiss this passage yet. It is now my turn to complain of unfair usage; of the exceeding lame, broken, imperfect manner wherein you cite my words. For instance; your citation runs thus: "You 'never knew but one of the Moravian church affirm, that a believer does not grow in holiness.'" Whereas, my words are these, 'I never knew one of the Moravian church, but that single person, affirm, that a believer does not grow in holiness: and perhaps he would not affirm it on reflection.' Now why was the former part of the sentence changed, and the latter quite left out? Had the whole stood in your tract, just as it does in mine, it must have appeared, I do not here charge the Moravian church.

I complain also, of your manner of replying to the first article of this very paragraph. For you do not cite so much as one line of that answer, to which you profess to reply. My words are, 'You ought not to charge the Moravian church with the first of these, (errors) since in the very page from which you quote those words, *There is no justifying faith, where there ever is any doubt*, that note occurs, 'In the preface to the second Journal, the Moravian church is cleared from this mistake.' If you had cited these words, could you possibly have subjoined, "I have not charged the Moravian church with any thing; but only repeat after you!"

4. I have now considered one page of your reply, in the manner you seem to require. But sure you cannot expect I should follow you thus, step by step, through a hundred and forty pages! If you should then think it worth while, to make a second reply, and to follow me in the same manner we might write indeed; but who would read?—I return therefore to what I proposed at first, viz. To touch

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only on what seems of the most importance, and to leave the rest just as it lies.

4. You say, (p. 80.) "With regard to subtlety, evasion, and disguise, you *now* would have it thought, that you only found this, 'in many of them; not in all, nor in most.'" "You *now* would have it thought!" Yes, and *always*, as well as *now*. For my original charge was, 'I have found this, in many of you, i. e. much subtlety, much evasion, and disguise.' But you add, "Let the reader judge from the following passages, whether you did not charge the Moravians in general with these crimes. 'I had a long conference with those, whom I esteem very highly in love: but I could not yet understand them in one point, Christian openness and plainness of speech. They pleaded for such a reservedness and closeness of conversation. Yet I scarcely know what to think, considering they had the practice of the whole Moravian church on their side.'" True; in pleading for such a *reservedness* of conversation, as I could not in any ways approve of; but not in using much *subtlety, much evasion*, and *disguise:* this I dare not charge on the whole Moravian church. Those words also, 'There is darkness and closeness in all their behaviour, and guile in almost all their words,' I spoke, not of all the Moravians, nor of most: but of those who were then in England.' I could not speak it of them all: for I never found any guile in Christian David, Michael Linner, and many others.

5. "We are next to see, how you get over the objection I made good in three several particulars, that you have prepared the way for spreading of these tenets. The first you say nothing to here; the second you quote very partially, thus—'by countenancing and commending them.' And why would you not add, 'And being the occasion of so many of them coming over among us?'" Because I was not the occasion. I was indeed the first Englishman that ever was at Hernhuth. But before I was at Hernhuth, (I find on later inquiry,) the Count himself had been in England.

"You 'still think, that next to some thousands in our own Church, the body of the Moravian church, however mistaken some of them are, are in the main, the best Christians in the world.'" I do; 'of all whom I have seen;' (you should not omit these words.) "Those dreadful errors and crimes are here softened into mistakes." (I term them, 'Errors of judgment and practice.') "I have proved, that you have charged the body with such." At present the proof does not amount to demonstration. There needs a little farther proof, that I charge any "*dreadful crimes* on the *body* of the Moravians."

I see no manner of inconsistency still, in those accounts of my intercourse with the Moravians, which you suppose irreconcilable with each other. Let any one read them in the Journal, and judge.

6. "You had said, 'Your objections then were nearly the same as now.' You now add, 'only with this difference: I was not then assured, that the facts were as I supposed; I did not dare to determine any thing.' No? Not when by conversing among them you *saw* these things? As indeed the facts are of such a nature, that you could not but be assured of them, if they were true. Nor do the

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questions in your letter really imply any doubt of their truth: but are so many appeals to their consciences, and equivalent to strong assertions. And if you had not been assured, if you did not dare to determine any thing concerning what you saw, your writing bare suspicions to a body of men in such a manner was inexcusable. This excuse therefore will not serve you."

I apprehend it will. 'I was not then (in September, 1738,) assured that the facts were as I supposed. [Therefore] I did not [then] dare to determine any thing.' Be pleased to add the immediately following words: 'But from November 1, [1739,] I saw more and more things, which I could not reconcile with the gospel.'

If you had not omitted these words, you could have had no colour to remark, on my saying, 'I did not dare to determine any thing.' "No! Not when by conversing among them, you *saw* these things." No, I did not *dare to determine*, in September, 1738, from what I saw in November, 1739. "But the facts are of such a nature, that you could not but be assured of them, if they were true." I cannot think so. 'Is not the Count all in all among you? Do not you magnify your own church too much? Do you not use guile and dissimulation in many cases?' These facts are by no means of such a nature, as that whoever converses (even intimately) among the Moravians cannot but be assured of them. "Nor do the questions in your letter really imply any doubt of their truth." No! Are not my very words prefixed to those questions, 'Of some other things I stand in doubt. And I wish, "in order to remove those *doubts*," you would —plainly answer, whether the fact be as I suppose. "But [these questions] are so many appeals to their consciences." True. "And equivalent to strong assertions." Utterly false. "If you had not been assured, if you did not dare to determine any thing, concerning what you saw [fifteen months after] your writing bare suspicions to a body of men, in such a manner, was inexcusable." They were "strong presumptions" then; which yet I did not "write to a body of men," whom I so highly esteemed; no, not even in the *tenderest* manner, till I was *assured*, they were not groundless.

7. "In a note at the bottom of p. 8, you observe, 'The Band Society in London began May 1, some time before I set out for Germany.' Would you insinuate here, that you did not set it up, in imitation of the Moravians?" Sir, I will tell you the naked truth. You had remarked (p. 17,) thus—"You took the trouble of a journey to Germany to them; and were so much in love with their methods, that, at *your return* hither, you set up their bands among your disciples." This was an entire mistake: for that society was set up, not only before I returned, but before I set out. And I designed that note to insinuate this to you, without telling your mistake to all the world.

"I imagined, that supposing your account of the Moravians true, it would be impossible for any serious Christian to doubt of their being very wicked people." I know many serious Christians who suppose it true, and yet believe they are, in the main, good men. "A much worse character, take the whole body together, cannot be given to a body of men." Let us try. 'Here is a body of men who have

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not one spark either of justice, mercy, or truth, among them; who are lost to all sense of right and wrong; who have neither sobriety, temperance, nor chastity: who are, in general, liars, drunkards, gluttons, thieves, adulterers, murderers.' I cannot but think, that this is a much worse character than that of the Moravians, take it how you will. "Let the reader judge how far you are now able to defend them." Just as far as I did at first. Still I dare not condemn what is good among them; and I will not excuse what is evil.

8. "'The Moravians excel in sweetness of behaviour.'" "What, though they use guile and dissimulation?" Yes. "'Where is their multitude of errors?'" "In your own Journal. I have taken the pains to place them in one view in my Remarks; the justness of which, with all your art, you cannot disprove." You have taken the pains to transcribe many words; all which together amount to this, that they (generally) hold universal salvation, and are partly Antinomians, (in opinion) partly Quietists. The justness of some of your remarks, if I mistake not, have been pretty fully disproved. As to what you speak of my art, subtlety, and so on, in this and many other places, I look upon it as neither better nor worse than a civil way of calling names.

"'To this multitude of crimes * I am also an utter stranger.'" "Then you have charged them wrongfully.—What do you account guile," &c.? I account guile, despising self-denial, even in the smallest points, and teaching that those who have not the assurance of faith, may not use the ordinances of God, the Lord's Supper in particular, (this is the real, unaggravated charge,) to be faults which cannot be excused. But I do not account them altogether "a multitude of crimes." I conceive this is a vehement hyperbole.

"The honour of religion," said you, "and virtue trampled upon?" I answered, 'By whom? Not by the Moravians.' You reply, "And yet you have accused some of these as decrying all the means of grace." No. What I accused them of was, teaching that an unbeliever (in their sense) ought to abstain from them. 'Neither did I know, or think, or say, they were desperately wicked people.' "Your Journal is before the world; to whom I appeal whether this has not so represented them." But how do you here represent your remark, and my answer? My paragraph runs thus:

'You go on—"How could you so long and so intimately converse with—such desperately wicked people as the Moravians, according to your own account, were known by you to be?" O Sir, what another assertion is this! "The Moravians, according to your own account, were known by you to be desperately wicked people, while you intimately conversed with them." Utterly false and injurious! I never gave any such account. I conversed with them intimately both at Savannah and Hernhuth. But neither then, nor at any other time, did I *know*, or think, or say, they were desperately wicked people. I think and say—just the reverse, viz. That though I soon found among them a few things which I could not approve, yet I believe

* Second Letter, p. 84.

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they are, in the main, some of the best Christians in the world.' *After* this, are *you* the person, who complains of *me*, for imperfect and partial quotations?

I added, 'You surprise me yet more in going on thus: "In God's name, Sir, is the contempt of almost the whole of our duty, of every Christian ordinance, to be so very gently touched?" Sir, this is not the case. This charge no more belongs to the Moravians than that of murder.' p. 11.

You reply, "Mr. Sp. and Mr. Molther, are accused by name. If falsely, I am sorry both for them and you." Accused? True. *But* of what? Of the contempt of every Christian ordinance, of almost the whole of our duty? By no means. The plain case is, I accuse them of one thing, viz. 'Teaching that an unbeliever should abstain from the ordinances.' You accuse them of another, "contemning every Christian ordinance, and almost the whole of our duty." And this you would father upon me. I desire to be excused.

9. As to what I said in my letter to the Moravian church, 'You can hinder this if you will. Therefore if you do not prevent their speaking thus, you do in effect speak thus yourselves.' *It may be* observed, 1. That this letter is dated, August 8, 1741. 2. That from that time the Moravian church did in great measure prevent any of their members speaking thus.

You proceed. "You distinguish between the *English* brethren and the Moravians. These English brethren, I presume, were your followers. Afterwards you represent them as perverted by the Moravians. Before they had spoken these wicked things, you say, they had joined these men, and acted under their direction. If they did not learn them from these new teachers, from whom did they learn them? Not sure from yourself, or any other Methodist. You cannot therefore bring off the Moravians, without condemning your own people. Here therefore you have certainly *overshot* yourself." (p. 85.) Perhaps not. "These English brethren were, *I* presume, your followers." No; this is your first mistake. I was but a single private member of that society. "Afterwards you represent them as perverted by the Moravians." I do; but not yet connected with them. "Before they spoke these wicked things, they had joined these men, and acted under their direction." This is another mistake. They did not join these men, nor act by their direction, till long after. "If they did not learn them from these new teachers, from whom did they learn them? You cannot bring off the Moravians, without condemning your own people." They learned them from Mr. Molther chiefly; whom I am not at all concerned to bring off. Now let all men judge, which of us two has overshot himself!

10. "In answer to my objections against the inconsistent accounts you had given of the Moravians, you say, 'They are, I believe, the most self-inconsistent people under the sun.' Would not one imagine that you here speak of the same persons, or of the whole body of them in general?" I do, thus far: I ascribe the good to the body of them in general; the evil to part only of that body, to *some* of those "same persons."

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"Your method of getting over the contradictions I had charged upon you is much the same. (p. 86.) To distinguish either between the Moravians and the English brethren, (though these had been their disciples.") This has been abundantly answered. "Or between some of the Moravians and others." I think a very good method; for propositions are not contradictory, unless they both speak of the same persons.

However, since you persist to affirm, that I am "guilty of the contradictions you charged upon me," (p. 87.) I think there cannot be a sufficient reply, without reciting the several instances.

11. First, "You commend them (the Moravians) for loving one another; and yet charge them with biting and devouring one another." I answered, 'Them!' Whom? Not the Moravians, but the English brethren of Fetter-lane, before their union with the Moravians Herein then is no shadow of contradiction. For the two sentences do not relate to the same persons.

You reply, "Would you then have us to think, that so much anger and contradiction reigned among your Methodists?" I would have you think, this is nothing to the purpose. Prove the contradiction, and you speak to the point. "It is plain they had before this been perverted by the Moravians, and that—they were unwilling to be taught by any others."—*They*—that is, nearly half of the society. But here is no proof of the contradiction still.

2. "You say, 'They had well nigh destroyed brotherly-love among us, partly by cautions against natural love.'" [Partly by occasioning almost continual disquiet.] So they had. But we had then no connexion with them. Neither therefore does this contradict their loving one another. You reply. 'As if they can truly love each other, who teach you not to do it, and stir up divisions and disturbances among you." You should say, if you would repeat after me, 'Who caution you against natural love, and occasion many disputes among you.' Well; allowing they do this, (which is utterly wrong) yet where is the contradiction? Yet they may love one another.

3. "You 'praise them for using no diversions, but such as become saints: and yet say' (I recite the whole sentence) 'I have heard some of you affirm, that Christian salvation implies liberty to conform to the world, by joining in worldly diversions, in order to do good.'" And both these are true. The Moravians, in general, 'use no diversions but such as become saints.' And yet I have heard some of them affirm, (in contradiction to their own practice,) that 'one then mentioned did well, when he joined in playing at tennis, in order to do good.' To this you make no reply. Silence then consents, that there is no contradiction here.

4. "You 'praise them for not regarding outward adorning.'" So I do, the bulk of the congregation. "And yet you say, (I again recite the whole sentence) 'I have heard some of you affirm, that Christian salvation implies liberty to conform to the world, by putting on gold and costly apparel.'" I have so. And I blame them the more, because they are condemned by the general practice of their

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own church. To this also you reply not. So I must count this the fourth contradiction which you have charged upon me, but have not proved.

5. "You call their discipline, *in most respects*, truly excellent. I could wish you had more fully explained yourself." I have in the 2d Journal, from the 223d to the 228th page.—"It is no sign of good discipline, to permit such abominations," (i. e. error in opinion, and guile in practice.) 'True; it is not; nor is it any demonstration against it. For there may be good discipline, even in a college of Jesuits. Another fault is, too great deference to the Count. And yet, in most respects, their discipline is truly excellent.'

You reply, "Such excellent discipline, for all that I know, they may have, [i. e. the Jesuits;] but I cannot agree—that this is scarcely inferior to that of the Apostolical age." It may be, for any thing you advance to the contrary. "Here I cited some words of yours condemning their subordination, (p. 88,) which you prudently take no notice of." Yes; I had just before taken notice of their too great deference to the Count. But, the contradiction! Where is the contradiction?

6. "You mention it as a good effect of their discipline, that every one knows and keeps his proper rank. Soon after, as it were with a design to confute yourself, you say, 'Our brethren have neither wisdom enough to guide, nor prudence enough to let it alone.'" I answered, 'Pardon me, Sir, I have no design either to confute or contradict myself in these words. The former sentence is spoken of the Moravian brethren. The latter of the English brethren of Fetter-lane, (not then united with the Moravians, neither acting by their direction.') To this likewise you do not reply. Here is then a sixth contradiction, alleged against me, but not proved.

12. However you add, "Had you—shown me mistaken in any point you attempted to reply to, still—you confess errors and wickedness enough among the Moravians, to render your account of them very inconsistent. But you have not succeeded in any one answer. You have not shown, that I have in any one instance misquoted you, or misunderstood the character you had given of them, or argued falsely from what you had said of them. And truly, Sir, all you have done, has been cavilling at a few particulars. But the argument I was urging all this while you quite forgot."

Sir, if it be so, you do me too much honour, in setting pen to paper again. But is it so? Have I "all this while quite forgot the argument you were urging?" I hope not. I seem to remember, you "were urging" some argument, (Remarks, p. 21,) to prove, that I fall not only into inconsistencies, but direct contradictions;" and that I showed you *mistaken* not only in *one*, but in *every* point which you advanced as such: that I did not confess any such *errors* or *wickedness* of the Moravians, as rendered my account of them *self-inconsistent*: that I *succeeded* in more than *one* answer to the objections you had urged against it; and that I *showed*, you had "misquoted or misunderstood the character I had given of them, or

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argued falsely from it," not properly "in one instance," but from the beginning to the end. Yet this I think it incumbent upon me to say, that whereinsoever I have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the spreading of any thing evil, which is, or has been, among the Moravians, I am sorry for it, and hereby ask pardon, both of God and all the world.

II. 1. I think it appears, by what you yourself observed, that on the second head, justification by faith, I allow, in the beginning of the *Farther Appeal*, almost as much as you contend for. I desire leave to cite part of that passage again, that we may come as near each other as possible. I would just subjoin a few words on each head, which I hope may remove more difficulties out of the way.

'That justification whereof our Articles and Homilies speak, means present pardon, and acceptance with God: who therein *declares his righteousness* or *mercy, by* or *for the remission of sins that are past*. I say, *past*. For I cannot find any thing in the Bible, of the remission of sins, past, present, and to come.

'I believe the condition of this is faith: I mean not only, that without faith we cannot be justified, but also, that as soon as any one has true faith, in that moment he is justified.' You take the word condition in the former sense only, as that without which we cannot be justified. In this sense of the word, I think we may allow, that there are several conditions of justification.

'Good works follow this faith, but cannot go before it. Much less can sanctification; which implies a continued course of good works, springing from holiness of heart.' Yet such a course is, without doubt, absolutely necessary to our continuance in a state of justification.

'It is allowed, that repentance and *fruits meet for repentance*, go before faith. Repentance absolutely must go before faith: fruits meet for it, if there be opportunity. By repentance I mean conviction of sin, producing real desires and sincere resolutions of amendment: and by *fruits meet for repentance*, forgiving our brother, ceasing from evil, doing good, using the ordinances of God, and, in general, obeying him according to the measure of grace which we have received. But these I cannot as yet term good works, because they do not spring from faith and the love of God.' Although the same works are then good, when they are performed by those who have believed.

'Faith in general is, a divine, supernatural ἔλεγχος, (*evidence*, or *conviction*) of things not seen, not discoverable by our bodily senses, as being either past, future, or spiritual. Justifying faith implies not only a divine ἔλεγχος, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, but a sure trust and confidence, that Christ died for *my* sins, that he loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*. And the moment a *penitent* sinner *thus* believes, God pardons and absolves him.' I say, a *penitent* sinner; because justifying faith cannot exist without previous repentance.

——'Yet although both repentance, and the fruits thereof, are in

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some sense necessary before justification, neither the one nor the other is necessary in the *same sense*, or in the *same degree* with faith. Not in the same degree. For in whatever moment a man believes, (in the Christian sense of the word,) he is justified. But it is not so, at whatever moment he repents, or brings forth any, or all the fruits of repentance.—Consequently, none of these are necessary to justification, in the same degree with faith.'

'Nor in the same sense. For none of these has so direct, immediate a relation to justification as faith. This is *proximately* necessary thereto; repentance *remotely*, as it is necessary to faith (so the error of the press is to be corrected.) And the fruits of repentance still *more remotely*, as they are necessary to the increase, or continuance of repentance. And even in this sense, they are only necessary on supposition—if there be time and opportunity for them. For in many instances there is not, but God cuts short his work, and faith prevents the fruits of repentance.'

2. Thus far I believe we are nearly agreed. But on those words, 'Far other qualifications are required, in order to our standing before God in glory, than were required in order to his giving us faith and pardon: in order to this, nothing is *indispensably* required, but repentance or conviction of sin; but in order to the other, it is *indispensably* required, that we be fully cleansed from all sin:' you remark, "Here, I apprehend, are two great mistakes, 1. You make too little necessary before pardon. 2. Too much afterward. You confine repentance within too narrow limits, and extend holiness beyond its just bounds. First, By repentance you mean only conviction of sin.' But this is a very partial account of it. Every child that has learned his catechism can tell, that forsaking of sin is also included in it. Living in obedience to God's will, when there is opportunity; and even when there is not, a sincere desire and purpose to do so—and a faith in God's mercies through Christ Jesus."

I had said, 'In order to God's giving us faith and pardon, nothing is indispensably required but repentance,' i. e. 'Conviction of sin, producing real desires and sincere resolutions of amendment.' But you "apprehend, that I am here in a great mistake:" that I give a "very partial account of repentance:" that I ought to "include therein a sincere desire and purpose to obey God." I do: I have said so expressly. And "living in obedience to God's will, when there is opportunity." Very well; but I here speak of what is *indispensably required*, i. e. whether there is opportunity of actual obedience or not. "And a faith in God's mercies through Christ Jesus." A very great mistake indeed! My not including faith in that *repentance*, which I say is *indispensably* required—*in order* to faith!

"Secondly, You make sinless perfection necessary after justification, in order to make us meet for glory." And who does not? Indeed men do not agree in the time. Some believe it is attained before death: some, in the article of death: some, in an after-state; in the *mystic*, or the *popish* purgatory. But all writers whom I

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have ever seen till now (the Romish themselves not excepted) agree, that we must be *fully cleansed from all sin*, before we can enter into glory.

3. After what has already been allowed, I cannot think it needful to dispute farther on the head of justification. Rather suffer me to close this part of our debate, by transcribing what I assent to, from that clear recapitulation of your sentiments, which you have given in your 45th and 46th pages.

'First, Justification is the act of God, pardoning our sins, and receiving us again to his favour. This was free in him, because undeserved by us; undeserved, because we had transgressed his law, and could not, nor even can now, perfectly fulfil it.'

2. We cannot therefore be justified by our works, because this would be, to be justified by some merit of our own. Much less can we be justified by an external show of religion, or by any superstitious observances.

3. 'The life and death of our Lord is the sole meritorious cause of this mercy, which must be firmly believed and trusted in by us. Our faith therefore in him, though not more meritorious than any other of our actions, yet has a nearer relation to the promises of pardon through him, and is the mean and instrument whereby we embrace and receive them.'

4. 'True faith must be lively and productive of good works, which are its proper fruits, and the marks whereby it is known.'

5. 'Works really good, are such as are commanded by God (springing from faith) done by the aid of his Holy Spirit, with good designs, and to good ends. These may be considered as internal or external.'

6. 'The inward ones, such as hope, trust, fear, and love of God and our neighbour, (which may be more properly termed *good dispositions*, and [are branches of] sanctification) must always be joined with faith, and consequently be *conditions present* in justification, though they are not the means or instruments of receiving it.'

7. 'The outward'—(which are more properly termed good works,) 'though there be no immediate opportunity of practising them, and therefore a sincere desire and resolution to perform them, be sufficient for the present; yet must follow after as soon as occasion offers, and will then be necessary conditions of preserving our justification.'

8. 'There is a justification conveyed to us in our baptism, or properly, this state is then begun. But—should we fall into sins—we cannot regain it without true faith and repentance, which implies (as its fruits) a forsaking of our sins, and amendment of (our whole) life.'

I have only one circumstance farther to add, namely, That I am not *newly* convinced of these things. For this is the doctrine which I have continually taught for eight or nine years last past: only, I abstained from the word *condition*, perhaps more scrupulously than was needful.

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4. With regard to the *consequences* of my teaching this doctrine, I desire any who will not account it lost labour, to consult with his own eyes, seriously in the fear of God, the 3d and 4th Journals. And if he pleases, he may farther read over and compare from the 25th to the 29th page of my answer, with your reply, from the 101st (inclusive) to the 104th page.

Among the consequences you reckoned (in your Remarks) besides "introducing predestination, confusion, presumption, and despair, many very shocking instances of all which (your words are) you give us among your followers," p. 52, 55; I answered, 'You should have specified a few of those instances; at least the pages where they occur.' (Suppose, only three of each sort, out of any, or all the four Journals.) 'Till this is done, I can look upon this assertion as no other than the flourish of your pen.'

Upon this you exclaim, (p. 111,) "I must beg the reader to observe your method of citing my words. Many instances of omissions he has had already. But here is such an one, as I believe few controversies can parallel. Would not any one imagine from the view of these words, Predestination, confusion, presumption, and despair, that they occurred all together in page 52, of my Remarks: and that I observed nothing farther concerning this point? Could it be thought, that any thing intervened between the page referred to, and the last sentence? And yet so it is, that near three pages intervene!" Ha! do "near three pages intervene?" Prodigious indeed! "And this is called an answer!" So it is, for want of a better.

"Your business was to show, that the Calvinistical notions have not prevailed among the Methodists, or that they were no consequences of unconditional justification." No, Sir, it was not my business to show this. It was not my business to prove the negative, but yours, to prove the affirmative. Mr. Whitefield is himself a Calvinist. Such therefore, doubtless, are many of his followers. But Calvinism has not prevailed at all among the Methodists, (so called,) nor is it to this day any consequence of unconditional justification, in the manner wherein I preach it.

5. You next "take the pains to lay before the reader, an instance or two of Confusion," &c. The first I read thus: p. 11.

"While we were at the room, Mrs. J. sitting at home, took the Bible to read. But on a sudden threw it away, saying, I am good enough. I will never read or pray more. She was in the same mind when I came; often repeating, I used to think, I was full of sin, and that I sinned in every thing I did. But now I know better. I am a good Christian. I never did any harm in my life. I do not desire to be any better than I am; she spake many things to the same effect, plainly showing, that the spirit of pride and of lies had the full dominion over her. I asked, Do you desire to be healed? She said, I am whole. But do you desire to be saved? She replied, I am saved, I ail nothing, I am happy. This is one of the fruits of the present salvation and sinless perfection, taught by you among the weak and ignorant."

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I should wonder if the scarecrow of *sinless perfection* were not brought in some way or other. But to the point. You here repeat a relation as from me, and that in *confirmation*, you say of your own veracity, and yet leave out both the beginning of that relation, part of the middle, and the end of it.

I begin thus, *'Sund. Jan. 11, I met with a surprising instance of the power of the Devil.' These words, of all others, should not have been left out, being a key to all that follows. In the middle of the relation, immediately after the words, "I am happy,' I add, 'Yet it was easy to discern, she was in the most violent agony both of body and mind, sweating exceedingly, notwithstanding the severest frost, and not continuing in the same posture a moment.' A plain proof, that this was no instance of *presumption*, nor a *natural* fruit of any teaching whatever.

It ends thus. 'About a quarter before six the next morning, after lying quiet for a while, she broke out, 'Peace be unto thee, (her husband,) peace be unto this house, the peace of God is come to my soul! I know that my Redeemer liveth.' And for several days her mouth was filled with his praise, and her talk was wholly of his wonderous works.' Had not these words been left out, neither could this have passed for an instance of *despair*. Though still I do not know but it might have stood for an instance of *confusion*, &c.

I must not forget, that this was cited at first, as a proof of my *enthusiasm*: as an instance of "a private revelation, which (you say) I seem to pay great credit to—representing the conjectures of a woman—whose brain appears to have been too much heated, as if they had been owing to a particular and miraculous spirit of prophecy," (Remarks, p. 64.) I answered, 'Descant, Sir, as you please on this *enthusiasm*; on the *credit* paid to this *private revelation*; and my representing the *conjectures* of this brain-sick woman, as owing to a miraculous power of the *spirit of prophecy*. And when you have done, I will desire you to read the passage once more; where you will find my express words are, (introducing this account.) 'Sunday, 11, I met with a surprising instance of the *power of the Devil*.' Such was the credit I paid to this revelation! All which I ascribe to the Spirit of God is, the enabling her to strive against the power of the Devil, and at length restoring peace to her soul." Answer, p. 41.

I was in hopes you had done with this instance. But I am disappointed. For in your 2d letter I read thus, (p. 130,) "The instances of enthusiasm and presumption, which your last Journal had furnished me with, remain now to be reviewed. The first was of a private revelation, which you appeared to pay great credit to. You had represented every thing the woman had spoken in her agony as coming to pass." But I had not represented any thing she spoke then, whether it came to pass or not, as coming "from the *Spirit of God*," but from the *Devil*.

You say, "When I read this first, I was amazed, and—impatient

* Journal, Vol. I. p. 335.

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to look again into your Journal. But I had no sooner done this, but I was still more astonished. For you have very grievously misrepresented the case. If I have, then I will bear the blame; but if not, it will light on *your* head.

"It is not *this* account which you had thus introduced; but another, and a very different one, of what happened a day or two before. Sunday, you mention her as being guilty of gross presumption, which you attribute the power of the Devil. But on Monday and Tuesday the opposite revelations happened, which—you relate without the least mark of diffidence or blame," p. 131.

I am grieved, that you constrain me to say any more. In the 4th Journal,* I gave an account of Mrs. Jones, which I term, 'a surprising instance of the power of the Devil.' It includes the occurrences of three days. This you brought as a proof of my enthusiasm. I answer, 'The very words that introduce *this account*,' prove it is no instance of enthusiasm: meaning by *this account* (as I suppose is plain to every reader) the following account of Mrs. Jones. You reply, "It is not *this* account which you had thus introduced, but another, and a very different one, of what happened a day or two before." Sir, it is the whole account of Mrs. Jones which I thus introduce; and not another; not a very different one. And I attribute the agony which she (Mrs. Jones) was in, and most of the words which she spoke, both on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, not to the Spirit of God, but to the power of the Devil.

6. The next instance, which you relate as an instance of despair, is that of a young woman of Kingswood; which you break off with, "Take me away," &c. (p. 112.) But why did you not add the rest of the paragraph? Because it would have spoiled your whole argument. It would have shown what the end of the Lord was, in permitting that severe visitation. The words are, †"We interrupted her by calling again upon God, on which she sunk down as before, (as one asleep,) and another young woman began to roar as loud as she had done. My brother now came in, it being about nine o'clock. We continued in prayer till past eleven: when God in a moment spoke peace into the soul, first, of the first tormented, and then of the other. And they both joined in singing praises to him, who had stilled the enemy and the avenger.'

7. I am sorry to find you still affirm, that with regard to the Lord's Supper also, I "advance many injudicious, false, and dangerous things." Such as, 1. "That a man ought to communicate, without a sure trust in God's mercy through Christ," (p. 117.) You make these as my words; but I know them not. 2. "That there *is* no previous preparation indispensably necessary, but a desire *to* receive whatsoever God pleases to give." But I include abundantly more in that desire, than you seem to apprehend; even a willingness to know and to do the will of God. 3. "That no fitness *is* required at the time of communicating," (I recite the whole sentence,) "but a sense of our state, of our utter sinfulness and helplessness! Every

* Vol. I. p. 335. † Vol. I. p. 290.

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one who knows he is fit for hell, being just fit to come to Christ, in this, as well as in all other ways of his appointment." But neither can this sense of our utter sinfulness and helplessness subsist, without earnest desires of universal holiness. "There was another passage," you say," "which you chose to omit," (p. 118.) Which this was, I do not understand. Nor do I perceive any one of those dreadful positions (as you style them) to be contrary to the word of God.

8. You will likewise, at all hazards, stand your ground, as to the charge of *stoical insensibility*. I answered before, (p. 36,) 'How do you support the charge? Why thus,—"You say the servants of God suffer nothing." And can you possibly misunderstand these words, if you read those that immediately follow? His body was well nigh torn asunder with pain. But God made all his bed in his sickness. So that he was continually giving thanks to God, and making his boast of his praise.'

You reply, (118,) "If you meant no more than that a man under the sharpest pains, may be thankful to God, why did you call this a strange truth?—Because I think it is so. I think it exceeding strange, that one in such a degree of pain, should be continually giving thanks to God. Not that I suppose him *insensible of his torments*. 'His body I say, was well nigh torn asunder with pain.' But the love of God so abundantly overbalanced all pain, that it was nothing to him.

"The next instance is as follows. One told you, Sir, I thought last week there could be no such rest as you describe; none in this world wherein we should be so free, as not desire ease in pain. But God has taught me better. For on Friday and Saturday, when I was in the strongest pain, I never once had one moment's desire of ease" (add, 'but only that the Will of God might be done.')

Neither has this any resemblance of *stoical insensibility*. I never *supposed*, that this person did not *feel* pain: (nor indeed that there is any state on earth, wherein we shall not feel it.) But that her soul was filled with the love of God, and thankfully resigned to his Will.

"Another instance is taken from one of your hymns, where are these lines: (p. 119.)

> "Doom, if thou canst, to endless pains,
> And drive me from thy face:" (Add,
> 'But if thy stronger love constrains,
> Let me sav'd by grace.')

"This I thought the height of insensibility, extravagance, and presumption—You see nothing of these in it. And yet you explain yourself thus, 'If thou canst deny thyself, if thou canst forget to be gracious, if thou canst cease to be truth and love.' All which, in my opinion, is fixing the charge more strongly upon you. For the supposition that Christ *can* do these things"—Are you in earnest, Sir? Are you really ignorant, that expressions of this kind, do not suppose he *can*, but quite the reverse? That they are one of the strongest forms of obtestation of adjuring God to show mercy, by all his grace, and truth, and love? So far is this also from proving the charge of stoical insensibility.

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III. 1. I come now to consider the point of church-communion, of which you have spoken in the beginning of your treatise. In the entrance you say, "We teach no other doctrine than has always been taught in our church.—Our sentiments concerning justification are reconcileable to our articles, homilies, and service. This I apprehend several of the Methodists have been convinced of, and have *therefore* left our communion entirely. You give us more instances than one of this in your last Journal."—(p. 2.) No, not one. Nor did I ever yet know one man, who "therefore left the communion of the church," because he was convinced that either her articles, homilies, or liturgy opposed his sentiments concerning justification. Poor Mr. St. and Mr. Simpson were induced to leave it, by reasons of quite another kind.

You add, "We cannot wonder, that some Methodists, have withdrawn from her, while they have been used to hear doctrines, which they must have been sensible, have no place in her articles and service." So far from it, that all I know of them are deeply *sensible*, the *doctrines they have been used to hear* daily, are no other than the genuine doctrines of the church, as expressed both in her articles and service.

2. But our present question turns not on doctrine but discipline. "My first business" (you say) "is to consider, some very lax notions of church-communion, which I find in your last Journal, (Vol. II. You say, "Our 19th article defines a true church, a congregation of faithful people, wherein the true word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered,'" (p. 3.) The use I would willingly make of this definition, (which, observe, is not mine, be it good or bad,) is to stop the boasting of ungodly men, by cutting off their pretence to call themselves *of the church*. But you think, they may call themselves so still. Then let them. I will not contend about it.

But you cannot infer from hence, that my notions of church communion are either lax or otherwise. The definition which I occasionally cite, shows nothing of my sentiments on that head. And for any thing which occurs in this page, they may be strict or loose, right or wrong.

You add, "It will be requisite, (p. 5,) in order to approve yourself a minister of our church, that you follow her rules and orders.—That you constantly conform to the method of worship she has prescribed, and study to promote her peace."—All this is good and fit to be done. But it properly belongs to the following question.—"What led you into such loose notions of church-communion, I imagine, might be, your being conscious to yourself, that according to the strict, just account of the Church of England, you could not, with any grace, maintain your pretensions to belong still to her."—Sir, I have never told you yet, what my notions of the church-communion are. They may be wrong, or they may be right, for all you know. Therefore, when you are first supposing that I have told

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you my notions, and then assigning the reasons of them, what can be said, but that you imagine the whole matter?

3. How far I have *acted agreeably to the rules and orders* of our church, is a farther question. You think I have acted contrary thereto, first, By using *extemporary prayer* in public. "The church," you say, "has strongly declared her mind on this point, by appointing her excellent liturgy, which you have solemnly promised to use —and no other." I know not when or where.—"And whoever does not worship God in the manner she prescribes, must be supposed to slight and contemn her offices and rules: and, therefore, can be no more worthy to be called her minister," (p. 7.)

I do not *slight or contemn the offices* of the church. I esteem them very highly. And yet I do not, at all times, worship God, even in public, in the very terms of those offices. Nor yet do I knowingly *slight or contemn her rules*. For it is not clear to my apprehension, that she has any rule which forbids using extemporary prayer, suppose between the morning and evening service. And if I am *not worthy to be called her minister*, (which I dare by no means affirm myself to be,) yet *her minister I am*, and must always be, unless I should be judicially deposed from my ministry.

Your second argument is this: "If you suppose the Scripture enjoins you to use extemporary prayer, then you must suppose our liturgy to be inconsistent with Scripture, and, consequently, unlawful to be used." That does not follow: unless I supposed the Scripture to enjoin, to use extemporary prayer, *and no other*. Then it would follow, that a form of prayer was inconsistent with Scripture. But this I never did suppose.

Your third argument is to this effect: "You act contrary to the rule of the church. Allow she is in the wrong: yet while you break her rule, how do you act as her minister?" It ought to be expressed, "How are you her minister?" For the conclusion to be proved is, That I am not her minister. I answer, 1. I am not convinced, as I observed before, that I do hereby *break her rule*. 2. If I did, yet should I not *cease* to be her minister, unless I were formally *deprived*. 3. I now *actually do* continue in her communion, and hope that I always shall.

4. You object farther, "That I disobey the governors of the church." I answer, I both do, and will obey them in all things, where I do not apprehend there is some particular Law of God to the contrary. "Here," you say, "you confess that in some things you do not, and cannot obey your governors," (p. 8.)—Did I *confess this?* Then I spoke rashly and foolishly: for I granted more than I can make good. I do certainly apprehend that the Law of God requires me, both to preach and (sometimes) to pray *extempore*. Yet I do not know that I disobey the governors of the church herein. For I do not know, that they have forbidden me to do either.

"But your behaviour and method of teaching is irregular. Have you any warrant from Scripture for preaching" up and down thus? —I think I have; I think God hath called me to this work 'by the

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laying on of the hands of the presbytery,' which directs me how to obey that general command, 'While we have time, let us do good unto all men.'

"But we ought to do this agreeably to our respective situations, and not break in upon each other's provinces. Every private man may take upon himself the office of a magistrate—and quote this text as justly as you have done," (p. 9.) No. The private man is not called to the office of a *magistrate;* but I am to the office of a *preacher.* "You were indeed authorized to preach the gospel: but it was in the congregation to which you should be lawfully appointed.—Whereas you have many years preached in places whereunto you were not lawfully appointed; nay, which were intrusted to others, who neither wanted nor desired your assistance." Many of them wanted it enough, whether they desired it or not. But I shall not now debate that point. I rather follow you to the first of the *Farther Appeal*, where this objection is considered.

5. "Our church," (it was said) "has provided against this preaching up and down, in the ordination of a priest, by *expressly limiting* the exercise of the powers then conferred upon him, to the *congregation* where he shall be lawfully appointed thereunto." I answered, 1. Your argument proves too much. If it be allowed just as you propose it, it proves, that no priest has authority either to preach or administer the sacrament in any other than his own congregation.' *Farther Appeal*, p. 84.

You reply, "Is there no difference between a thing's being done occasionally—and its being done for years together?"—Yes, a great one. And more inconveniences may arise from the latter than from the former. But this is all wide: it does not touch the point. Still if our church, does *expressly limit* the exercise of the sacerdotal powers, to *that congregation* whereunto each priest shall be appointed; this precludes him from exercising those powers *at all*, in any other than *that congregation*. I answered, 2. 'Had the powers conferred been so *limited* when I was ordained priest, my ordination would have signified just nothing. For I was not *appointed to any congregation* at all: but was ordained as a member of that "college of divines," (so our statues express it) "founded to overturn all heresies, and defend the catholic faith."'

You reply, "I presume it was expected you should either continue at your college, or enter upon some regular cure." Perhaps so; but I must still insist, that if my sacerdotal powers had been then *expressly limited to that congregation* whereunto I should be *appointed*, my ordination would have *signified nothing*. I mean, I could never, in virtue of that ordination, have exercised those powers at all: seeing I never was appointed to any single congregation; at least, not till I went to Georgia.

I answered, 3. 'For many years after I was ordained priest, this limitation was never heard of. I heard not one syllable of it, by way of objection to my preaching up and down, in Oxford or London, or the parts adjacent: in Gloucestershire or Worcestershire: in Lanca-

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shire, Yorkshire, or Lincolnshire. Nor did the strictest disciplinarian scruple suffering me to exercise those powers wherever I came.'

You reply, "There is great difference in preaching occasionally—with the leave of the incumbent, and doing it constantly without their leave." I grant there is; and there are objections to the latter, which do not reach the former case. But they do not belong to this head. They do not in the least affect this consequence, "If every priest, when ordained, is *expressly limited*, touching the exercise of the power then received, to *that congregation* to which he shall be appointed; then is he precluded by this *express limitation*, from preaching, with or without the incumbent's leave, in *any other congregation* whatever."

I answered, 4. 'Is it not, in fact, universally allowed, that every priest, as such, has a power, in virtue of his ordination, to preach—in any congregation, where the curate desires his assistance?'

You reply to this by what you judge a parallel case. But it does not touch the *restriction* in question. Either this does, or does not *expressly limit* the exercise of the powers conferred upon a priest in his ordination, to *that congregation* whereunto he shall be appointed. If it does not, I am not condemned by this; however faulty I may be on a thousand other accounts. If it does, then is every priest condemned who ever preaches out of the *congregation to which he is appointed.*

Your parallel case is this—"Because a man does not offend against the law of the land, when I prevail upon him to teach my children, —Therefore he is empowered to seize" [read, he does not offend against the law of the land in seizing] "an apartment in my house, and against my will and approbation to continue therein, and to direct and dictate to my family!" (p. 11.)

An exact parallel indeed!—When therefore I came to live in St. Luke's parish, was it just the same thing as if I had "seized an apartment in Dr. Buckley's house?" And was the "continuing therein against his will and approbation" (supposing it were so) precisely the same, as if I had continued *in his house*, whether he would or not? Is the one exactly the same "offence against the law of the land" as the other? Once more. Is the warning *sinners*, in Moorfields, to flee from the wrath to come, the very same with directing the Dr.'s *family under his own roof?*—I should not have answered this, but that I was afraid you would conclude it was unanswerable.

I answered the former objector, 5. 'Before those words which you suppose to imply such a restraint—were those spoken without any restraint or limitation at all, which I apprehend to convey an indelible character, Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands.'

You reply, "The question is not, whether you are in orders, or not?" p. 12.—I am glad to hear it. I really thought it was—"But whether you have acted suitably to the directions or rules of the Church of England."—Not suitably to that rule, if it were strictly to

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be interpreted, of preaching only in a single congregation. But I have given my reasons, why I think it cannot be so interpreted. And those reasons I do not see that you have invalidated.

I would only add, if I am in orders, if I am a minister still, and yet not a minister of the Church of England, of what church am I a minister? Whoever is a minister at all, is a minister of some particular church. Neither can he cease to be a minister of that church, till he is cast out of it by a judicial sentence. Till therefore I am so cast out, (which I trust will never be,) I must style myself, a minister of the Church of England.

6. Your next objection is, "You not only erect bands, which, after the Moravians, you call the United Society, *but also* give out tickets to those that continue therein."—These bands, you think, "have had very bad consequences, as was to be expected, when weak people are made leaders of their brethren, and are set upon expounding Scripture." Ibid. You are in some mistakes here. For, 1. *The bands* are not called *the United Society*. 2. The *United Society* was originally so called, not after the Moravians, but because it consisted of several smaller societies *united together*. 3. Neither the bands, nor the leaders of them, as such, are *set upon expounding Scripture*. 4. The good consequences of their meeting together in *bands*, I know: but the *very bad consequence* I know not.

When any members of these, or of the *United Society*, are proved to live in known sin, we then mark and avoid them; we separate ourselves from every one that walks disorderly. Sometimes, if the case be judged infectious (though rarely,) this is openly declared. And this you style "excommunication," and say, "Does not every one see a separate, ecclesiastical society or communion?" (page 13.)—No. This society does not *separate* from the *communion* of the rest of the Church of England. They *continue steadfastly* with them, both 'in the apostolical doctrine, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayers,' (which neither Mr. St. nor Mr. Si. does: nor the gentleman who writes to you in favour of the Moravians: who also writes pressingly to me to *separate* myself from the church) a society "over which you had appointed yourself a governor."—No: so far as I governed them, it was at their own entreaty.—"And took upon you all the spiritual authority, which the very highest church governor could claim."—What! At Kingswood? In February 1740-1? Not so. I took upon me no other authority (then and there at least) than any steward of a society exerts by the consent of the other members. I did neither more nor less than declare, that they who had broken our rules, were no longer of our society.

"Can you pretend that you received this authority from our church?"—Not by ordination; for I did not exert it as a *priest*; but as one whom that society had voluntarily chosen to be at the head of them.—"Or that you exercised it in subjection, or subordination to her lawful governors?" I think so; I am sure I did not exercise it in any designed opposition to them.—"Did you ever think proper to consult or advise with them, about fixing the terms of your com-

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munion?" If you mean about fixing the rules of admitting or excluding from our society: I never did think it either needful or proper. Nor do I, at this day.

"How then will you vindicate all these powers?"—*All these* are, 'Declaring those are no longer of our society.' "Here is a manifest congregation. Either it belonged to the Church of England, or not. If it did not, you set up a separate communion against her. And how then are you injured, in being thought to have withdrawn from her?"—I have nothing to do with this. The antecedent is false. Therefore the consequent falls of course.—"If it did belong to the church, show where the church gave you such authority of controlling and regulating it?" Authority of putting disorderly members out of that society? The society itself gave me that authority. "What private clergyman can plead her commission, to be thus a judge and ordinary, even in his own parish?" Any clergyman or layman, without pleading her commission, may be thus a judge and ordinary. "Are not these powers inherent in her governors, and committed to the higher order of her clergy?" No: not the power of excluding members from a private society,—unless on supposition of some such rule as ours is, viz. 'That if any man separate from the church, he is no longer a member of our society.'

7. But you have more proof yet. "The grand jury in Georgia found, that you had called yourself ordinary of Savannah. Nor was this fact contradicted even by those of the jury, who you say wrote in your favour. So that it appears, you have long had an inclination, to be independent and uncontrolled." This argument ought to be good; for it is far fetched. The plain case was this. That grand jury did assert, 'That in Mr. Causton's hearing, I had called myself ordinary of Savannah.' The minority of the jury, in their letter to the trustees, refuted the other allegations particularly: but thought this so idle an one, that they did not deign to give it any farther reply, than—'As to the eighth bill we are in doubt, as not well knowing the meaning of the word *ordinary*.' See Vol. I. p. 154, 155.

You add, "I appeal to any reasonable man, whether you have not acted as an *ordinary*; nay, a *bishop* in Kingswood." If you mean, in 'declaring those disorderly members were no longer of that society,' I admit your appeal, whether I therein acted as a *bishop*, or as any *steward* of a society may. "Nay you have gone far beyond the generality of the dissenters themselves; who do not commit the power of excommunication, and appointing to preach"—(that is another question) "to the hands of any private minister.—The powers of excommunication." True; but this was not *excommunication*, but a quite different thing.—How far, in what circumstances, and in what sense, I have *appointed men to preach*, I have explained at large in the third part of the *Farther Appeal*. But I wait for farther light; and am ready to consider, as I am able, whatever shall be replied to what is there advanced.

8. Your general conclusion is, "Whatever your pretences or

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professions may be, you can be looked upon by serious and impartial persons, (not as a *member*, much less a *minister* of the Church of England,) but as no other than an enemy to her constitution, worship, and doctrine, raising divisions and disturbances in her communion; (p. 76,) and yet you say, 'I cannot have greater regard to her rules'—'I dare not renounce communion with her.' (p. 15.)

I do say so still. I cannot have a greater regard to any *human rules*, than to follow them in all things, unless where I apprehend there is a *divine rule* to the contrary. I dare not *renounce communion* with the Church of England. As a *minister*, I teach her doctrines. I use her offices. I conform to her rubricks. I suffer reproach for my attachment to her. As a private *member* I hold her doctrines. I join in her offices, in prayer, in hearing, in communicating. I *expect* every reasonable man, touching these facts, to *believe his own eyes and ears*. But if these facts are so, how dare any man of common sense, charge me with *renouncing* the Church of England?

9. Use ever so many exaggerations, still the whole of this matter is, 1. I often use extemporary prayer. 2. Wherever I can, I preach the gospel. 3. Those who desire to *live the gospel* I advise how to watch over each other, and to put from them such as walk disorderly. Now whether these things are, on other considerations, right or wrong, this single point I must still insist on: "All this does not prove, either that I am no *member*, or that I am no *minister* of the Church of England." Nay, nothing can prove, I am no *member* of the church, till I either am *excommunicated*, or *renounce* her communion, and no longer join in her doctrine, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayer. Nor can any thing prove I am no *minister* of the church, till I either am *deposed* from my ministry, or *voluntarily renounce* her, and wholly cease to teach her doctrines, use her offices, and obey her rubricks for conscience' sake.

However, I grant, that whatsoever is "urged on this head, deserves my most serious consideration." And whensoever I am *convinced*, that by taking any *methods*, more or less *different* from those I now take, I may better "consult the honour of religion, and be able to do more good in the world;" by the grace of God, I shall not persist in these one hour, but instantly choose the more excellent way.

IV. 1. What you urge on the head of *enthusiasm* also, I think "deserves my most serious consideration." (You may add, "and presumption." I let it drop once more; because I do not love tautology; and because I look upon presumption to be essential to enthusiasm, and, consequently, contained therein.) I will, therefore, weigh what you advance concerning it, and explain myself something more at large.

"I am to examine," you say, (p. 120,) "how far you have cleared yourself of enthusiasm. My account of this you set down, making as many alterations and omissions as there are lines." Perhaps more; for I never designed to recite the whole, but only the material part of it. "If you did not wholly approve of it, why would

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you not let me know, what you disliked in it?" Because I do not love many words. Therefore when the argument stood thus: "He that does this is an enthusiast: but you do this:" I was generally content with answering the 2d proposition, and leaving the first as I found it.

"I laid this charge against you and the Methodists in general: between you every part of the character has been verified." I answer for one; let the rest answer for themselves,—if they have not better employment. That the question between us may be the more fully understood, I shall briefly compare together, 1. Your remarks. 2. My answer. 3. Your reply: though still I cannot promise to repeat your words at length.

2. You remark, (p. 60,) "Though you would be thought an enemy to enthusiasm and presumption, yet in both, you are free from being inferior to the Moravians, or indeed to any others:" [strong assertions, *not inferior* to any others? Not to the French prophets, or John of Leyden?] "1. Enthusiasm is, a false persuasion of an extraordinary divine assistance, which leads men to such conduct, as is only to be justified by the supposition of such assistance." I answer, (p. 38,) 'Before this touches me, you are to prove, (which I conceive you have not done yet,) that my conduct is such, as is only to be justified by the supposition of such assistance." You reply (p. 120.) "This, I think, is proved in the preceding tract." I think not. Let men of candour judge. Yet I am persuaded, there was such an assistance at some times. You have also to prove that this was a *false* persuasion.

You remark, 2. "An enthusiast is then sincere, but mistaken." (p. 61.) I answered, 'That I am mistaken remains to be proved.' You reply, "The world must judge." Agreed, if by the world you mean, men of reason and religion.

You remark, 3. "His intentions must be good: but his actions will be most abominable." I answered, 'What actions of mine are most abominable?' You reply, "The world must be judge, whether your public actions have not been in many respects abominable." I am glad the charge softens. I hope by and by you will think they are only abominable in some respects.

You remark, 4. "Instead of making the word of God the rule of his actions, he follows only secret persuasion or impulse." I answered, 'I have declared again and again, that I make the word of God the rule of all my actions, and that I no more follow any *secret impulse* instead thereof, than I follow Mahomet or Confucius.' You reply (p. 121,) "You fall again into your strain of boasting, as if declarations could have any weight against facts; assert, that 'you make the word of God the rule of all your actions,' and that I 'perhaps do not know many persons.'"—Stop, Sir. You are stepping over one or two points, which I have not done with.

You remark, 5. "Instead of judging of his spiritual estate, by the improvement of his heart, he rests only on ecstasies," &c. I

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answered, 'Neither is this my case. I rest not on them at all. I judge of my spiritual estate by the improvement of my heart, and the tenor of my life conjointly.' To this I do not perceive you reply one word. Herein then I am not an enthusiast.

You remark, 6. "He is very liable to err—not considering things coolly and carefully." I answered, 'So indeed I am: I find it every day more and more. But I do not yet find, that this is owing to my want of "considering things coolly and carefully." Perhaps you do not know many persons (excuse my simplicity in speaking it) who more carefully consider every step they take, (p. 39.) Yet I know I am not cool or careful enough. May God supply this and all my wants!' You reply, "Your private life I have nothing to do with:" and then enlarge on my "method of consulting Scripture," and of using lots: of both which by and by. But, mean time, observe this does not affect the question. For I neither cast lots, nor use that method at all, till I have considered things with all the care I can. So that, be this right or wrong, it is no manner of proof, that I do not "carefully consider every step I take."

But how little did I profit by begging your excuse, suppose I had spoken a word unguardedly? O Sir, you put me in mind of him who said, *I know not to show mercy!* You have need never to fight, but when you are sure to conquer: seeing you are resolved neither to give nor take quarter.

You remark, 7. "He is very difficult to be convinced by reason and argument, as he acts upon a supposed principle superior to it, the direction of God's Spirit." I answered, 'I am very difficult to be convinced by dry blows or hard names. But not by reason or argument. At least that difficulty cannot spring from the cause you mention. For I claim no other direction of God's Spirit than is *common* to all believers.'

You reply (p. 124) 1.—"I fear this will not be easily reconcileable to your past pretences and behaviour." I believe it will; in particular to what I speak of the light I received from God in that important affair. (Vol. I. p. 241.) But as to the directions in general of the Spirit of God, we very probably differ in this; you apprehend those directions to be extraordinary, which I suppose to be common to all believers.

You remark, 8. "Whoever opposes him will be charged with resisting or rejecting the Spirit." I answered, 'What! Whoever opposes me, John Wesley? Do I charge every such person with *rejecting the Spirit?* No more than I charge him with robbing on the highway.—Do I charge *you* with rejecting the Spirit?' You reply, "You deny that you charge the opposers with rejecting the Spirit, and affirm, that you never said or thought, that what you do is to be accounted the work of God." Here you blend different sentences together, which I must consider apart, as they were written. And first, where do I charge you with rejecting the Spirit?—If I charge whoever opposes me with this, undoubtedly I charge you. If I do not charge you, that proposition is false; I do not so-

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charge whoever opposes me. Your next words are, "You affirm that you never said or thought, that what you do is to be accounted the work of God. If it be the work of God, you need not deny the other point." Yes, Sir: whether it be or not, I must still deny, that I ever charged you with rejecting the Spirit in opposing me.

You remark, 9. "His own dreams must be regarded as oracles." I answered, 'Whose? I desire neither my dreams nor my waking thoughts, may be regarded at all, unless just so far as they agree with the Oracles of God.' To this also you make no reply.

You remark, 10. "However wild his behaviour may be, whatever he does, is to be accounted the work of God." It was to this I answered, 'I never said so of what I do: I never thought so.' This answer was ill expressed. And I might have foreseen, you would hardly fail to make your advantage of it. I must, therefore, explain myself upon it a little farther. You said, "An enthusiast accounts *whatever he does* to be the work of God." I should have said, 'but I do not account *whatever I do* to be the work of God.' What that is, which I do account his work, will be considered by and by.

You remark, 11. "He talks in the style of inspired persons." I answered, 'No otherwise inspired, than you are, if you love God.' You reply, (p. 126,) "The point was not, whether you are actually inspired, but whether you have talked in the style of those who were so." That was so much the point, that if it were allowed, it would overturn your whole argument. For if I were inspired (in *your* sense) you could not term that inspiration enthusiasm without blasphemy; but you again mistake my words. The plain meaning of them is, that I talk in the style of those persons, who are 'no otherwise inspired than you are, if you love God.'

You remark, 12. "He applies Scripture phrases to himself, without attending to their orignal meaning, or once considering the difference of times and circumstances," (p. 62.) I answered, 'I am not conscious of any thing like this. I apply no Scripture phrase (p. 39,) either to myself or any other, without carefully considering both the *original meaning*, and the *secondary* sense, wherein, allowing for different times and circumstances, it may be applied to ordinary Christians.' You reply, "This also you deny to have done; holding, however, some *secondary* sense, (what it is you have not told us,) in which Scripture phrases may be applied to ordinary Christians." I have largely told you, what I mean by a *secondary* sense, in the first part of the *Farther Appeal*. You add, (p. 126.) "Many things which were truly written of the preaching of Christianity at first, you have vainly applied to yourselves." Sir, I am to answer only for myself: as I will for that expression, 'Behold the day of the Lord is come; he is again visiting and redeeming his people!'

3. I come now to what you expatiate upon at large, as the two grand instances of enthusiasm. The first is plainly this. At some rare times when I have been in great distress of soul, or in utter uncertainty how to act, in an important case, which required a speedy determination: after using all other means that occurred, I have

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cast lots, or opened the Bible. And by this means I have been relieved from that distress, or directed in that uncertainty. Instances of this kind occur in the Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 241, 242, 251, 286; as also in the Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 303, 344. I desire any one who would understand this matter thoroughly, to read those passages as they stand at length.

As to the particular instances, I would observe, 1. That with regard to my first journey to Bristol, you should in any wise have set down those words, that preface the scriptures there recited. "I was entreated, in the most pressing manner, to come to Bristol without delay. This I was not at all forward to do: and, perhaps a little the less inclined to it, because of the remarkable scriptures which offered, as often as we inquired touching the consequence of this removal: though whether this was permitted only for the trial of our faith, God knoweth, and the event will show.' From the scriptures afterwards recited, some inferred, that the event they apprehended, was yet afar off. I infer nothing at all. I still know not how to judge; but leave the whole to God. This only I know, that the continual expectation of death, was then an unspeakable blessing to me: that I did not dare, knowingly, to waste a moment, neither to throw away one desire on earthly things: those words being ever uppermost in my thoughts, and, indeed, frequently on my tongue,

Ere long, when sov'reign wisdom wills,
My soul an unknown path shall tread,
Shall strangely leave, which strangely fills
This frame, and mingle with the dead.
O what is death? 'Tis life's last shore,
Where vanities are vain no more:
Where all pursuits their goal obtain,
And life is all re-touch'd again.

I observe, 2. That in two other of those instances, Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 241, 242, it is particularly mentioned, that "I was troubled;" and that by the seasonable application of those scriptures, that trouble was entirely removed. The same blessing I received (so I must term it still) from the words set down in the 419th page: and in a yet higher degree, from that exceeding apposite scripture mentioned in the Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 344.

I observe, 3. That at the times to which your other citations refer, I was utterly uncertain how to act, in points of great importance, and such as required a speedy determination: and that by this mean my uncertainty was removed, and I went on my way rejoicing. Vol. I. p. 241, 242. Vol. I. p. 303.

My *own experience*, therefore, which you *think* should *discourage me for the future* from any thing of this kind, does, on the contrary, greatly encourage me herein; since I have found much benefit, and no inconvenience: unless perhaps this be one, that you *cannot acquit me of enthusiasm*; add, if you please, and presumption.

But you ask, "Has God ever commanded us to *do* thus?" I believe he has neither commanded nor forbidden it in Scripture. But then remember, 'That Scripture' (to use the words which you cite

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from *our learned and judicious* Hooker) 'is *not* the only rule of all things which in this life may be done by men.' All I affirm concerning this, is, *That it may be done;* and that I have, in fact, received *assistance* and *direction* thereby.

4. I give the same answer to your assertion, (p. 123,) "that we are not ordered in Scripture to decide any point in question by *lots*." You allow, indeed, there are "instances of this in Scripture;" but affirm, these "were miraculous: nor can we without presumption" (a species of enthusiasm) "apply this method." I want proof of this: bring one plain text of Scripture, and I am satisfied. "This, I apprehend, you learned from the Moravians." I did; though it is true, Mr. Whitefield thought I went too far therein. "Instances of the same occur in your journals. I will mention only one. It being debated whether you should go to Bristol, you say, 'We at length all agreed to decide it by lot. And by this it was determined I should go.' (Vol. I. p. 251.) Is this your way of carefully considering every step you take? Can there be greater rashness and extravagance? Reason is thus in a manner rendered useless: prudence is set aside, and affairs of moment left to be determined by chance!" (p. 124.)

So this you give as a genuine instance of my proceedings.—And, I suppose, of your own fairness and candour! 'We agreed at length to decide it by lot.' True, at *length:* after a debate of some hours: after carefully hearing and weighing coolly, all the reasons which could be alleged on either side: 'Our brethren still continuing the dispute, without any probability of their coming to one conclusion, we at length, (the night being now far spent) all agreed to this.' "Can there be greater rashness and extravagance?" I cannot but think there can. "Reason is thus in a manner rendered useless." No: we had used it as far as it could go: from Saturday, March 17, (when I received the first letter) to Wednesday 28, when the case was laid before the society. "Prudence is set aside:" Not so: but the arguments here were so equal, that we saw not how to determine. "And affairs of moment left to be determined by chance!" By chance? What a blunder then is that, *The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposal thereof is of the Lord!*

This I firmly believe is truth and reason, and will be to the end of the world. And I therefore still subscribe to that declaration of the Moravian church, (laid before the whole body of divines in the university of Wirtemberg, and not by them accounted *enthusiasm,*) 'We have a peculiar esteem for lots, and accordingly use them both in public and private, to decide points of importance, when the reasons brought on each side, appear to be of equal weight. And we believe this to be then the only way, of wholly setting aside our own will, of acquitting ourselves of all blame, and clearly knowing what is the will of God,' Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 228.

5. You next *remarked* several *instances* of my enthusiasm. The first was, That of Mrs. Jones. The next ran thus. "Again you say, 'I expounded out of the fulness that was given me,' (p. 64.) I

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answered, 'I mean I had then a *fuller*, deeper sense (of what I spoke) than I *ordinarily* have,' (p. 41.) But if you still think, "It would have been more decent to have said, according to the best of my power and ability, with God's assistance, I expounded;" I will say so another time.

With regard to the third instance of enthusiasm, you *remarked*, "If you would not have us look on this as miraculous, there is nothing in it worthy of being related," (p. 64.) I answered, 'It may be so. Let it pass then as a trifle not worth relating; but still it is no proof of enthusiasm. For I would not have you look upon it as miraculous—But as a signal instance of God's particular providence, (p. 42.') How friendly and generous is your reply! "You seem ashamed of it—I am glad you give this fooling up, and hope for the future you will treat your readers better," (p. 131.) Sir, I am not *ashamed of it*; nor shall I ever give *this fooling* up, till I give up the Bible. I still look upon this 'as a signal instance of God's particular providence.' But "how is this consistent with yielding it to be a trifle?" (p. 132.) My words do not imply, that I *yield* it so to be. Being urged with the dilemma, 'Either this is related as miraculous, (and then it is enthusiasm,) or it is not worth relating:' I answered, (to avoid drawing the sword of controversy,) 'Let it pass then as a trifle not worth relating. But still (if it be a trifle, which I *suppose*, not grant,) it is no proof of enthusiasm. For I would not have you look upon it as miraculous.'

And yet I believe I yielded too much, and what might too much favour your assertion, that "there is a great difference between particular providences and such extraordinary interpositions." Pray, Sir, show me what this difference is. It is a subject that deserves your coolest thoughts. "I know no ground—to hope or pray for such immediate reliefs. These things must be represented either as common accidents, or as miracles." I do not thoroughly understand your terms. What is a common *accident?* That a sparrow falls to the ground? Or something more inconsiderable than the hairs of your head? Is there no medium between accident and miracle? If there be, what is that medium? When we are agreed with regard to these few points, I shall be glad to resume the subject.

6. The fourth instance of my enthusiasm was this, that I "related judgments inflicted on my opposers." As to Mr. Molther, I must observe once more, that I do believe there was a particular providence in his sickness. But I do not believe, (nor did I design to insinuate,) that it was a judgment, for opposing *me*.

You go on. "Again, you mention 'as an awful providence, the case of a poor wretch who was last week cursing and blaspheming, and had boasted to many, that he would come again on Sunday, and no man should stop his mouth then. But on Friday God laid his hand upon him, and on Sunday he was buried," (p. 66.) I answered, 'I look on this as a manifest judgment of God on a hardened sinner, for his complicated wickedness, (p. 42.) You reply, (p. 133,) "Add, if you please, 'His labouring with all his might to hinder

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the word of God.' Here therefore is a confessed judgment, for his opposition to you." There is, for his *thus* opposing with curses and blasphemy. This was part of his complicated wickedness. Here then you "think I plead guilty." Not of enthusiasm; till you prove, this was not 'an awful providence.'

"Again, 'One was just going to beat his wife, (which he frequently did,) when God smote him in a moment, so that his hand dropped, and he fell down upon the ground, having no more strength than a new-born child.' Have we any warrant either from Scripture, or the common dispensations of Providence, to interpret misfortunes of this nature as judgments?" (p. 67.) I answered, 'Can you, Sir, consider this as one of the common dispensations of Providence? Have you known a parallel one in your life? But it was never cited by me (as it is by you) as an immediate punishment on a man for *opposing me*, (p. 42.) You reply, "As if what is not common, or what I have not known, must be a miraculous judgment." I believe it was, whether miraculous or not, a judgment mixed with mercy.

You now add to the rest the following instance: "One John Haydon, a man of regular life and conversation, being informed, that people fell into strange fits at the societies, came to see and judge for himself. But he was still less satisfied than before; insomuch that he went about to his acquaintance one after another, and laboured above measure to convince them, it was a delusion of the devil. We were going home, when one met us in the street, and informed us, that J. H. was fallen raving mad. It seems he had sat down to dinner, but had a mind first to end the sermon on Salvation by Faith. In reading the last page he changed colour, fell off his chair, and began screaming terribly, and beating himself against the ground. The neighbours were alarmed, and flocked into the house. I came in and found him upon the floor, the room being full of people, whom his wife would have kept without, but he cried aloud, No; let them all come; let all the world see the just judgment of God. Two or three men were holding him as well as they could. He immediately fixed his eyes on me and cried, Ay, this is he, who I said was a deceiver of the people. But God has overtaken me. I said it was all a delusion. But this is no delusion. He then roared out, O thou devil! Thou cursed devil! Yea, thou legion of devils! Thou canst not stay. Christ will cast thee out. I know his work is begun. Tear me to pieces, if thou wilt, but thou canst not hurt me. He then beat himself against the ground again, his breast heaving at the same time, as in the pangs of death, and great drops of sweat trickling down his face. We all betook ourselves to prayer. His pangs ceased, and both his body and soul were set at liberty.' Vol. I. p. 256.

If you had pleased, you might have added from the next paragraph, 'Returning to J. H. we found his voice was lost, and his body weak as that of an infant. But his soul was in peace, full of love, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.'

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You subjoin, "This you may desire for aught I know, to pass as a trifle too," (p. 134.) No; it is so terrible an instance of the judgment of God, (though at length *mercy rejoiced over judgment*) as ought never to be forgotten by those who fear God, so long as the sun or moon endureth.

7. The account of people falling down in fits you cite as a fifth instance of my enthusiasm: it being "plain," you say, that I "look upon both the disorders, and the removals of them to be supernatural," (p. 67.) I answered, 'It is not quite plain. I look upon some of these cases, as wholly natural: on the rest, as mixed: both the disorders and the removals, being partly natural and partly not.' You reply, "It would have been kind, to have let us know your rule, by which you distinguish these." I will. I distinguish them by the circumstances, that precede, accompany, and follow. "However, some of these you here allow, to be in part supernatural. Miracles therefore are not wholly ceased." Can you prove they are? By Scripture or reason? You then refer to two or three cases related in the third Journal.* I believe there was a *supernatural* power, on the minds of the persons there mentioned, which occasioned their bodies to be so affected by the *natural* laws of the vital union. This point therefore you have to prove, or here is no enthusiasm; that there was no *supernatural* power in the case.

Hereon you remarked, "You leave no room to doubt that you would have these cases considered, as those of the demoniacs in the New Testament, in order, I suppose, to parallel your supposed cures of them, with those highest miracles of Christ and his disciples, the casting out devils," (Rem. p. 68.) I answered, 'I should once have wondered at your making such a supposition. But I now wonder at nothing of the kind.' You reply, "Why so? What have I done lately to take off your surprise? Have I forfeited my character for ingenuous and fair dealing with you?" (2d Let. p. 135.) Since you ask me the question, I will answer it, (I hope, in love, and in the spirit of meekness.) I scarcely know, of all who have written against me, a less ingenuous dealer: or one who has shown a more steady, invariable disposition, to put an ill construction on whatever I say.

"But why would you not particularly explain these cases?" I will explain myself upon them once for all. For more than three hundred years after Christ, you know demoniacs were common in the church: and I suppose, that you are not unapprised that, during this period, (if not much longer,) they were continually relieved by the prayers of the faithful. Nor can I doubt, but demoniacs will remain, so long as Satan is the *god of this world*. I doubt not, but there are such at this day. And I believe John Haydon was one. But of whatever sort his disorder was, that it was removed by prayer is undeniable. Now, Sir, you have only two points to prove, and then your argument will be conclusive. 1. That to think or say, 'There are *demoniacs* now, and they are now relieved by prayer,' is enthusiasm: 2. That to say, '*Demoniacs* were or are relieved on

* Vol. I p. 254, 255.

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prayer made by Cyprian, or their parish-minister,' is to parallel the actions of Cyprian, or that minister, "with the highest miracles of Christ and his disciples."

8. You remarked, "It will be difficult to persuade any sober person, that there is any thing supernatural in these disorders," (Rem. p. 69.) The remainder of that paragraph I abridged thus. You attempt to account for those fits, by "obstructions or irregularities of the blood and spirits; hysterical disorders; watchings, fastings; closeness of rooms, great crowds, violent heat." And, lastly, by "terrors, perplexities, and doubts, in weak and well-meaning men; which," you think, "in many of the cases before us, have quite overset their understandings," Rem. p. 43.

I answered, 'As to each of the rest, let it go as far as it can go. [Let it be supposed to have *some* influence in *some* cases; perhaps *fully to account for* one in a thousand.] But I require proof of the last way, whereby you would account for these disorders.' Why, "the instances," you say, "of religious madness, have much increased, since you began to disturb the world." 'I doubt the fact.' You reply, "This no way disproves it," (p. 137.) Yes, it does, till you produce some proof. For a bare negation is the proper and sufficient answer to a bare affirmation. I add, 'If these instances had increased daily, it is easy to account for them another way,') as is done in the first part of the Farther Appeal.) You say, "Most have heard of or known, several of the Methodists, thus driven to distraction." I answered, '*You* may have *heard* of five hundred. But how many have you *known?* Be pleased to name eight or ten of them. I cannot find them, no, not one of them to this day, either man, woman, or child,' (p. 44.) You reply, "This, (*the naming them*) would be very improper and unnecessary," (p. 138.) However, Sir, it is extremely necessary, that you should name them to me in private; I will then, if required, excuse you to the public; which till then I cannot do.

The person I mentioned whom you *threw* into much *doubt* and *perplexity*, then lived in the parish of St. Ann, Westminster, I related the case just as she related it to me. But she is able and ready to answer for herself.

9. You go on, "It is the most charitable supposition we can make, that many of the cases you have mentioned in your Journals, and some of which have been represented above, are of this kind," i. e. instances of madness, (2d L. p. 138.) O tender charity! But cannot your charity reach one hair's breadth farther than this?—No: for "otherwise [i. e. if those persons were not mad,] the presumption and despair are terrible indeed." But what if you were to suppose John Haydon (to instance in one) was not mad, but under a temporary possession? And that others were deeply convinced of sin, and of the wrath of God abiding on them? I should think this supposition (be it true or false) was fully as *charitable* as the other.

I said, 'I cannot find one such instance to this day.' You reply, "Yet once you could not but be under 'some concern with regard

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to one or two persons, who *seemed* to be indeed lunatic, as well as sore vexed.' " 'So it *seemed*: but it soon appeared, they *were not*.' The very next paragraph mentions, that one of these within a few hours, was 'filled with the spirit of love, and of a sound mind.' Vol. I. p. 286.

But you are resolved, come what will, to carry this point: and so add, "Toward the end of your Farther Appeal," (the first part) You say, "You have seen one instance of real, lasting madness. This was one whom you took with you to Bristol, who was afterwards prejudiced against you, and began a vehement invection both against your person and doctrines. In the midst of this he was struck raving mad." Add, 'And so he continued till his friends put him into Bedlam: and probably laid *his* madness to *my* charge.' And if they did not, it is now done to their hands.

10. "As to the cure of these fits, I observed (so you, p. 139, proceed) that you had frequently represented them as miraculous, as the instantaneous consequences of your prayers." My former answer to this was, 'I have set down the facts just as they were, passing no judgment upon them myself, and leaving every man else to judge as he pleases.'

I am glad you give me an occasion of reviewing this answer; for upon reflection, I do not like it at all. It grants you more than I can in conscience do. As it can be proved by abundance of witnesses, that these cures were frequently (indeed almost always) the *instantaneous* consequences of prayer; your inference is just. I cannot, dare not affirm, that they were purely *natural*. I believe they were not. I believe many of them were wrought by the *supernatural* power of God. That of John Haydon in particular: (I fix on this, and will join issue with you upon it when you please,) and yet this is not *barefaced enthusiasm*. Nor can you prove it any enthusiasm at all, unless you can prove, that this is *falsely* ascribed to a *supernatural* power.

"The next case," you say, "relates to the spotted fever, which you represent as being extremely mortal; but—you believe there was not one with whom you were, but recovered. I allowed, that here is no intimation of any thing miraculous, (Rem. p. 72.) You ask, (Ans. p. 45,) 'Why then is this cited as an instance of my enthusiasm?'—You sure cannot think, that false pretences to miracles are the whole of enthusiasm." No; but I think they are *that part* of enthusiasm, which you here undertook to prove upon me. You are here to prove, that I "boast of curing bodily distempers by prayer, without the use of any other means," (Rem. p. 71.) But if "there is no *intimation*" in my account "of any thing miraculous, or that proper remedies had not been applied," how is this a proof, that I "boast of curing bodily distempers, without applying any remedies at all?"

"But you seem to desire to have it believed, that an extraordinary blessing attended your prayers. Whereas if the circumstances could be particularly inquired into, most probably it would appear,

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that either the fury of the distemper was abated, or the persons you visited were seized with it in a more favourable degree, or were by reason of a good constitution, more capable of going through it. Neither do I believe, that they would have failed of an equal blessing and success, had they had the assistance and prayers of their own parish ministers."

There, Sir; now I have done as you require: I have quoted your whole remark. But does all this prove, that I "boast of curing bodily distempers by prayer, without the use of any other means?" If you say, although it does not prove this, it proves that "you seem to desire to have it believed, that an extraordinary blessing attended your prayers:" and this is another sort of enthusiasm:—it is very well: so it does not prove the conclusion you designed; but it proves another, which is as good!

11. The two last instances of my enthusiasm which you bring, (Rem. 72, 73,) I had summed up in two lines thus: 'At two several times, being ill and in violent pain, I prayed to God, and found immediate ease,' (Ans. p. 45.) But since you say, "I must not hope to escape so; these instances must once more be laid before me particularly," (p. 140,) I must yield to necessity, and set them down from the beginning to the end.

'Sat. March 21. I explained in the evening the 33d chapter of Ezekiel: in applying which, I was seized with such a pain in my side, I could not speak. I knew my remedy, and immediately kneeled down. In a moment the pain was gone.' Journ. 4, Vol. I. p. 342.

'Friday, May 8. I found myself much out of order, however I made shift to preach in the evening. But on Saturday my bodily strength failed, so that for several hours I could scarcely lift up my head. Sunday 10, I was obliged to lie down most part of the day, being easy only in that posture.—In the evening—beside the pain in my back and head, and the fever which still continued upon me, just as I began to pray, I was seized with such a cough, that I could hardly speak. At the same time came strongly into my mind, *These signs shall follow them that believe.*—I called on Jesus aloud, to *increase my faith*, and to *confirm the word of his grace.* While I was speaking, my pain vanished away, the fever left me, my bodily strength returned, and for many weeks I felt neither weakness nor pain.—Unto thee, O Lord, do I give thanks.' Journ 4, Vol. I. p. 346.

When you first cited these as proofs of enthusiasm, I answered, 'I will put your argument into form.

'He that believes those are miraculous cures which are not so, is a rank enthusiast: but

'You believe those are miraculous cures which are not so, therefore, you are a rank enthusiast.'

—'What do you mean by miraculous? If you term every thing so, which is "not strictly to be accounted for by the ordinary course of natural causes," then I deny the latter part of the minor proposition. And unless you can make this good, unless you can prove,

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the effects in question are "strictly to be accounted for by the ordinary course of natural causes," your argument is nothing worth.'

You reply, "Your answer to the objection is very evasive, though you pretend to put my argument in form. You mistake the major proposition, which should have been:

"He that represents those cures as the immediate effects of his own prayers, and as miraculous, which are not so, is a rank enthusiast, if sincere:

"But this you have done: Ergo," &c.

To this clumsy syllogism I rejoin, 1. That the words "if sincere," are utterly impertinent; for if *insincerity* be supposed, *enthusiasm* will be out of the question. 2. That those words, "as the effects of his own prayers," may likewise be pared off; for they are unnecessary and cumbersome, the argument being complete without them. 3. That with or without them, the proposition is false; unless so far as it coincides with that which you reject. For it is the *believing* those to be miracles which are not, that constitutes an *enthusiast*: not the *representing* them one way or the other; unless so far as it implies such a *belief*.

12. Upon my answer to the syllogism first proposed, you observe, "Thus" (by denying the latter part of the minor) "you clear yourself from the charge of enthusiasm, by acknowledging the cures to be supernatural and miraculous. Why then would you not speak out, and directly say, that you can work real and undoubted miracles? This would put the controversy between you and your opposers on a short foot, and be an effectual proof of the truth of your pretences," (p. 142.)

V. 1. I have in some measure explained myself on the head of miracles in the third part of the *Farther Appeal*. But since you repeat the demand, (though without taking any notice of the arguments there advanced,) I will endeavour once more to give you a distinct, full, and determinate answer.

And, first, I acknowledge, that I have seen with my eyes, and heard with my ears, several things, which, to the best of my judgment, cannot be accounted for by the ordinary course of natural causes, and which, I therefore believe ought to be *ascribed to the extraordinary interposition of God*. If any man choose to style these *miracles*, I reclaim not. I have diligently inquired into the facts. I have weighed the preceding and following circumstances. I have strove to account for them in a *natural* way. I could not, without doing violence to my reason. Not to go far back, I am clearly persuaded, that the sudden deliverance of John Haydon, was one instance of this kind, and my own recovery, on May the 10th, another. I cannot account for either of these in a *natural* way. Therefore I believe they were both *supernatural*.

I must, secondly, observe, That the truth of these facts is supported by the same kind of proof, as that of all other facts is wont to be, namely, the testimony of competent witnesses: and that the testimony here is in as high a degree as any reasonable man can desire,

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Those witnesses were many in number: they could not be deceived themselves: for the facts in question they saw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears. Nor is it credible, that so many of them would combine together, with a view of deceiving others; the greater part being men that feared God, as appeared by the general tenor of their lives. Thus, in the case of John Haydon, this thing was not contrived and executed in a corner, and in the presence of his own family only, or three or four persons prepared for the purpose. No; it was in an open street of the city of Bristol, at one or two in the afternoon. And the doors being all open from the beginning, not only many of the neighbours from every side, but several others, (indeed, whosoever desired it,) went in, till the house could contain no more. Nor yet does the account of my own illness and recovery *depend*, as you suppose, *on my bare word*. There were many witnesses both of my disorder on Friday and Saturday, and of my lying down most part of Sunday, (a thing which they were well satisfied could not be the effect of a slight indisposition.) And all who saw me that evening, plainly discerned (what I could not wholly conceal) that I was in pain: about two hundred of whom were present when I was seized with that cough which cut me short, so that I could speak no more; till I cried out aloud, 'Lord, increase my faith: Lord, confirm the word of thy grace.' The same persons saw and heard, that at that instant I changed my posture, and broke out into thanksgiving: that quickly after, I stood upright, (which I could not before,) and showed no more sign either of sickness or pain.

Yet I must desire you well to observe, thirdly, That my will, or choice, or desire, had no place either in this, or any case of this kind, that has ever fallen under my notice. Five minutes before, I had no thought of this. I expected nothing less. I was willing to wait for a gradual recovery, in the ordinary use of outward means. I did not look for any other cure, till the moment before I found it. And it is my belief, that the case was always the same, with regard to the most *real and undoubted miracles*. I believe God never interposed his miraculous power, but according to his own sovereign will: not according to the will of man; neither of him by whom he wrought, nor of any other man whatsoever. The wisdom as well as the power are his: nor can I find, that ever, from the beginning of the world, he lodged this power in any mere man, to be used whenever that man saw good. Suppose, therefore, there was a man now on earth, who did work *real and undoubted miracles;* I would ask, by whose power doth he work these? And at whose pleasure? His own, or God's? Not his own; but God's. But if so, then your demand is not made on man, but on God. I cannot say it is modest, thus to challenge God; or well suiting the relation of a creature to his Creator.

2. However, I cannot but think, there have been already so many plain interpositions of divine power, as will shortly leave you without excuse, if you either deny or despise them. We desire no favour,

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but the justice that diligent inquiry may be made concerning them. We are ready to name the persons on whom that power was shown, which belongeth to none but God; (not one or two, or ten or twelve only) to point out their places of abode: and we engage they shall answer every pertinent question, fairly and directly; and, if required, shall give all those answers upon oath, before any who are empowered so to receive them. It is our particular request, that the circumstances which went before, which accompanied, and which followed after, the facts under consideration, may be thoroughly examined, and punctually noted down. Let but this be done, (and is it not highly needful it should? at least by those who would form an exact judgment,) and we have no fear, that any reasonable man should scruple to say, *This hath God wrought!*

As there have been already so many instances of this kind, far beyond what we had dared to ask or think, I cannot take upon me to say, whether or not it will please God to add to their number. I have not herein *known the mind of the Lord*, neither am I *his counsellor*. He may, or he may not; I cannot affirm or deny. I have no light, and I have no desire either way. 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' I desire only to be as clay in his hand.

3. But what if there were now to be wrought ever so many "*real and undoubted miracles?*" (I suppose you mean by *undoubted*, such as being sufficiently attested, ought not to be doubted of.) Why, this, you say, "would put the controversy on a short foot, and be an effectual proof of the truth of your pretences." By no means. As common as this assertion is, there is none upon earth more false. Suppose a teacher were now, on this very day, to work *real and undoubted miracles:* this would extremely little *shorten the controversy* between him and the greater part of his opposers. For all this would not force them to believe; but many would still stand just where they did before: seeing men may *harden their hearts* against miracles, as well as against arguments.

So men have done, from the beginning of the world: even against such signal, glorious miracles, against such interpositions of the power of God, as may not be again till the consummation of all things. Permit me to remind you only of a few instances; and to observe, that the argument holds *a fortiori:* for who will ever be empowered of God again, to work *such* miracles as these were? Did Pharaoh look on all that Moses and Aaron wrought, as an "effectual proof of the truth of their pretences?" Even when 'the Lord made the sea to be dry land, and the waters were divided:' when 'the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea, and the waters were a wall, on the right and on the left?' Exod. xiv. 21, 22. Nay;

> The wounded dragon rag'd in vain;
> And fierce the utmost plague to brave,
> Madly he dar'd the parted main,
> And sunk beneath th' o'erwhelming wave.

Was all this "an effectual proof of the truth of their pretences," to

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the Israelites themselves? It was not. 'They were *still* disobedient at the sea; even at the Red Sea!' Was the giving them day by day *bread from heaven*, an *effectual proof* to those 'two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown,' who said, with Dathan and Abiram, 'Wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? We will not come up.' Numb. xvi. 14. Nay, 'when the ground clave asunder that was under them, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up:' ver. 32, neither was this an *effectual proof* to those who saw it with their eyes, and heard the cry of those that went down into the pit: but the very next day they 'murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of the Lord!' ver. 41.

Was not the case generally the same with regard to the prophets that followed? Several of whom 'stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire,' did many mighty works; yet their own people received them not. Yet 'they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the sword; they were destitute, afflicted, tormented!' Utterly contrary to the commonly-received supposition, that the working *real undoubted miracles*, must bring all controversy to an end, and convince every gainsayer.

Let us come nearer yet. How stood the case between our Lord himself and his opposers? Did he not work *real and undoubted miracles?* And what was the effect? Still when 'he came to his own, his own received him not.' Still 'he was despised and rejected of men.' Still it was a challenge not to be answered, 'Have any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees believed on him?' After this, how can you imagine, that whoever works miracles, must convince "all men of the truth of his pretences?"

I would just remind you of only one instance more. 'There sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked. The same heard Paul speak: who steadfastly beholding him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, 'Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked.'—Here was *so undoubted a miracle*, that the people 'lifted up their voices, saying—The gods are come down in the likeness of men.' But how long were even these convinced of *the truth of his pretences?* Only till 'there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium;' and then they 'stoned him' (as they supposed) to death! Acts xiv. 1, &c. So certain it is, that no miracles whatever, which were ever yet wrought in the world, were *effectual* to *prove* the most glaring truth, to those that hardened their hearts against it.

4. And it will equally hold in every age and nation. 'If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be convinced' (of what they desire not to believe) 'though one rose from the dead.' Without a miracle, without one rising from the dead, εαν τις θελῃ ποιειν 'if any man be willing to do his Will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' But if he be not willing to do his will, he will never want an excuse, a plausible reason for rejecting it. Yea,

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though ever so many miracles were wrought to confirm it. For let ever so much 'light come into the world,' it will have no effect, (such is the wise and just will of God,) on those who 'love darkness rather than light.' It will not convince those who do not simply desire to do the will of their Father which is in heaven: those who mind earthly things; who, (if they do not continue in any gross outward sin, yet) love pleasure or ease; yet seek profit or power, preferment or reputation. Nothing will ever be an effectual proof to these of the holy and acceptable will of God, unless first their proud hearts be humbled, their stubborn wills bowed down, and their desires brought, at least in some degree, into obedience to the law of Christ.

Hence, although it should please God to work anew, all the wonders that ever were wrought on the earth, still these men, however *wise and prudent* they may be in things relating to the present world, would fight against God and all his messengers, and that in spite of all these miracles. Meanwhile God will reveal his Truth *unto babes*, unto those who are meek and lowly, whose desires are in heaven, who want to 'know nothing, save Jesus Christ and him crucified.' These need no outward miracle to show them his will: they have a plain rule, the written Word. And 'the anointing which they have received of him, abideth in them, and teacheth them of all things,' (1 John ii. 27.) Through this they are enabled to bring all doctrines 'to the law, and to the testimony.' And whatsoever is agreeable to this they receive, without waiting to see it attested by miracles. As on the other hand, whatever is contrary to this they reject; nor can any miracles move them to receive it.

5. Yet I do not know, that God hath any way precluded himself from thus exerting his sovereign power, from working miracles in any kind or degree, in any age to the end of the world. I do not recollect any scripture, wherein we are taught, that miracles were to be confined within the limits either of the Apostolic or Cyprianic age; or of any period of time, longer or shorter, even till the restitution of all things. I have not observed, either in the Old Testament or the New, any intimation at all of this kind. St. Paul says indeed once, concerning two of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, (so I think, that text is usually understood,) 'whether there be prophecies, they shall fail, whether there be tongues, they shall cease.' But he does not say, either that these or any other miracles shall cease, till faith and hope shall cease also: till they all be swallowed up in the vision of God, and love be all in all.

I presume you will allow, there is one kind of miracles (loosely speaking) which are not ceased; namely, τερατα ψευδους, *lying wonders*, diabolical miracles; or works beyond the virtue of natural causes, wrought by the power of evil spirits. Nor can you easily conceive that these will cease, as long as the father of lies is the prince of this world. And why should you think, that the God of truth is less active than he, or that he will not have his miracles also? Only not as man wills, neither when he wills; but according to his own excellent wisdom and greatness.

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6. But even if it were supposed, that God does now work beyond the operation of merely natural causes, yet what impression would this make upon *you*, in the disposition your mind is now in? Suppose the trial were repeated, were made again to-morrow. One informs you the next day, 'While a clergyman was preaching yesterday, where I was, a man came, who had been long ill of an incurable distemper. Prayer was made for him, and he was restored to perfect health.'

Suppose now, that this were real fact, perhaps you would scarce have patience to hear the account of it: but would cut it short, in the midst, with, 'Do you tell this as something *supernatural?* Then miracles are not ceased!' But if you should venture to ask, Where was this? And who was the person that prayed? And it was answered, 'At the Foundry, near Moorfields; the person who prayed was Mr. Wesley:' What a damp comes at once! What a weight falls on your mind, at the very first setting out? It is well if you have any heart or desire to move one step further. Or if you should, what a strong additional propensity do you now feel to deny the fact? And is there not a ready excuse for so doing? 'O! they who tell the story are doubtless *his own people:* most of whom, we may be sure, will *say* any thing for him, and the rest will *believe* any thing.'—But if you at length allowed the fact, might you not find means to account for it by *natural* causes? "Great crowds, violent heats, with obstructions, and irregularities of the blood and spirits," will do wonders.—If you could not but allow it was more than *natural*, might not some plausible reason be found for ranking it among the *lying wonders*, for ascribing it to the Devil rather than God? And if, after all, you were convinced it was the finger of God, must you not still bring every doctrine advanced, to the Law and to the Testimony, the only sure and infallible test of all?—What then is the use of this continual demand, 'Show us a sign and we will believe?' What will you believe? I hope no more than what is written in the Book of God. And thus far you might venture to believe, even without a miracle.

7. Let us consider this point yet a little farther. 'What is it you would have us prove by miracles? The doctrines we preach?' We prove these by scripture and reason; and, if need be, by antiquity. What else is it then we are to prove by miracles? At length we have a distinct reply—"Wise and sober men will not otherwise be convinced," (i. e. unless you prove this by miracles,) "that God is, by the means of such teachers, and such doctrines, working a great and extraordinary work in the earth," (Preface, p. 6.)—So then the determinate point which you, in their name, call upon us to prove by miracles, is this, "That God is, by these teachers, working a great and extraordinary work in the earth."—What I mean by a great and extraordinary work, is, the bringing multitudes of gross notorious sinners, in a short space, to the fear, and love, and service of God, to an entire change of heart and life.

Now then, let us take a nearer view of the proposition, and see which part of it we are to prove by miracles.

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Is it, 1. That A. B. was, for many years, without God in the world, a common swearer, a drunkard, a sabbath-breaker?

Or, 2. That he is not so now.

Or, 3. That he continued so, till he heard these men preach, and from that time was another man?

Not so. The proper way to prove this fact, is, by the testimony of competent witnesses. And these witnesses are ready, whenever required, to give full evidence of them.—Or would you have us prove by miracles,

4. That this was not done by our own power or holiness? That God only is able to raise the dead, to quicken those who are dead in trespasses and sins?—Surely not. Whosoever believes the Scriptures, will want no new proof of this.

Where then is the *Wisdom* of those men, who demand miracles in proof of such a proposition? One branch of which, 'That such sinners were reformed by the means of these teachers,' being a plain fact, can only be proved by testimony, as all other facts are: and the other, 'That this is a *Work of God*, and *a great and more than ordinary work*,' needs no proof, as carrying its own evidence to every thinking man.

8. To sum up this. No truly *wise* or *sober* man can possibly desire or expect miracles, to prove, either, 1. That these *doctrines* are true: this must be decided by scripture and reason; or, 2. That these *facts* are true: this can only be proved by testimony; or, 3. That to *change* sinners from darkness to light, is the *Work of God* alone; only using what instruments he pleases; this is glaringly self-evident; or, 4. That such a change wrought in so many notorious sinners, within so short a time, is a *great* and *extraordinary* work of God. This also carries its own evidence. What then is it which remains to be proved by miracles? Perhaps you will say, it is this: 'That God hath *called* or *sent* you to do this.' Nay, this is implied in the third of the foregoing propositions. If God has actually *used* us therein, if *his Work* hath in fact prospered in our hands, then he hath *called* or *sent* us to do this. I entreat reasonable men to weigh this thoroughly, whether the *fact* does not plainly prove the *call*: whether he who *enables* us thus to save souls alive, does not *commission* us so to do? Whether by *giving* us the *power* to pluck these brands out of the burning, he does not *authorize* us to exert it?

O that it were possible for you to consider calmly, whether the *success* of the gospel of Jesus Christ, even as it is preached by us, the least of his servants, be not itself a *miracle* never to be forgotten! One which cannot be denied, as being visible at this day, not in one but a hundred places: one which cannot be accounted for, by the ordinary course of any *natural cause* whatsoever; one which cannot be ascribed with any colour of reason, to *diabolical* agency; and, lastly, one which will bear the infallible test, the trial of the written Word.

VI. 1. But here I am aware of abundance of objections. You object, first, that to speak any thing of myself, of what I have done,

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or am doing now, is mere *boasting* and *vanity*. This charge you frequently repeat. So, p. 102, "The following page is full of *boasting*."—P. 113. "You *boast* very much of the numbers you have converted." And again, "As to myself, I hope I shall never be led to imitate you in *boasting*."—I think therefore it is needful, once for all, to examine this charge thoroughly; and to show distinctly, what that *good* thing is, which you disguise under this *bad* name.

From the year 1725 to 1729, I preached much, but saw no fruit of my labour. Indeed it could not be that I should; for I neither laid the foundation of *repentance*, nor of *believing the gospel*: taking it for granted, that all to whom I preached, were *believers*; and that many of them *needed no repentance*. 2. From the year 1729 to 1734, laying a deeper foundation of repentance, I saw a little fruit. But it was only a little; and no wonder. For I did not preach faith in the Blood of the Covenant. 3. From 1734 to 1738, speaking more of faith in Christ, I saw more fruit of my preaching, and visiting from house to house, than ever I had done before: though I know not, if any of those who were outwardly reformed, were inwardly and thoroughly converted to God. 4. From 1738 to this time, speaking continually of Jesus Christ, laying him only for the foundation of the whole building, making him all in all, the first and the last: preaching wholly on this plan, 'The kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel:' The *Word of God ran* as fire among the stubble; it *was glorified* more and more: multitudes crying out, 'What must I do to be saved?' And afterwards witnessing, 'By grace we are saved through faith.' 5. I considered deeply with myself, what I ought to do? Whether to declare the things I had seen or not? I consulted the most serious friends I had. They all agreed, I ought to declare them: that the work itself was of such a kind, as ought in nowise to be concealed; and, indeed, that the unusual circumstances now attending it, made it impossible that it should. 6. This very difficulty occurred, 'Will not my speaking of this be *boasting?* At least, will it not be counted so?' They replied, 'If you speak of it as *your own* work, it will be *vanity* and *boasting* all over: but if you ascribe it wholly to God, if you give him all the praise, it will not. And if, after this, some will account it so still, you must be content, and bear the burden.' 7. I yielded, and transcribed my papers for the press; only labouring, as far as possible 'to render unto God the things which are God's, to give him the praise of his own work.

2. But this very thing you improve into a fresh objection. If I ascribe any thing to God, it is *enthusiasm*. If I do not (or if I do) it is *vanity and boasting*, supposing me to mention it at all. What then can I do to escape your censure? 'Why be silent, say nothing at all.' I cannot. I dare not. Were I thus to *please men*, I could 'not be the servant of Christ.'

You do not appear to have the least idea or conception of what is in the heart of one, whom it pleases him that worketh all in all, to

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employ in a work of this kind. He is in nowise forward to be at all employed therein; he starts back, again and again: not only, because he readily foresees, what shame, care, sorrow, reproach, what loss of friends and of all that the world accounts dear, will inevitably follow: but much more, because he (in some measure) knows himself. This chiefly it is which constrains him to cry out, (and that many times, in the bitterness of his soul, when no human eye seeth him,) 'O Lord! Send by whom thou wilt send! Only, send not me!—What am I? A worm! A dead dog! A man unclean in heart and lips!'—And when he dares no longer gainsay or resist, when he is at last 'thrust out into the harvest,' he looketh on the right hand, and on the left, he takes every step with fear and trembling, and with the deepest sense (such as words cannot express) of, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Every gift which he has received of God, for the furtherance of his Word, whether of nature or grace, heightens this fear, and increases his jealousy over himself: knowing that so much the stricter must the inquiry be, when he gives an account of his stewardship. He is most of all jealous over himself, when the work of the Lord prospers in his hands. He is then amazed and confounded before God. Shame covers his face. Yea, when he sees, that he ought 'to praise the Lord for his goodness, and to declare the wonders which he doth for the children of men,' he is in a strait between two: he knows not which way to turn: he cannot speak: he dares not be silent. It may be, for a time he 'keeps his mouth with a bridle; he holds his peace even from good. But his heart is hot within him,' and constrains him at length, to declare what God hath wrought. And this he then doth in all simplicity, with 'great plainness of speech,' desiring only to commend himself to him, who 'searcheth the heart and trieth the reins:' and, (whether his words are the *savour of life* or *of death* to others) to have that witness in himself, 'as of sincerity, as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ.' If any man counts this *boasting*, he cannot help it. It is enough, that a higher Judge standeth at the door.

3. But you may say, 'Why do you talk of the *success* of the gospel in England, which was a Christian country before you were born?' Was it indeed? Is it so at this day? I would explain myself a little on this head also.

And, 1. None can deny, that the people of England, in general, are *called* Christians. They are *called* so, a few only excepted, by others, as well as by themselves. But I presume no man will say, that the *name* makes the *thing;* that men *are* Christians, barely because they are *called* so. It must be, 2. allowed, that the people of England, generally speaking, have been *christened* or baptized. But neither can we infer, these were once *baptized;* therefore they *are* Christians now. It is, 3. allowed, that many of those who were once *baptized* and are *called Christians* to this day, *hear* the word of God, attend *public prayers*, and partake of the *Lord's supper*. But neither does this prove, that they *are* Christians. For notwithstanding this,

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some of them live in open sin: and others (though not conscious to themselves of *hypocrisy*, yet) are utter strangers to the *religion of the heart:* are full of pride, vanity, covetousness, ambition; of hatred, anger, malice, or envy; and consequently, are no more *scriptural* Christians, than the open drunkard or common swearer.

Now these being removed, where are the Christians, from whom we may properly term England a *Christian country?* The men who have the mind which was in Christ, and who walk as he also walked? Whose inmost soul is renewed after the image of God; and who are outwardly holy, as he who hath called them is holy? There are doubtless a few such to be found. To deny this would be *want of candour.* But how few! How thinly scattered up and down! And as for a Christian, visible church, or a body of Christians, visibly united together, where is this to be seen!

> Ye different sects, who all declare,
> Lo! here is Christ, or Christ is there;
> Your stronger proofs *divinely* give,
> And *show* me, where *the Christians* live!

And what use is it of, what good end does it serve, to term England a *Christian country?* (although it is true, most of the natives are *called* Christians, have been *baptized*, frequent the *ordinances:* and although a real Christian is here and there to be found, 'as a light shining in a dark place:') Does it do any honour to our great Master among those who are not *called* by his Name? Does it recommend Christianity to the Jews, the Mahometans, or the avowed Heathens? Sure no one can conceive it does. It only makes Christianity stink in their nostrils. Does it answer any *good end* with regard to those on whom this worthy name is called? I fear not; but rather an exceeding bad one. For does it not keep multitudes easy in their Heathen *practice?* Does it not make or keep still greater numbers satisfied with their Heathen *tempers?* Does it not directly tend to make both the one and the other imagine, that they *are* what indeed they *are not?* That they *are Christians*, while they are utterly without Christ, and without God in the world?—To close this point: if men are not *Christians*, till they are renewed after the image of Christ, and if the *people of England* in general are not thus renewed, why do we term them so? 'The God of this world hath *long* blinded their hearts.' Let us do nothing to increase that blindness; but rather labour to recover them from that *strong delusion*, that they may no longer *believe a lie.*

4. Let us labour to convince all mankind, that to be a real Christian, is, to love the Lord our God with all our heart, and to serve him with all our strength; to love our neighbour as ourselves, and therefore do unto every man as we would he should do unto us. "Nay," you say, "had you confined yourselves to these great points, there would have been no objection against your doctrine. But the doctrines you have distinguished yourselves by—are not the love of God and man, but many false and pernicious errors." p. 104.

I have again and again, with all the plainness I could, declared

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what our constant doctrines are; whereby we are distinguished *only* from Heathens or nominal Christians; not from any that worship God in spirit and in truth. Our main doctrines, which include all the rest, are three, that of repentance, of faith, and of holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion; the next, the door; the third, religion itself. That repentance, or conviction of sin, which is always previous to faith, (either in a higher or lower degree, as it pleases God,) we describe in words to this effect:

'When men *feel* in themselves the heavy burden of sin, see damnation to be the reward of it, behold with the eye of their mind the horror of hell: they tremble, they quake, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, and cannot but accuse themselves, and open their grief unto Almighty God, and call unto him for mercy. This being done seriously, their mind is so occupied, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, that all desire of meat and drink is laid apart, and loathing of all worldly things and pleasure cometh in place. So that nothing then liketh them more, than to weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour of body, to show themselves weary of life.'

Now permit me to ask, what if before you had observed, that these were the very words of our own church, one of *your* acquaintance or parishioners had come and told you, that ever since he heard a sermon at the Foundry, he *saw damnation* before him, *and beheld with the eye of his mind the horror of hell?* What, if he had *trembled and quaked*, and been so taken up, *partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from the danger of hell and damnation*, as to *weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour to show himself weary of life?* Would you have scrupled to say, Here is another *deplorable instance* of the *Methodists driving men to distraction!* "See, into what excessive terrors, frights, doubts, and perplexities, they throw weak and well-meaning men! Quite oversetting their understandings and judgments, and making them liable to all these miseries."

I dare not refrain from adding one plain question, which I beseech you to answer, not to me, but to God. Have you ever experienced this *repentance* yourself? Did you ever *feel in yourself that heavy burden of sin?* Of sin in general; more especially inward sin? Of pride, anger, lust, vanity? Of (what is all sin in one) that carnal mind, which is enmity, essential enmity against God? Do you know by experience what it is, *To behold with the eye of the mind the horror of hell?* Was *your mind* ever so taken up, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, that even all desire of meat and drink was taken away, and you loathed all worldly things and pleasure? Surely if you had known, what it is, to have the *arrows of the Almighty* thus *sticking fast in you*, you could not so lightly have condemned those who now cry out, *The pains of hell come about me:*

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the sorrows of death compass me, and the overflowings of ungodliness make me afraid.

5. Concerning the gate of religion, (if I may be allowed so to speak,) the true, Christian, saving faith, we believe it implies abundantly more than an assent to the truth of the Bible. 'Even the devils believe, that Christ was born of a virgin; that he wrought all kinds of miracles; that for our sakes he suffered a most painful death to redeem us from death everlasting. These articles of our faith the very devils believe, and so they believe all that is written in the Old and New Testament. And yet for all this faith, they be but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true Christian faith. The right and true Christian faith is, Not only to believe that the holy Scriptures and the articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation through Christ.' Perhaps it may be expressed more clearly thus: 'A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God.'

For giving this account of Christian faith, (as well as the preceding account of repentance, both which I have here also purposely described, in the very terms of the Homilies,) I have been again and again, for near these eight years past, accused of enthusiasm: sometimes by those who spoke to my face, either in conversation, or from the pulpit: but more frequently by those who chose to speak in my absence: and not seldom from the press. I wait for those who judge this to be enthusiasm, to bring forth their strong reasons. Till then, I must continue to account all these the words of truth and soberness.

6. Religion itself, (I choose to use the very words, wherein I described it long ago,) we define, 'The loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves, and in that love abstaining from all evil, and doing all possible good to all men.' The same meaning we have sometimes expressed a little more at large, thus: 'Religion we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind: the loving God with all our heart, and soul, and strength, as having first loved us, as the fountain of all the good we have received, and of all we ever hope to enjoy: and the loving every soul which God hath made, every man on earth as our own soul.

'This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never-failing remedy for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and vices of men. Wherever this is, there are virtue and happiness, going hand in hand. There is humbleness of mind, gentleness, long-suffering, the whole image of God, and at the same time, a peace that passeth all understanding, and joy unspeakable, and full of glory. This religion we long to see established in the world, a religion of love, and joy, and peace; having its seat in the heart, in the inmost soul, but ever showing itself by its fruits: continually springing forth, not only in all innocence, (for love worketh no ill to

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his neighbour,) but likewise in every kind of beneficence spreading virtue and happiness all around it.'

If this can be proved by Scripture or reason, to be enthusiastic or erroneous doctrine, we will then plead guilty to the indictment, of *teaching error and enthusiasm.* But if this be the genuine religion of Christ, then will all who advance this charge against us, be found false witnesses before God, in the day when he shall judge the earth.

7. However, with regard to the fruits of our teaching, you say, "It is to be feared, the numbers of serious men who have been perplexed and deluded, are much greater than the numbers of notorious sinners, who have been brought to repentance and good life, (p. 113.) Indeed, if you could prove,—that the Methodists were in general, very wicked people before they followed you, and that all you have been teaching them is, the love of God and their neighbour, and a care to keep his commandments, which accordingly they have done since, you would—stop the mouths of all adversaries at once. But—we have great reason to believe, that the generality of Methodists, before they became so, were serious, regular, and well-disposed people." p. 103.

If the question were proposed, "Which are greater, the numbers of serious men who have been perplexed and deluded, or of notorious sinners who have been brought to repentance and good life" by these preachers, throughout England within seven years: it might be difficult for you to fix the conclusion. For England is a place of wide dimensions; nor is it easy to make a satisfactory computation, unless you confine yourself within a smaller compass. Suppose then we were to contract the question, in order to make it a little less unwieldly. We will bound our inquiry for the present, within a square of three or four miles. It may be certainly known by candid men, both what has been and what is now done within this distance. And from hence they may judge of those fruits elsewhere, which they cannot be so particularly informed of.

Inquire then, "Which are greater, the numbers of serious men, perplexed and deluded by these teachers, or of notorious sinners brought to repentance and good life," within the forest of Kingswood? Many indeed of the inhabitants are nearly as they were; are not much better or worse for their preaching; because the neighbouring clergy and gentry have successfully laboured to deter them from hearing it. But between three and four hundred of those who would not be deterred, are now under the care of those preachers. Now, what number of these were "serious Christians" *before*? Were fifty? Were twenty? Were ten? Peradventure there might five such be found. But it is a question, whether there could or not. The remainder were gross, open sinners, common swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, whoremongers, plunderers, robbers, implacable, unmerciful, wolves and bears in the shape of men. Do you desire instances of more "notorious sinners" than these? I know not if Turkey or Japan can afford them. And what do you include in "repentance and a good life?" Give the strictest defini-

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tion thereof that you are able: and I will undertake, these once notorious sinners, shall be weighed in that balance, and not found wanting.

8. Not that all the "Methodists (so called) were very wicked people before they followed us." There are those among them, and not a few, who are able to stop the boasting of those that despise them, and to say *Wherein soever any of you is bold, I am bold also:* only they *count all these things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus.* But these we found, as it were, when we sought them not. We went forth to *seek that which was lost:* (more eminently lost,) *to call* the most flagrant, hardened, desperate *sinners to repentance.* To this end we preached in the Horse-fair at Bristol, in Kingswood, in Newcastle: among the colliers in Staffordshire, and the tinners in Cornwall: in Southwark, Wapping, Moorfields, Drury-Lane, at London. Did any man ever pick out such places as these, in order to find "serious, regular, well-disposed people?" How many such might then be in any of them I know not. But this I know, that four in five of those who are now with us, were not of that number, but were wallowing in their blood, till God by us said unto them, *Live.*

Sir, I willingly put the whole cause on this issue: what are the *general consequences* of this preaching? Are there more *tares* or *wheat?* More "good men destroyed," (that is the proper question,) or "wicked men saved?" The last place where we began constant preaching, is a part of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, near Bath. Now let any man inquire at Rhode, Bradford, Wraxall, or among the colliers at Coleford, 1. What kind of people were those, "before they followed these men?" 2. What are the *main doctrines* they have been teaching for this twelvemonth? 3. *What effect* have these doctrines upon their followers? What manner of lives do they lead now? And if you do not find, 1. That three in four of these were two years ago notoriously wicked men. 2. That the main doctrines they have heard since were, 'Love God and your neighbour, and carefully keep his commandments.' And, 3. That they have since exercised themselves herein, and continue so to do: I say, if you or any reasonable man, who will be at the pains to inquire, does not find this to be an unquestionable fact, I will openly acknowledge myself an enthusiast, or whatsoever else you shall please to style me.

Only one caution I would give to such an inquirer, let him not ask the *colliers* of Coleford, "Were not the generality of you, before you followed these men, serious, regular, well-disposed people?" Were you not "offended at the profaneness and debauchery of the age?" And was it not this disposition, which at first made you liable to receive these impressions?" (p. 103.) Because if he talk thus to some of those who do not yet "follow these men," perhaps he will not live to bring back their answer.

But will this, or a thousand such instances as these, "stop the mouths of all adversaries at once?" O Sir, would one expect such

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a thought as this, in one that had read the Bible? What if you could convert as many sinners as St. Paul himself? Would that "stop the mouths of all your adversaries?" Yea, if you could convert three thousand at one sermon, still you would be so far from "stopping all their mouths at once," that the greater part of them would 'gnash upon you with their teeth,' and cry, 'Away with such a fellow from the earth.'

I never therefore expect "to persuade the world," the majority of mankind, that I "have been" for some years "advancing nothing but what has a clear, immediate connexion with 'the true knowledge and love of God:' that God hath been pleased to use me, a weak, vile worm, in reforming many of my fellow-sinners, and making them, at this day, living witnesses of inward and pure religion: and that many of these, from living in all sin, are quite changed, are become so far holy, that though they are not free from all sin, yet no sin hath dominion over them. And yet I do firmly believe, "it is nothing but downright prejudice, to deny or oppose any of these particulars." Preface, p. v.

"Allow Mr. Wesley," you say, "but these few points, and he will defend his conduct—beyond exception."—That is most true. If I "have" indeed "been advancing nothing but the true knowledge and love of God:" if God has made me an instrument in reforming many sinners, and bringing them to "inward and pure religion:" and if many of these continue holy to this day, and free from all wilful sin, then may I, even I, use those awful words, 'He that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.' But I never expect the world to allow me one of these points. However, I must go on, as God shall enable me. I must lay out whatsoever he trusts me with, (whether others will believe I do it or not,) in advancing the Christian knowledge of God, and the love and fear of God among men: in reforming (if so be it please him to use me still) those who are yet without God in the world; and in propagating inward and pure religion, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

10. But you believe, "I only corrupt those who were good Christians before, teaching them to revile and censure their neighbours, and to abuse the clergy, notwithstanding all their meekness and gentleness, as I do myself." "I must declare," say you, "we have in general answered your pretence, with all meekness and temper—the railing and reviling have been chiefly on the side of the Methodists," p. 16.

Your first charge ran thus, (Rem. p. 15.) "How have such abuses as these been thrown out by you—against our—regular clergy, not the highest or the worthiest excepted!" I answered, 'I am altogether clear in this matter, as often as it has been objected: neither do I desire to receive any other treatment from the clergy, than they have received from me to this day,' p. 30.

You reply, 1. "One instance of your misrepresenting and injuring a preacher of our church I mentioned;" (p. 105.) "Mentioned?" Well: but did you *prove* it was an *injury* or *misrepresentation?* I

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know not that you once attempted it. 2. You next quote part of a letter from the third Journal; wherein (according to your account) the "most considerable of our clergy are abused, and at once accused in a very gross manner," (p. 106.) Set down the whole paragraph, and I will prove, that this also is naked truth, and no abuse at all. You say, 3. "You approved of Whitefield's railing against the clergy"—i. e. I say, 'Mr. Wh. preached, concerning the *Holy Ghost which all who believe are to receive*; not without a just, though severe censure of those, who preach as if there were no Holy Ghost,' (Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 270.) Nor is this railing, but melancholy truth. I have myself heard several preach in this manner. 4. You cite my words, 'Wo unto you, ye blind leaders of the blind! How long will ye pervert the right ways of the Lord?' —And add, "I appeal to yourself, whether you did not design this reflection against the clergy in general who differ from you?" No more than I did against Moses and Aaron. I expressly specify whom I design: 'Ye who tell the mourners in Zion, much religion hath made you mad.' You say, 5. (with a N. B.) "All the clergy who differ from you, you style so, (p. 282,) in which and the foregoing page you causelessly slander them, as speaking of their own holiness —as that for the sake of which, on account of which we are justified before God."

Let any serious person read over those pages. I therein slander no man. I speak what I know; what I have both heard and read. The men are alive, and the books are extant. And the same conclusion I now defend, touching that *part* of the clergy who preach or write thus, viz. 'If they preach the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God. But if I preach the way of God in truth, then they are blind leaders of the blind.' 6. You quote these words, 'Nor can I be said to intrude into the labours of those who do not labour at all; but suffer thousands of those for whom Christ died, to perish for lack of knowledge,' (Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 273.) I wrote that letter near Kingswood. I would to God the observation were not terribly true! 7. The first passage you cite from the Earnest Appeal, evidently relates to *a few* only among the clergy: and if the charge be true, but of one in five hundred, it abundantly *supports* my reasoning. 8. In the next passage, I address all those, and those only, who affirm that I preach for gain.

You conclude, "The reader has now before him the manner in which you have been pleased to treat the clergy—and your late sermon—is too fresh an instance of—the like usage of the universities." It is an instance of 'speaking the truth in love.' So I desire all mankind may *use* me. Nor could I have said less either to the university or the clergy, without sinning against God and my own soul.

11. But I must explain myself a little on that practice, which you so often term "abusing the clergy." I have many times great sorrow and heaviness in my heart, on account of these my brethren. And this sometimes constrains me to speak to them, in the only way which is now in my power: and sometimes (though rarely) to speak of

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them; of a few, not all, in general. In either case, I take an especial care, 1. To speak nothing but the truth. 2. To speak this with all plainness; and, 3. With love, and in the spirit of meekness. Now if you will call this "abusing, railing," or "reviling," you must. But still I dare not refrain from it. I must *thus rail, thus abuse* sinners of all sorts and degrees, unless I will perish with them.

When I first read your declaration, That our brethren "in general had treated us with all meekness and temper," I had thoughts of spreading before you a few of the flowers which they have strewed upon us with no sparing hand. But on reflection, I judged it better to forbear. Let them die and be forgotten!

As to those of the "people called Methodists," whom you suppose to "rail at and abuse the clergy," and to *revile* and *censure* their neighbours; I can only say, Which are they? Show me the men. And if it appear, that any of these under my care, habitually *censure* or *revile* others, whether clergy or laity, I will make them an example, for the benefit of all the rest.

Touching *you*, I never was *afraid* without cause. I do not think you advanced a *wilful untruth*. This was a rash word. I hereby openly retract it, and ask pardon of God and you.

To draw toward a conclusion. Whosoever they are that 'despise me, and make no account of my labours,' I know that they are 'not in vain in the Lord,' and that I have not 'fought as one that beateth the air.' I still see (and I praise 'the Father of lights, from whom every good and perfect gift descendeth') a continual increase of pure religion, and undefiled, of the love of God and man, of the 'wisdom which is pure and peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy, and of good fruits.' I see more and more of those 'who before lived in a thorough contempt of God's ordinances, and of all duties, now zealously discharging their duties to God and man, and walking in all his ordinances blameless.' A few indeed I have seen draw back to perdition, chiefly through a fear of being *righteous overmuch*. And here and there one has fallen into Calvinism, or turned aside to the Moravians. But I doubt not, these 'are in a better state than they were before they heard us.' Admit they are in error, yea, and die therein, yet who dares affirm, they will perish everlastingly? But had they died in gross sin, we are sure they had fallen into 'the fire that never shall be quenched.'

I have now considered, as far as my time would permit, (not *every thing* in your letter, *whether of moment or not*, but) those points, which I conceive to be of the greatest weight. That God may lead us both into all truth, and that we may not drop our love in the pursuit of it, is the continual prayer of,

Reverend Sir,
Your Friend and Servant for Christ's sake,
JOHN WESLEY.

June 17, 1746.

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A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

OCCASIONED BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S LATE CHARGE TO HIS CLERGY.

"Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man. For I know not to give flattering titles. In so doing my Maker would soon take me away." Job xxxiii. 21, 22.

My Lord,

1. WHEN abundance of persons have for several years laid to my charge things that I knew not, I have generally thought it my duty to pass it over in silence, to be *as one that heard not.* But the case is different, when a person of your Lordship's character calls me forth to answer for myself. Silence now might be interpreted contempt. It might appear like a sullen disregard, a withholding honour from him to whom honour is due, were it only on account of his high office in the church. More especially, when I apprehend so eminent a person as this, to be under considerable mistakes concerning me. Were I now to be silent, were I not to do what was in my power for the removal of those mistakes, I could not have a conscience void of offence, either towards God or towards man.

2. But I am sensible how difficult it is to speak in such a manner as I ought, and as I desire to do. When your lordship published those queries, under the title of *Observations*, I did not lie under the same difficulty; because, as your name was not inscribed, I had 'the liberty to stand, as it were, on even ground.' But I must now always remember to whom I speak. And may 'the God whom I serve in the gospel of his Son,' enable me to do it with deep seriousness of spirit, with modesty and humility; and at the same time, with the utmost plainness of speech; seeing we must both stand before the Judgment Seat of Christ.

3. In this then I entreat your lordship to bear with me: and in particular, when I speak of myself, (how tender a point!) just as freely as I would of another man. Let not this be termed boasting. Is there not a cause? Can I refrain from speaking, and be guiltless? And if I speak at all, ought I not to speak (what appears to me to be) the whole truth? Does not your lordship desire, that I should do this? I will then, God being my helper. And you will bear with me in my folly, (if such it is) with my speaking in the simplicity of my heart.

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4. Your lordship begins, "There is another species of enemies, who—give shameful disturbance to the parochial clergy, and use very unwarrantable methods to prejudice their people against them, and to seduce their flocks from them—the Methodists and Moravians, who—agree in annoying the established ministry, and in drawing over to themselves the lowest and most ignorant of the people, by pretences to greater sanctity," p. 4.

But have no endeavours been used to show them their error? Yes: your lordship remarks, "Endeavours have not been wanting. —But though these endeavours have caused some abatement in the pomp and grandeur with which these people for some time acted," (truly one would not have expected it from them!) "yet they do not seem—to have made an impression upon their leaders," p. 6. Your lordship adds, "Their innovations, in points of discipline, I do not intend to enter into at present—But to inquire what the doctrines are which they spread, (p. 7.)—Doctrines big with pernicious influences upon practice," p. 8.

Six of these your lordship mentions, after having premised, "It is not at all needful, to the end of guarding against them, to charge the particular tenets upon the particular persons among them," (p. 7.) Indeed, my lord, it is needful in the highest degree. For if the minister who is to guard his people, either against Peter Bohler, Mr. Whitefield, or me, does not know what our particular tenets are, he must needs 'run, as uncertainly, and fight, as one that beateth the air.' I will fairly own, which of these belongs to me. The "indirect practices," which your lordship charges upon me, may then be considered; together with the "consequences" of these doctrines, and your lordship's instructions to the clergy.

5. "The first that I shall take notice of," says your lordship, "is the Antinomian doctrine," (p. 8.) The second, "That Christ has done all, and left nothing for us to do, but to believe," (p. 9.) These belong not to me. I am unconcerned therein. I have earnestly opposed, but did never teach or embrace them.

"There is another notion," your lordship says, "which we find propagated throughout the writings of those people, and that is, the making inward, secret, and sudden impulses the guides of their actions, resolutions, and designs," (p. 14.) Mr. Church urged the same objection before. "Instead of making the word of God the rule of his actions, he follows only his secret impulse,"—I beg leave to return the same answer. 'In the whole compass of language, there is not a proposition which less belongs to me than this. I have declared again and again, that I make the word of God *the rule* of all my actions; and that I no more follow any *secret impulse* instead thereof, than I follow Mahomet or Confucius.' Answ. to Mr. Church.

6. Before I proceed, suffer me to observe, here are three grievous errors, charged on the Moravians, Mr. Whitefield, and me, conjointly, in none of which I am any more concerned than in the doctrine of the Metempsychosis! But it was "not needful to charge

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particular tenets on particular persons." Just as needful, my lord, as it is not to put a stumbling-block in the way of our brethren: not to lay them under an almost insuperable temptation, of condemning the innocent with the guilty. I beseech your lordship to answer in your own conscience before God, whether you did not foresee how many of your hearers would charge these tenets upon *me?* Nay, whether you did not design they should? If so, my lord, is this Christianity? Is it humanity? Let me speak plainly. Is it honest heathenism?

7. I am not one jot more concerned in instantaneous justification, as your lordship explains it, viz. "A sudden, instantaneous justification, by which the person receives from God a certain seal of his salvation, or absolute *assurance* of being saved at last," (p. 11.) "Such an instantaneous working of the Holy Spirit, as finishes the business of salvation once for all," (Ibid.) I neither teach nor believe, and am therefore clear of all the consequences that may arise therefrom. I believe, "a gradual improvement in grace and goodness," I mean in the knowledge and love of God, is a good "testimony of our present sincerity towards God;" although I dare not say, it is "the only true ground of humble assurance," or the only foundation on which a Christian builds his "hopes of acceptance and salvation." For I think 'other foundation' of these 'can no man lay, than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ.'

8. To the charge of holding "sinless perfection," as your lordship states it, I might likewise plead not guilty: seeing one ingredient thereof, in your lordship's account, is "freedom from temptation," (p. 17.) Whereas I believe, 'there is no such perfection in this life, as implies an entire deliverance from manifold temptations.' But I will not decline the charge. I will repeat once more my coolest thoughts upon this head; and that in the very terms which I did several years ago, as I presume your lordship cannot be ignorant.

"What, it may be asked, do you mean by 'one that is perfect,' or, 'one that is as his Master?' We mean, one in whom is 'the mind which was in Christ,' and who 'so walketh as he walked;' a man that 'hath clean hands and a pure heart;' or that is 'cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit:' one 'in whom there is no occasion of stumbling,' and who accordingly 'doth not commit sin.' To declare this a little more particularly, we understand by that scriptural expression, 'a perfect man,' one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, 'from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you.—I will also save you from all your uncleanness.' We understand hereby, one whom God hath 'sanctified throughout,' even in 'body, soul, and spirit:' one who 'walketh in the light, as he is in the light,' in whom 'is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ his Son,' having 'cleansed him from all sin.'

"This man can now testify to all mankind, 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet I live not; but Christ liveth in me.' He 'is holy, as God who called him is holy,' both in life, and 'in all manner of conversation.' He 'loveth the Lord his God with all his

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heart, and serveth him with all his strength.' He 'loveth his neighbour' (every man) 'as himself;' yea, 'as Christ loved us:' them in particular that 'despitefully use him and persecute him,' because 'they know not the Son, neither the Father.' Indeed his soul is all love, filled with 'bowels of mercies, kindness, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering.' And his life agreeth thereto, full 'of the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love.' And 'whatsoever he doth, either in word or deed,' he doth 'it all in the name,' in the love and power 'of the Lord Jesus.' In a word, he doth the Will of God 'on earth, as it is done in heaven.'

"This is to be 'a perfect man,' to be 'sanctified throughout, created anew in Jesus Christ:' even 'to have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God,' (to use archbishop Ush[illegible]s words,) 'as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable unto God through Christ.' In every thought of our hearts, in every word of our tongues, in every work of our hands, 'to show forth his praise who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light.' O that both we, and all who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity, may thus 'be made perfect in one.'"

9. I conjure you, my lord, by the mercies of God, if these are not the words of truth and soberness, point me out wherein I have erred from the truth; show me clearly, wherein I have spoken either beyond or contrary to the word of God. But might I not humbly entreat, that your lordship, in doing this, would abstain from such expressions as these, "If they will put themselves under their direction and discipline,—after their course of discipline is once over," (p. 15,) as not suitable either to the weight of the subject, or the dignity of your lordship's character. And might I not expect something more than these loose assertions, that this is "a delusion altogether groundless," (p. 15.) "A notion contrary to the whole tenor both of the Old and New Testament;" that "the Scriptures forbid all thought of it, as vain, arrogant, and presumptuous;" that they "represent all mankind, without distinction, as subject to sin and corruption" (subject to sin and corruption! strong words!) "during their continuance in this world: and require no more than an honest *desire* and *endeavour*, to find ourselves less and less in a state of imperfection?" (p. 16.)

Is it not from your lordship's entirely mistaking the question, not at all apprehending what perfection I teach, that you go on to guard against the same imaginary consequences, as your lordship did in *The Observations?* Surely, my lord, you never gave yourself the trouble to read the answer given in the *Farther Appeal*, to every objection which you now urge afresh! seeing you do not now appear to know any more of my sentiments, than if you had never proposed one question, nor received one answer upon the subject!

10. If your lordship designed to show my real sentiments concerning the last *doctrine which you mention*, as one would imagine by your adding, "these are his own words," (p. 18,) should you not have

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cited all my own words? At least all the words of that paragraph, and not have mangled it, as Mr. Church did before?

It runs thus, (Journal IV. Vol. I. page 323.) 'Saturday 28. I showed at large, (in order to answer those who taught that none but they who are full of faith and the Holy Ghost, ought ever to communicate,) 1. That the *Lord's Supper* was ordained by God, to be a *mean of conveying* to men either *preventing*, or *justifying*, or *sanctifying grace*, according to their several necessities. 2. That the persons for whom it was ordained, are all those who know and feel that they *want* the *grace* of God, either to *restrain* them from sin, or to *show their sins forgiven*, or to *renew their souls* in the image of God. 3. That inasmuch as we come to his table, not to *give* him any thing, but to *receive* whatsoever he sees best for us, there is *no previous preparation* indispensably necessary, but *a desire* to receive whatsoever he pleases to give. And, 4. That *no fitness* is required at the time of communicating, but *a sense of our state*, of our utter sinfulness and helplessness: every one who knows he is *fit for hell*, being just *fit to come to* Christ, in this as well as all other ways of his appointment.'

In the second letter to Mr. Church, I explain myself farther on this head. 'I am sorry to find you still affirm, that with regard to the *Lord's Supper* also, I "advance many injudicious, false, and dangerous things. Such as, 1. That a man ought to communicate, without a sure trust in God's mercy through Christ,"' (p. 117.) You mark these as my words; but I know them not. '2. That there is no previous preparation *indispensably* necessary, but a desire to receive whatsoever God pleases to give.' But I include abundantly more in that *desire*, than you seem to apprehend; even a willingness to know and do the whole will of God. '3. That no fitness is required at the time of communicating,' (I recite the whole sentence) 'but a sense of our state, of our utter sinfulness and helplessness! Every one who knows he is fit for hell, being just fit to come to Christ, in this, as well as in all other ways of his appointment.' But neither can this sense of our utter sinfulness and helplessness subsist, without earnest desires of universal holiness.

10. And now what can I say? Had your lordship never seen this? That is hardly to be imagined. But if you had, how was it possible your lordship should thus explicitly and solemnly charge me, in the presence of God and all my brethren, (only, the person so charged was not present) with "meaning by those words to *set aside* self-examination and repentance for sins past, and resolutions of living better for the time to come, as things no way necessary to make a worthy communicant!" (p. 18.) If an evidence at the bar should swerve from truth, an equitable judge may place the thing in a true light. But if the judge himself shall bear false witness, where then can we find a remedy?

Actual preparation was here entirely out of the question. It might be *absolutely* and *indispensably* necessary, for any thing I had either said or *meant* to the contrary. For it was not at all in my thoughts. And the habitual preparation which I had in terms declared to be in-

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dispensably necessary, was 'a willingness to know and to do *the* whole will of God,' and 'earnest desires of universal holiness.' Does your lordship think this is "meant to set aside all repentance for sins past, and resolutions of living better for the time to come?"

11. Your lordship next falls with all your might upon that strange assertion, as you term it, 'We come to his table, not to give him any thing, but to receive whatsoever he sees best for us.' "Whereas," says your lordship, "in the exhortation *at the time* of receiving, the people are told, that they must *give* most humble and hearty thanks, and immediately *after* receiving, both minister and people join in *offering* and *presenting* themselves before God," (p. 20, 21.) O God! in what manner are the most sacred things here treated! The most venerable mysteries of our religion! What quibbling, what playing upon words is here! 'Not to *give* him any thing.'—"Yes, to *give* him thanks." O, my lord, are these the words of a father of the church?

12. Your lordship goes on, "To the foregoing account of these modern principles and doctrines,—it may not be improper to subjoin a few observations upon the indirect *practices* of the same people in gaining proselytes," (p. 23, 24.)—"1. They persuade the people, that the *established* worship, with a regular attendance upon it, is not sufficient to answer the ends of devotion."—Your lordship mentioned this likewise in the *Observations*. In your fourth *query* it stood thus: 'Whether a due and regular attendance on the public offices of religion, paid in a serious and composed way, does not answer the true ends of devotion?' Suffer me to repeat part of the answer then given.

'I suppose, by devotion you mean public worship; by the *true ends* of it, the love of God and man; and by "a due and regular attendance on the public offices of religion, paid in a serious and composed way," the going as often as we can to our parish church, and to the sacrament there administered. If so, the question is, Whether *this attendance* on *those offices*, does not produce the love of God and man? I answer, sometimes it does; and sometimes it does not. I myself thus attended them for many years; and yet am conscious to myself, that during that whole time, I had no more of the love of God than a stone. And I know many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of serious persons, who are ready to testify the same thing.' I subjoined, '1. We continually exhort all who attend on our preaching, to attend the offices of the church. And they do pay a more regular attendance there than ever they did before. 2. Their attending the church did not, in fact, answer those ends at all, till they attended this preaching also. 3. It is the preaching remission of sins through Jesus Christ, which alone answers the true ends of devotion.

13. II. "They censure the clergy," says your lordship, "as less zealous than themselves, in the several branches of the ministerial function.—For this they are undeservedly reproached by these noisy, itinerant leaders." (p. 24, 25.) My lord, I am not conscious to myself of this. I do not willingly compare myself with any man, much less do I reproach my brethren of the clergy, whether they deserve

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it or not. But it is needless to add any more on this head than what was said above a year ago. [Second letter to Mr. Church.]

'I must explain myself a little on that practice which you so often term *abusing the clergy*. I have many times great sorrow and heaviness in my heart, on account of these my brethren. And this sometimes constrains me to speak to them, in the only way which is now in my power: and sometimes (though rarely) to speak of them, of a few, not all in general. In either case, I take an especial care, 1. To speak nothing but the truth. 2. To speak this with all plainness: and, 3. With love, and in the spirit of meekness. Now, if you will call this *abusing*, *railing*, or *reviling*, you must. But still I dare not refrain from it. I must *thus rail, thus abuse* sinners of all sorts and degrees, unless I will perish with them.'

14. III. "They value themselves upon extraordinary strictnesses and severities in life, and such as are beyond what the rules of Christianity require. They captivate the people by such professions and appearances of *uncommon* sanctity.—But that which can never fail of a general respect—is a quiet and exemplary life, free from the many *follies* and *indiscretions* which those restless and vagrant teachers are apt to fall into." (p. 25.)

By "extraordinary strictnesses and severities," I presume your lordship means, the abstaining from wine and animal food; which, it is sure, Christianity does not require. But if you do, I fear your lordship is not thoroughly informed of the matter of fact. I began to do this, about twelve years ago, when I had no thought of "annoying parochial ministers," or of "captivating any people" thereby, unless it were the Chicasaw or Choctaw Indians. But I resumed the use of them both, about two years after, for the sake of some who thought I made it a point of conscience; telling them 'I will eat flesh while the world standeth, rather than make my brother to offend.' Dr. Cheyne advised me to leave them off again, assuring me, 'Till you do, you will never be free from fevers.' And since I have taken his advice, I have been free (blessed be God) from all bodily disorders.* Would to God I knew any method of being equally free from all *follies* and *indiscretions*. But this I never expect to attain, till my spirit returns to God.

15. But in how strange a manner does your lordship represent this! What a construction do you put upon it! "Appearances of an *uncommon* sanctity," in order to "captivate the people.—Pretensions to more exalted degrees of strictness, to make their way into weak minds and fickle heads." (page 25.) "Pretences to greater sanctity whereby they draw over to themselves the most ignorant of the people." (p. 4.) If these are "appearances of uncommon sanctity, (which indeed might bear a dispute) how does your lordship know, that they are only *appearances?* That they do not spring from the heart? Suppose these were "exalted degrees of strictness," is your lordship absolutely assured, that we practise them only "to make *our*

* I continued this about two years.

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way into weak minds and fickle heads?" Where is the proof, that these "pretences to greater sanctity," (as your lordship is pleased to phrase them,) are mere *pretences*, and have nothing of reality or sincerity in them?

My lord, this is an accusation of the highest nature. If we are guilty, we are not so much as moral Heathens. We are monsters not only unworthy of the Christian name, but unfit for human society. It tears up all *pretences* to the love of God and man: to justice, mercy, or truth. But how is it proved? Or does your lordship read the heart, and so pass sentence without any proof at all? O, my lord, ought an accusation of the lowest kind to be thus received, even against the lowest of the people? How much less can this be reconciled with the apostolic advice to the bishop of Ephesus, 'Against a presbyter, receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses;' and those face to face. When it is thus proved, 'them that sin, rebuke before all.' Your lordship, doubtless, remembers the words that follow, (how worthy to be written in your heart!) 'I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.' 1 Tim. v. 19, 20, 21

IV. 16. "*They* mislead the people into an opinion of the *high merit* of punctual attendances on their performances, to the neglect of the business of their station." (p. 26.) My lord, this is not so. You yourself, in this very charge, have cleared us from one part of this accusation. You have borne us witness, (p. 10,) that we disclaim all *merit*, even in (really) good works: how much more, in such works as we continually declare are not good, but very evil? Such as the attending sermons, or any public offices whatever, "to the neglect of the business of our station."

When your lordship urged this before, in the *Observations*, I openly declared my belief (*Farther Appeal*, part I.) 'That true religion cannot lead into a disregard or disesteem of the common duties and offices of life: that, on the contrary, it leads men to discharge all those duties with the strictest and closest attention: that Christianity requires this attention and diligence, in all stations and in all conditions: that the performance of the lowest offices of life, *as unto God*, is truly *a serving of Christ;* and that this is the doctrine I preach continually;' a fact, whereof any man may easily be informed. Now if after all this, your lordship will repeat the charge, as if I had not once opened my mouth concerning it, I cannot help it. I can say no more. I commend my case to God.

17. Having considered what your lordship has advanced, concerning dangerous *doctrines* and indirect *practices*, I now come to the instructions your lordship gives to the clergy of your diocess. How awful a thing is this! the very occasion carries in it a solemnity not to be expressed. Here is an angel of the church of Christ, one of the stars in God's right-hand, calling together all the subordinate pastors, for whom he is to give an account to God; and directing them (in the name and by the authority of 'the great Shepherd of the sheep, Jesus Christ, the first begotten from the dead, the Prince of the

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kings of the earth') how to 'make full proof of their ministry,' that they may be 'pure from the blood of all men;' how to 'take heed unto themselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers;' how to 'feed the flock of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood!' To this end they are all assembled together. And what is the substance of all his instructions? "Reverend brethren, I charge you all, lift up your voice like a trumpet! and *warn*, and *arm*, and *fortify* all mankind—against a people called Methodists."

True it is, your lordship gives them several advices; but all in order to this end. You direct them, to "inculcate the excellency of our liturgy, as a wise, grave, and serious service:" to show "their people, that a diligent attendance on their business, is a serving of God; punctually to perform both the public offices of the church, and all other pastoral duties:" and to "engage the esteem of their parishioners, by a constant regularity of life." But all these your lordship recommends *eo nomine*, as means to that great end, "The *arming* and *fortifying* their people against the Moravians or Methodists, and their doctrines."

Is it possible! Could your lordship discern no other enemies of the Gospel of Christ? Are there no other heretics or schismatics on earth? Or even within the four seas? Are there no Papists, no Deists in the land? Or are their errors of less importance? Or are their numbers in England less considerable? Or less likely to increase? Does it appear then that they have lost their zeal for making proselytes? Or, are all the people so *guarded* against them already, that their labour is in vain?. Can your lordship answer these few, plain questions, to the satisfaction of your own conscience? Have the Methodists (so called) already monopolized all the sins, as well as errors in the nation? Is Methodism the only sin, or the only fatal or spreading sin, to be found within the bills of mortality! Have two thousand (or more) 'ambassadors of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God,' no other business than to "guard, warn, arm, and fortify" their people against this? O my lord, if this engross their time and strength, (as it must, if they follow your lordship's instructions,) they will not give an account with joy, either of themselves or of their flock in that day!

11. Your lordship seems in some measure sensible of this, when you very gently condemn their opinion who think the "Methodists might better be disregarded and despised, than taken notice of and opposed—if it were not for the disturbance they give to the parochial ministers, and their unwarrantable endeavours to seduce the people from their lawful pastors." (p. 22.) The same complaint with which your lordship opened your charge. "They give shameful disturbances to the parochial clergy—they annoy the established ministry, using very unwarrantable methods, first, to prejudice their people against them, and then to seduce their flocks from them." (p. 4.)

Whether we seduce them or not, (which will be presently considered,) I am sorry your lordship should give any countenance to that low, senseless, and now generally exploded slander, that we do it for

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a maintenance. This your lordship insinuates, by applying *to us* those words of bishop Saunderson, 'And all this, to serve their own belly, to make a prey of the poor deluded proselytes: for, by this mean, the people fall unto them, and thereout suck they no small advantage." (p. 15.) Your lordship cannot but know, that my fellowship, and my brother's studentship, afford us more than sufficient for life and godliness: especially, for that manner of life which we choose, whether out of ostentation or in sincerity.

19. But do we willingly "annoy the established ministry," or "give disturbance to the parochial clergy?" My lord, we do not. We trust, herein, to have a conscience void of offence. Nor do we designedly "prejudice their people against them." In this also our heart condemneth us not. But you "seduce their flocks from them." No, not even from those who feed themselves, not the flock. All who hear us attend the service of the church, at least as much as they did before. And for this very thing, are we reproached as *bigots to the church*, by those of most other denominations.

Give me leave, my lord, to say, you have mistook and misrepresented this whole affair from the top to the bottom. And I am the more concerned to take notice of this, because so many have *fallen* into the same mistake. It is indeed, and has been from the beginning, the πρωτον ψευδος, the capital blunder of our bitterest adversaries: though how they can advance it, I see not, without *loving*, if not *making a lie*. It is not our care, endeavour, or desire, to *proselyte* any from one man to another, or from one church, (so called) from one congregation, or society to another: (we would not move a finger to do this: to make ten thousand such proselytes,) but from darkness to light, from Belial to Christ; from the power of Satan to God. Our one aim is, to proselyte sinners to repentance, the servants of the Devil to serve the living and true God. If this be not done in fact, we will stand condemned, not as well-meaning fools, but as Devils incarnate. But if it be, if the instances glare in the face of the sun, if they increase daily, maugre all the power of earth and hell: then, my lord, neither you nor any man beside (let me use great plainness of speech) can "oppose and fortify people against us," without being found 'even to fight against God.'

20. I would fain set this point in a clearer light. Here are, in and near Moorfields, ten thousand poor souls for whom Christ died, rushing headlong into hell. Is Dr. Bulkely, the parochial minister, both willing and able to stop them? If so, let it be done, and I have no place in these parts. I go and call other sinners to repentance. But if after all he has done, and all he can do, they are still in the broad way to destruction, let me see if God will put a word, even *in* my mouth. True, I am a poor worm that of myself can do nothing. But if God sends, by whomsoever he will send, his word shall not return empty. All the messenger of God asks, is, Δος που; (no help of man!) και γην κινησω· The arm of the Lord is revealed. The lion roars, having the prey plucked out of his teeth. And 'there is joy in the presence of the angels of God, over' more than 'one sinner that repenteth.'

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21. Is this any *annoyance* to the parochial minister? Then what manner of spirit is he of? Does he look on this part of his flock as lost, because they are found of the great Shepherd?—My lord, great is my boldness towards you. You speak of the *consequences* of our doctrines. You seem well pleased with the success of your *endeavours* against them, because (you say) they "have pernicious consequences, are big with pernicious influences upon practice,—dangerous to religion and the souls of men." (p. 8. 22.) In answer to all this, I appeal to plain fact. I say once more, 'What have been the *consequences* (I would not speak, but I dare not refrain) of the doctrines I have preached for nine years last past? By the fruits shall ye know those of whom I speak: even the cloud of witnesses, who at this hour experience the gospel which I preach, to be the power of God unto salvation. The habitual drunkard, that was, is now temperate in all things. The whoremonger now flees fornication. He that stole steals no more, but works with his hands. He that cursed or swore, perhaps at every sentence, has now learned to serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence. Those formerly enslaved to various habits of sin, are now brought to uniform habits of holiness. These are demonstrable facts. I can name the men, with their places of abode. One of them was an avowed Atheist for many years; some were Jews; a considerable number Papists: the greatest part of them as much strangers to the form, as to the power of godliness.'

My lord, can you deny these facts? I will make whatever proof of them you shall require. But if the facts be allowed, who can deny the doctrines to be (in substance) the gospel of Christ? 'For is there any other name under heaven given to men, whereby they may' thus 'be saved?' Or is there any other word that thus 'commendeth itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God?'

22. But I must draw to a conclusion. Your lordship has, without doubt, had some success in *opposing* this doctrine. Very many have, by your lordship's unwearied *endeavours*, been deterred from hearing at all: and have thereby probably escaped the being *seduced* into holiness, have lived and died in their sins. My lord, the time is short. I am past the noon of life, and my remaining years flee away as a shadow. Your lordship is old and full of days, having passed the usual age of man. It cannot, therefore, be long before we shall both drop this house of earth, and stand naked before God: no, nor before we shall see the great white throne coming down from heaven, and him that sitteth thereon. On his left-hand shall be those who are shortly to dwell in everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. In that number will be all who died in their sins: and, among the rest, those whom you *preserved* from repentance. Will you then rejoice in your success? The Lord God grant it may not be said in that hour, 'These have perished in their iniquity: but their blood I require at thy hands.'

I am, your lordship's dutiful son and servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

LONDON, *June* 11, 1747.

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A LETTER TO A CLERGYMAN.

Tullamore, May 4, 1748.

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE, at present, neither leisure nor inclination to enter into a formal controversy: but you will give me leave, just to offer a few loose hints, relating to the subject of last night's conversation.

1. Seeing life and health are things of so great importance, it is, without question, highly expedient, that physicians should have all possible advantages of learning and education.

2. That trial should be made of them by competent judges, before they practise publicly.

3. That after such trial, they be authorized to practise by those who are empowered to convey that authority.

4. And that while they are preserving the lives of others, they should have what is sufficient to sustain their own.

5. But supposing a gentleman bred at the university in Dublin, with all the advantages of education: after he has undergone all the usual trials, and then been regularly authorized to practise.

6. Suppose, I say, this physician settles at —— for some years, and yet makes no cures at all; but, after trying his skill on five hundred persons, cannot show that he has healed one; many of his patients dying under his hands, and the rest remaining just as they were before he came.

7. Will you condemn a man, who, having some little skill in physic, and a tender compassion for those who are sick or dying all around him, cures many of those, without fee or reward, whom the doctor could not cure?

8. At least, *did* not, (which is the same thing as to the case in hand,) were it only for this reason, because he did not go to them, and they would not come to him?

9. Will you condemn him, because he has not learning? Or has not had an university education? What then? He cures those whom the man of learning and education could not cure.

10. Will you object, that he is no physician, nor has any authority to practise? I cannot come into your opinion. I think, he is a physician who heals; *Medicus est qui medetur:* and that every man has authority to save the life of a dying man. But if you only mean, he has no authority to take fees, I contend not: for he takes none at all.

11. Nay, and I am afraid it will hold, on the other hand, *Medicus non est qui non medetur:* I am afraid, if we use propriety of speech, he is no physician who works no cure.

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12. "O, but he has taken his degree of doctor of physic, and, therefore, has authority." Authority to do what? "Why to heal all the sick that will employ him." But, (to waive the case of those who will not employ him: and would you have even *their* lives thrown away?) he does not heal those that do employ him. He that was sick before, is sick still; or else he is gone hence, and is no more seen.—Therefore his authority is not worth a rush; for it serves not the end for which it was given.

13. And surely he has no authority to kill them, by hindering another from saving their lives!

14. If he either attempts or desires to hinder him, if he condemns or dislikes him for it, it is plain to all thinking men, he regards his own fees, more than the lives of his patients.

II. Now to apply. 1. Seeing life everlasting and holiness, or health of soul, are things of so great importance, it is highly expedient, that ministers, being physicians of the soul, should have all advantages of education and learning:

2. That full trial should be made of them, in all respects, and that by the most competent judges, before they enter on the public exercise of their office, the saving souls from death:

3. That after such trial, they should be authorized to exercise that office, by those who are empowered to convey that authority: (I believe, bishops are empowered to do this, and have been so, from the apostolic age:)

4. And that those, whose souls they save, ought, mean time, to provide them what is needful for the body.

5. But suppose a gentleman bred at the university in Dublin, with all the advantages of education: after he has undergone the usual trials, and been regularly authorized to save souls from death;

6. Suppose, I say, this minister settles at ——, for some years, and yet saves no souls at all: saves no sinners from their sins; but after he has preached all this time to five or six hundred persons, cannot show, that he has converted one from the error of his ways. Many of his parishioners dying as they lived, and the rest remaining just as they were before he came;

7. Will you condemn a man, who, having compassion on dying souls, and some knowledge of the gospel of Christ, without any temporal reward, saves many from their sins, whom the minister could not save?

8. At least, *did* not: nor ever was likely to do it; for he did not go to them, and they would not come to him.

9. Will you condemn such a preacher, because he has not learning? Or has not had an university education?—What then? He saves those sinners from their sins, whom the man of learning and education could not save.—A peasant being brought before the college of physicians at Paris, a learned doctor accosted him, "What, friend, do you pretend to prescribe to people that have agues? Dost thou know what an ague is?" He replied, "Yes, Sir, an ague is, what I can cure, and you cannot."

10. Will you object, "But he is no minister; nor has any autho-

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rity to save souls?" I must beg leave to dissent from you in this. I think he is a true, evangelical minister, διακονος, servant of Christ and his church, who ουτως διακονει, so ministers, as to save souls from death, to reclaim sinners from their sins: and that every Christian, if he is able to do it, has authority to save a dying soul.—But if you only mean, he has no authority to take tithes, I grant it. He takes none. As he has freely received, so he freely gives.

11. But to carry the matter a little farther, I am afraid, it will hold on the other hand, with regard to the soul as well as the body, *Medicus non est qui non medetur*. I am afraid, reasonable men will be much inclined to think, he that saves no souls is no minister of Christ.

12. "O, but he is ordained, and therefore has authority." Authority to do what? To save all the souls that put themselves under his care. True; but (to waive the case of them that will not: And would you desire that even those should perish?) he does not, in fact, save them that are under his care. Therefore what end does his authority serve? He that was a drunkard, is a drunkard still. The same is true of the sabbath-breaker, the thief, the common swearer. This is the best of the case: for many have died in their iniquity, and their blood will God require at the watchman's hand.

13. For surely he has no authority to murder souls: either by his neglect, by his smooth if not false doctrine, or by hindering another from plucking them out of the fire, and bringing them to life everlasting.

14. If he either attempts or desires to hinder him, if he condemns or is displeased with him for it, how great reason is there to fear, that he regards his own profit, more than the salvation of souls!

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY.

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A LETTER

TO THE

AUTHOR OF THE ENTHUSIASM OF METHODISTS AND PAPISTS COMPARED.

Agedum! Pauca accipe contra.—Hor.

N. B. The Author's words are inserted between inverted commas.

Sir,

1. IN your late pamphlets you have undertaken to prove, that Mr. Whitefield and I are gross enthusiasts; and that our "whole conduct is but a counter-part of the most wild fanaticisms of the most abominable communion in its most corrupt ages," (preface, p. 3.) You endeavour to support this charge against us, by quotations from our own writings: compared with quotations from celebrated writers of the Romish communion.

2. It lies upon me to answer for one. But I must not burden you with too long an answer; lest "for want either of leisure or inclination," (preface, p. 5,) you should not give this, any more than my other tracts, a reading. In order therefore to spare both you and myself, I shall at present consider only your first part; and that as briefly as possible. Accordingly I shall not meddle with your other quotations; but leaving them to whom they may concern, shall only examine, whether those you have made from my writings, prove the charge of enthusiasm, or not.

This, I conceive, will be abundantly sufficient to decide the question between you and me. If these do prove the charge, I am cast: if they do not, if they are the words of truth and soberness, it will be an objection of no real weight, against sentiments just in themselves, though they should also be found in the writings of Papists; yea, of Mahometans or Pagans.

3. Let the eight pages you *borrow*, stand as they are. I presume they will do neither good nor harm. In the tenth you say, "The Methodists act on the same plan with the Papists; not perhaps from compact and design; but a similar configuration and texture of brain, or the fumes of imagination producing similar effects. From a commiseration of horror, arising from the grievous corruptions of the world, perhaps from a real motive of sincere piety, they both set out with warm pretences to a reformation." Sir, this is an uncommon thought! That sincere piety should arise from the "configuration and texture of the brain!" As well as, that

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"pretences to a reformation" should spring from a "real motive of sincere piety!"

4. You go on, "Both commonly begin their adventures with field-preaching," (Enthusiasm, &c. p. 11.) Sir, do you condemn field-preaching *toto genere*, as evil in itself? Have a care! or you (I should say, the gentleman that assists you) will speak a little too plain, and betray the *real* motives of his *sincere* antipathy to the people called Methodists. Or do you condemn the preaching on Hannam-mount, in particular, to the colliers of Kingswood? If you doubt, whether this has "done any real good," it is a very easy thing to be informed. And I leave it with all impartial men, whether the good which has in fact been done by preaching there, and which could not possibly have been done any other way, does not abundantly "justify the irregularity of it." p. 15.

5. But you think I am herein "inconsistent" with myself. For I say, '*The uncommonness is the very circumstance that recommends it.*' (I mean, that recommended it to the colliers of Kingswood.) And yet I said, but a page or two before, 'We are not suffered to preach in the churches: else we should prefer them to any places whatsoever.' Sir, I still aver, both the one and the other. I do *prefer* the preaching in a church when I am suffered: and yet, when I am not, the wise providence of God overrules this very circumstance for good: many coming to hear, because of the uncommonness of the thing, who would otherwise not have heard at all.

6. Your second charge is, That I "abuse the clergy, throw out so much gall of bitterness against them! And impute this black art of calumny to the Spirit and power given from God," (p. 15.) Sir, I plead not guilty to the whole charge. And you have not cited one line to support it. But, if you could support it, what is this to the point in hand? I presume calumny is not enthusiasm. Perhaps you will say, 'But it is something as bad.' True: but it is nothing to the purpose: even the "*imputing this to the Spirit of God*," as you here represent it, is an instance of *art*, not of *enthusiasm*.

7. You charge me thirdly, with "putting on a sanctified appearance, in order to draw followers, by a demure look, precise behaviour, and other marks of external piety. For which reason," you say, "Mr. Wesley made and renewed that noble resolution, not willingly to indulge himself in the least levity of behaviour, or in laughter, no, not for a moment;—to speak no word not tending to the glory of God; and not a tittle of worldly things," (p. 18, 19.) Sir, you miss the mark again. If this "*sanctified appearance*" were "*put on*" to "*draw followers*," if it were for this reason (as you flatly affirm it was,) that "Mr. Wesley made and renewed that noble resolution:" (it was made eleven or twelve years before, about the time of my removal to Lincoln College,) then it can be no instance of enthusiasm, and so does not fall within the design of your present work. Unless your titlepage does not belong to your book: for that confines you to the enthusiasm of the Methodists.

8. But to consider this point in another view. "You accuse me

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of "putting on a sanctified appearance, a demure look, precise behaviour, and other marks of external piety." How are you assured, Sir, this was barely *external*? And that it was a bare *appearance* of sanctity? You affirm this as from personal knowledge. Were you then acquainted with me three or four and twenty years ago? "He made and renewed that noble resolution, in order to draw followers." Sir, how do you know that? Are you in God's place, that you take upon you to be the searcher of hearts? "That noble resolution, not willing to indulge himself in the least levity of behaviour." Sir, I acquit you of having any concern in this matter. But I appeal to all who have the love of God in their hearts, whether this is not a rational, scriptural resolution, worthy the vocation wherewith we are called:—"or in laughter, no, not for a moment." No, nor ought I to indulge in it at all: if I am conscious to myself, it hurts my soul. In which, let every man judge for himself. "To speak no word not tending to the glory of God."—A peculiar instance of enthusiasm this! "And not a tittle of worldly things." The words immediately following are, 'Others may, nay, must. But what is that to me?' (Words which in justice you ought to have inserted;) who was then entirely disengaged from worldly business of every kind. Notwithstanding which, I have often since engaged therein, when the order of Providence plainly required it.

9. Though I did not design to meddle with them, yet I must here take notice of three of your instances of Popish enthusiasm. The first, is, That "Mechtildis tortured herself for having spoken an idle word," (p. 19.) (The point of comparison lies not in torturing herself; but in her doing it on such an occasion:) the second, "That not a word fell from St. Katharine of Sienna, that was not religious and holy:" the third, "That the lips of Magdalen di Pazzi, were never opened but to chant the praises of God." I would to God the comparison between the Methodists and Papists would hold in this respect! Yea, that you, and all the clergy in England, were guilty of such enthusiasm.

10. You cite as a fourth instance of my enthusiasm, that I say, "A Methodist (a real Christian) cannot adorn himself, on any pretence, with gold or costly apparel," (p. 21.) If this be enthusiasm, let the apostle look to it. His words are clear and express. If you can find a pretence to set them aside, do: I cannot; nor do I desire it.

11. My "seeming contempt of money," (p. 26,) you urge as a fifth instance of enthusiasm. Sir, I understand you. You were obliged to call it *seeming*, lest you should yourself confute the allegation brought in your title-page. But if it be only *seeming*, whatever it prove besides, it cannot prove that I am an enthusiast.

12. Hitherto you have succeeded extremely ill. You have brought five accusations against me: and have not been able to make one good. However, you are resolved to throw dirt enough, that some may stick. So you are next to prove upon me, "a restless impatience and insatiable thirst of travelling, and undertaking dangerous

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voyages, for the conversion of infidels; together with declared contempt of all dangers, pains, and sufferings; and the designing, loving, and praying for ill usage, persecution, martyrdom, death, and hell," p. 27.

In order to prove this uncommon charge, you produce (p. 31) four scraps of sentences, which you mark as my words, though as they stand in your book, they are neither sense nor grammar. But you do not refer to the page or even the treatise, where any one of them may be found. Sir, it is well you hide your name: or you would be obliged to hide your face, from every man of candour, or even common humanity.

13. "Sometimes indeed," you say, "Mr. Wesley complains of the scoffs both of the great vulgar, and the small," (p. 32,) to prove which, you disjoint and murder (as your manner is) another of my sentences. But at other times the note is changed, and "till he is despised no man is in a state of salvation." "The note is changed!" How so? When did I say otherwise than I do at this day, viz. 'That none are children of God, but those who are hated, or despised by the children of the Devil.'

I must beg you, Sir, in your third part to inform your reader, that whenever any solecism or mangled sentences, appear in the quotations from my writings, they are not chargeable upon me: that if the sense be mine, (which is not always; sometimes you do me too much honour, even in this:) yet I lay no claim to the manner of expression: the English is all your own.

14. "Corporal severities or mortification by tormenting the flesh," (p. 31,) is the next thing you charge upon me. Almost two sentences you bring in proof of this. The one, "Our bed being wet," (it was in a storm at sea,) "I laid me down on the floor, and slept sound till morning: and I believe I shall not find it needful to go to bed, as it is called, any more." But whether I do or not, how will you prove, that my motive is, To "gain a reputation for sanctity?" I desire (if it be not too great a favour) a little evidence for this.

The other fragment of a sentence speaks, "of bearing cold on the naked head, rain and wind, frost and snow," (p. 32.) True; but not as matter of "mortification, by tormenting the flesh." Nothing less. These things are not spoken of there, as voluntary instances of mortification: (you yourself know perfectly well, they are not; only you make free with your friend:) but as some of the unavoidable inconveniences, which attend preaching in the open air.

Therefore you need not be so "sure that the apostle condemns that αφειδια σωματος, not sparing the body, as useless and superstitious, and that it is a false show of humility," (p. 33.) Humility is entirely out of the question, as well as chastity; in the case of hardships endured,) but not properly chosen) out of love to the souls for which Christ died.

15. You add a word or two of my "ardent desire of going to hell," which you think I "adopted from the Jesuit Nieremberg," (p. 34.) Sir, I know not the man. I am wholly a stranger both to his person

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and to his doctrine, but if this is his doctrine, I disclaim it from my heart. I ardently desire that both you and I may go to heaven.

But "Mr. Wesley says, 'A poor old man decided the question of disinterested love.—He said, I do not care what place I am in. Let God put me where he will, or do with me what he will, so I may set forth his honour and glory," (p. 35.) He did so. And what then? Do these words imply, "an ardent desire of going to hell?" I do not suppose the "going to hell" ever entered into his thoughts. Nor has it any place in my notion of *disinterested love*. How you may understand that term, I know not.

But you will prove, I have this desire, whether I will or not. You are sure, this was my "*original meaning*," (p. 36,) in the words cited by Mr. Church,

> Doom if thou canst to endless pain,
> Or drive me from thy face:'

"God's power or justice," you say, "must be intended; because he speaks of God's love in the very next lines,

> 'But if thy stronger love constrains,
> Let me be sav'd by grace.'

Sir, I will tell you a secret. Those lines are not mine. However, I will once more venture to defend them, and to aver, that your consequence is good for nothing. "If this love is spoken of in the latter lines, then it is not in the former." No! Why not? I take it to be spoken of in both. The plain meaning of which is, 'If thou art not love, I am content to perish. But if thou art, let me find the effects thereof: let me be saved by grace.'

16. You next accuse me of maintaining "*a stoical insensibility.*" This objection also you borrow from Mr. Church. You ought likewise to have taken notice, that I had answered it, and openly disowned that doctrine: I mean, according to the rules of common justice. But that is not your failing.

7. Part of your 39th page runs thus: "With respect to all this patient enduring hardships, &c. it has been remarked by learned authors, That some persons by constitutional temper, have been fond of bearing the worst that could befall them: that others, from a sturdy humour, and the force of education, have made light of the most exquisite tortures: that when enthusiasm comes in, in aid of this natural acquired sturdiness, and men fancy they are upon God's work, and entitled to his rewards, they are immediately all on fire, for rushing into sufferings and pain." I take knowledge of your having faithfully abridged, your own book shall I say? Or the learned Dr. Middleton's? But what is it you are endeavouring to prove?

Quorsum hæc tam putida tenduni?

The paragraph seems to point at me. But the plain, natural tendency of it, is to invalidate that great argument for Christianity, which is drawn from the constancy of the martyrs. Have you not here also spoken a little too plain? Had you not better have kept the mask on a little longer? Indeed you lamely add, "The solid

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and just comforts which a true martyr receives from above, are groundlessly applied to the counterfeit." But this is not enough even to save appearances.

18. You subjoin a truly surprising thought. "It may moreover be observed, that both ancient and modern enthusiasts always take care to secure some advantage by their sufferings," (p. 40.) O rare enthusiasts! So they are not such fools neither as they are vulgarly supposed to be. This is just of a piece with the "cunning epileptic demoniacs," in your other performance. And do not you think, (if you would but speak all that is in your heart, and let us into the whole secret, that there was a "compact," likewise between Bishop *Hooper* and his *executioner*, as well as between the *ventriloquist* and the *exorcist*.

But what "advantage do they take care to secure?" A good salary? A handsome fortune? No; quite another matter; "*free communications with God, and fuller manifestations of his goodness,*" (ibid.) I dare say, you do not envy them: no more than you do those "self-interested enthusiasts" of old, who were 'tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.'

19. You proceed to prove my enthusiasm from my notions of conversion. And here great allowances are to be made: because you are talking of things quite out of your sphere: you are got into an unknown world! Yet you still talk as magisterially as if you were only running down the fathers of the primitive church. And, first, you say, I "represent conversion as sudden and instantaneous," (p. 40.) Soft and fair! Do you know what *conversion* is? (A term indeed which I very rarely use, because it rarely occurs in the New Testament.) "Yes, it is, To start up perfect men at once," (p. 41.) Indeed, Sir, it is not. A man is usually converted, long before he is a perfect man. It is probable, most of those Ephesians, to whom St. Paul directed his Epistle, were converted. Yet they were not 'come (few, if any) to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

20. I do not, Sir, I do not undertake to make you understand these things. I am not so vain as to think it is in my power. It is the utmost of my hope to convince you, or at least those who read your works, that you understand just nothing about them.

To put this out of dispute, you go on, "Thus faith and being born of God, are said to be an instantaneous work, at once, and in a moment, as lightning. Justification, the same as regeneration, and having a lively faith, this always in a moment," (ibid.) I know not which to admire most, the English or the sense, which you here father upon me: but in truth it is all your own: I do not thus confound "*faith* and being *born* of God." I always speak of them as different things: it is you that thus jumble them together. It is you who discover "*justification*" also to be the "same as *regeneration*, and having a lively faith." I take them to be three different things; so different as not ever to come under one *genus*. And yet it is true, that each of these, 'as far as I know,' is at first experienced sud-

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denly: although two of them (I leave you to find out which) gradually increase from that hour.

21. "After these sudden conversions," say you, "they receive their assurances of salvation," (p. 43.) Sir, Mr. Bedford's ignorance in charging this doctrine upon me, might be *involuntary*, and I am persuaded was *real*. But yours cannot be so. It must be *voluntary*, if it is not rather *affected*. For you had before you, while you wrote, the very tract wherein I corrected Mr. Bedford's mistake, and explicitly declared, 'The assurance whereof I speak, is not an assurance of salvation.' And the very passages you cite from me, prove the same: every one of which (as you yourself know in your own conscience) relates wholly and solely to present pardon, not to future salvation.

Of "*Christian perfection*" (p. 45) I shall not say any thing to *you*, till you have learned a little heathen honesty.

22. That this is a lesson you have not yet learned, appears also from your following section: wherein you roundly affirm, "Whatever they think, say, or do," (i. e. the Methodists, according to their own account,) "is from God. And whatever opposeth, is from the Devil." I doubt not, but Mr. Church believed this to be true when he asserted it. But this is no plea for *you*: who having read the answer to Mr. Church, still assert what you know to be false. "Here we have," say you, "the true spirit and very essence of enthusiasm, which sets men above carnal reasoning, and all conviction of plain Scripture," (p. 49.) It may, or may not; that is nothing to me. I am not above either reason or Scripture. To either of these I am ready to submit. But I cannot receive scurrilous invective instead of Scripture: nor pay the same regard to low buffoonery as to clear and cogent reasons.

23. With your two following pages, I have nothing to do. But in the 52d, I read as follows. "A Methodist, says Mr. Wesley, went to receive the sacrament—when God was pleased to let him see a crucified Saviour." Very well: and what is this brought to prove? Why, 1. That I am an enthusiast: 2. That I "encourage the notion of the real, corporeal presence, in the sacrifice of the mass." How so? Why "this is as good an argument for transubstantiation, as several produced by Bellarmin," (p. 57.) Very likely it may; and as good as several produced by you, for the enthusiasm of the Methodists.

24. In that "seraphic rhapsody of divine love," as you term it, which you condemn in the lump, as rant and madness, there are several scriptural expressions, both from the Old and New Testament. At first I imagined you did not know them; those being books which you did not seem to be much acquainted with. But upon laying circumstances together, I rather suppose, you were glad of so handsome an opportunity, to make as if you aimed at *me*, that you might have a home stroke at some of those old enthusiasts.

25. The next words which you cite from me, as a proof of my enthusiasm, are, "The power of God was in an unusual manner

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present," (p. 61.) I mean, many found an unusual degree of *that* peace, joy, and love, which St. Paul terms, 'The fruit of the Spirit.' And all these, in conformity to his doctrine, I ascribe to the *power* of God. I know you, in conformity to your principles, ascribe them to the power of nature. But I still believe, according to the old, scriptural hypothesis, that whenever in hearing the word of God, men are filled with peace and love, God 'confirms that word by the Holy Ghost given unto those that hear it.'

26. As a further proof of my enthusiasm, you mention "special directions, missions, and calls by immediate revelation," (p. 67.) For an instance of which, you cite those words, "'I know and *am* assured, that God sent forth his light and his truth.'" I did know this. But do I say, by immediate revelation? Not a tittle about it. This is your own ingenious improvement upon my words. "However, it was by a special direction. For your own words in the same paragraph are, 'From the direction I received from God this day, touching an affair of the greatest importance,' (p. 68, 69.) What, are these words in the same paragraph with those, "*I know, and am assured, God sent forth his light and his truth?*" Why then do you tear the paragraph in two, and put part in your 67th, part in your 68th and 69th pages? O, for a plain reason: to make it look like two instances of enthusiasm, otherwise it could have made but one at the most.

But you cannot make out one, till you have proved, that these directions were by "immediate revelation." I never affirmed they were. I now affirm they were not. Now, Sir, make your best of them. You add, "Let me mention a few directions coming by way of command—Mr. Wesley says, 'I came to Mr. Delamotte's, where I expected a cool reception. But God had prepared the way before me,'" (p. 69.) What, by a command to Mr. Delamotte? Who told you so? Not I: nor any one else: only your own fruitful *imagination*.

27. Your next discovery is more curious still: that "itinerants order what they want at a public house, and then tell the landlord, that he will be damned, if he takes any thing of them," (p. 69.) I was beating my brain, to find out what *itinerant* this should be; as I could not but imagine, some silly man or other, probably styling himself a Methodist, must some where or other have given some ground for a story so punctually delivered. In the midst of this, a letter from Cornwall informed me, it was I: I myself was the very man, and acquainted me with the place, and the person to whom I said it. But as there are some particulars in that letter (sent without a name) which I did not well understand, I transcribe a few words of it, in hopes that the author will give me fuller information.

'As to the Bishop's declaring, what the landlord of Mitchel says, in respect to your behaviour, I do not at all wonder at the story.' The Bishop's declaring! Whom can he mean? Surely not the Right Reverend Dr. George Lavington, Lord Bishop of Exeter! When, or to whom did he declare it? At Truro, in Cornwall? Or

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in Plymouth, at his visitation? To all the Clergy who were assembled before God, to receive his pastoral instructions? His lordship of Exeter must certainly have more regard to the dignity of the Episcopal office!

28. But to proceed. I was not *offended* with the Moravians, for warning men "against mixing nature with grace;" (p. 71:) but for their doing it in such a manner as tended to destroy all the work of grace in their souls. I did not blame the thing itself, but their *manner* of doing it. And this you know perfectly well. But with you, truth must always give way to wit. At all events, you must have your jest.

29. Had you had any regard to truth, or any desire to represent things as they really are, when you repeated Mr. Church's objection concerning *lots*, you would have acknowledged, that I have answered it at large. When you have replied to that answer, I may add a word more.

30. You are sadly at a loss under the article of "ecstasies and raptures," to glean up any thing that will serve your purpose. At last, from ten or twelve tracts, you pick out two lines; and those the same you had mentioned before. "'My soul was got up into the holy mount. I had no thought of coming down again into the body.' And truly you might as well have let these alone. For if by *ecstasy* you mean *trance*, here is no account of any such: but only of one 'rejoicing in God with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' With the "girl of seven years old," (p. 77,) I have nothing to do: though you honestly tack that relation to the other, in order to make me accountable for both. But all is fair toward a Methodist!

31. What I assert concerning "'Peter Wright,'" (p. 79,) is this, 1. That he gave me that relation, (whether I believed or not, I did not say.) 2. That he died within a month after. Now, Sir, give us a cast of your office. From these two propositions, extract a proof of my being an enthusiast. You may full as easily prove it from these, as from the words you quote next, "'God does now give remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, and often in dreams and visions of God,'" (p. 79.) "But afterwards you say, I speak more distrustfully." Indeed I do not. But I guard against enthusiasm, in those words, part of which you have recited. The whole paragraph runs thus:

'From those words, 'Beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, whether they be of God:' I told them, they were not to judge of the spirit whereby any one spoke, either by appearance; or by common report, or by their own inward feelings: no, nor by any dreams, visions, or revelations, supposed to be made to their souls, any more than by their tears, or any involuntary effects wrought upon their bodies. I warned them, all these were in themselves of a doubtful, disputable nature: they *might be* from God, and they *might not*, and were therefore not simply to be relied on, (any more than simply to be condemned,) but to be tried by a farther rule: to be brought to the only certain test, the Law and the Testimony.' Sir, can you show them a better way?

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32. The last proof you produce of my enthusiasm is, "My talking of the great work which God is now beginning to work upon earth." (p. 80.) I own the fact. I do talk of such a work. But I deny the consequence. For if God has begun a great work, then the saying he has, is no enthusiasm. To bring sinners to repentance, to save them from their sins, is allowed by all to be the work of God. Yea, and to save one sinner is a great work of God: much more to save many. But many sinners are saved from their sins at this day, in London, in Bristol, in Kingswood, in Cornwall, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Whitehaven, in many other parts of England; in Wales, in Ireland, in Scotland: upon the continent of Europe: in Asia, and America. This I term *a great work of God;* so great, as I have not read of for several ages.

You ask, "How I know, so great a work is wrought now? By inspiration?" No; but by common sense. I know it by the evidence of my own eyes and ears. I have seen a considerable part of it: and I have abundant testimony, such as excludes all possible doubt, for what I have not seen.

33. But you are so far from acknowledging any thing of this, as to conclude, in full triumph, "That this new dispensation is a composition of enthusiasm, superstition, and imposture." (p. 81.) It is not clear what you mean by a "*new dispensation.*" (p. 81.) But the clear, and undeniable fact stands thus:—A few years ago, Great Britain and Ireland were covered with vice from sea to sea. Very little of even the form of religion was left: and still less of the power of it. Out of this darkness God commanded light to shine. In a short space, he called thousands of sinners to repentance. They were not only reformed from their outward vices, but likewise changed in their dispositions and tempers; filled with a serious, sober sense of true religion, with love to God and all mankind, with a holy faith producing good works of every kind, works both of piety and mercy.

What could the God of this world do in such a case, to prevent the spreading of this serious, sober religion? The same that he has done from the beginning of the world. To hinder the light of those whom God hath thus changed, from shining before men, he gave them all in general a nickname: he called them Methodists. And this name, as insignificant as it was in itself, effectually answered his intention. For by this means, that light was soon obscured by prejudice, which could not be withstood by Scripture or reason. By the odious and ridiculous ideas affixed to that name, they were condemned in the gross, without ever being heard. So that now any scribbler, with a middling share of low wit, not incumbered with good nature or modesty, may raise a laugh on those whom he cannot confute, and run them down whom he dares not look in the face. By this means even a comparer of Methodists and Papists, may blaspheme the great work of God, not only without blame, but with applause; at least, from readers of his own stamp. But it is high time, Sir, you should leave your skulking place. Come out, and let us look each other in

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the face. I have little leisure and less inclination for controversy. Yet I promise, if you will set your name to your third part, I will answer all that shall concern me, in that, as well as the preceding.

Till then I remain, Sir,

Your friend and well-wisher,

Canterbury, Feb. 1, 1749-50. JOHN WESLEY.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHEN you come to relate those horrid and shocking things, there may be a danger you are not aware of. Even you yourself may fall (as little as you intend or suspect it) into seriousness. And I am afraid, if once you put off your fool's coat, if you stand naked before cool and sober reason, you yourself may appear as inconsiderable a creature—to use your own phrase, "as if *your name were Perronet,*"

A

SECOND LETTER

TO THE

AUTHOR OF THE ENTHUSIASM OF METHODISTS AND PAPISTS COMPARED.

Ecce iterum Chrispinus! JUV.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

MY LORD,

1. I was grieved when I read the following words, in the Third Part of the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared: "A sensible, honest woman told the Bishop of Exeter, in presence of several witnesses, 'That Mr. John Wesley came to her house, and questioned her, whether she had *an assurance of her salvation?*' Her answer was, that 'she *hoped* she should be saved, but had no absolute *assurance* of it.' Why then replied he, '*you are in hell, you are damned already.*' This so terrified the poor woman, who was then with child, that she was grievously afraid of miscarrying, and could not in a long time recover her right mind. For this, and the Methodists asking her to live upon free cost, she determined to admit no more of them into her house. So much is *her own account* to his lordship, on whose authority it is here published."

2. This renewed the concern I felt some time since, when I was

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informed (in letters which I have still by me) of your lordship's publishing this account, both at Plymouth, in Devonshire, and at Truro, in Cornwall, before the clergy assembled from all parts of those counties, at the solemn season of your lordship's visiting your diocess. But I was not informed, that your lordship showed a deep concern for the honour of God, which you supposed to be so dreadfully violated, or a tender compassion for a presbyter whom you believed to be rushing into everlasting destruction.

3. In order to be more fully informed, on Saturday, August 25, 1750, Mr. Trembath, of St. Ginneys, Mr. Haime, of Shaftesbury, and I, called at Mr. Morgan's, at Mitchell. The servant telling me her master was not at home, I desired to speak with her mistress, the "honest, sensible woman." I immediately asked, 'Did I ever tell you or your husband, that you would be damned if you took any money of me?' (So the story ran in the first part of the Comparison: it has now undergone a very considerable alteration.) 'Or did you or he ever affirm, (another circumstance related at Truro) that I was rude with your maid?' She replied, vehemently, 'Sir, I never said you were, or that you said any such thing. And I do not suppose my husband did. But we have been belied as well as our neighbours.' She added, 'When the bishop came down last, he sent us word that he would dine at our house. But he did not, being invited to a neighbouring gentleman's. He sent for me thither and said, "Good woman, do you know these people that go up and down? Do you know Mr. Wesley? Did not he tell you, you would be damned, if you took any money of him? And did not he offer rudeness to your maid?" I told him, 'No, my lord. He never said any such thing to me, nor to my husband that I know of. He never offered any rudeness to any maid of mine. I never saw or knew any harm of him. But a man told me once (who I was told was a Methodist preacher) that I should be damned, if I did not know my sins were forgiven.'

4. This is *her own account* given to me. And an account it is, irreconcileably different (notwithstanding some small resemblance in the last circumstance) from that she is affirmed to have given your lordship. Whether she did give that account to your lordship or not, your lordship knows best. That the Comparer affirms it, is no proof at all; since he will affirm any thing that suits his purpose.

5. Yet I was sorry to see your lordship's authority cited on such an occasion; inasmuch as many of his readers, not considering the man, may think your lordship did really countenance such a writer: one that turns the most serious, the most awful, the most venerable things into mere farce; that makes the most essential parts of real, experimental religion, matter of low buffoonery; that beginning at the very rise of it in the soul, namely, 'Repentance towards God, a broken and a contrite heart,' goes on to 'faith in our Lord Jesus Christ,' whereby 'he that believeth is born of God,' to 'the love of God shed abroad in the heart,' attended with 'peace and joy in the Holy Ghost;' to our subsequent 'wrestling not only with

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flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, and wicked spirits in high places,' and thence to 'perfect love,' the 'loving the Lord our God, with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength:' and treats every one of these sacred topics with the spirit and air of a merry-andrew. What advantage the common enemies of Christianity may reap from this, your lordship cannot be insensible.

6. Your lordship cannot but discern, how the whole tenor of his book tends to destroy the holy Scriptures, to render them vile in the eyes of the people, to make them stink in the nostrils of infidels. For instance. After reading his laboured ridicule of the sorrow and fear which usually attend the first repentance, (called by St. Chrysostom, as well as a thousand other writers, *The pangs* or *throes of the new-birth*) what can an infidel think of those and the like expressions in Scripture, 'I have roared for the very disquietness of my heart?' 'Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me?' After his flood of satire on all kinds of conflicts with Satan, what judgment can a Deist form, of what St. Paul speaks concerning the various wrestlings of a Christian with the wicked one? Above all, how will his bringing the lewd Heathen poets, to expose the pure and spiritual love of God, naturally cause them to look with the same eyes on the most elevated passages of the inspired Writings? What can be more diverting to them, than to apply his γλυκυπικρον ερωτος, (bitter-sweet of love) to many expressions in the Canticles? (On which undoubtedly he supposes *the fair Circassian* to be a very just paraphrase!) 'Ay, say they; the very case: stay me with apples; for I am *sick of love.*'

7. Probably the Comparer will reply, 'No; I do not ridicule the things themselves: repentance, the new-birth, the fight of faith, or the love of God: all which I know are essential to religion: but only the folly and the enthusiasm which are blended with these by the Methodists.' But how poor a pretence is this? Had this really been the case, how carefully would he have drawn the line under each of these heads, between the sober religion of a Christian, and the enthusiasm of a Methodist? But has he done this? Does he take particular care to show under each, what is true, as well as what is false religion? Where the former ends and the latter begins? What are the proper boundaries of each? Your lordship knows he does not so much as endeavour it, or take any pains about it; but indiscriminately pours the flood out of his unclean mouth, upon all repentance, faith, love, and holiness.

8. Your lordship will please to observe, that I do not here touch in the least on the merits of the cause. Be the Methodists what they may, fools, madmen, enthusiasts, knaves, impostors, papists, or any thing, yet your lordship perceives, this does not in any degree affect the point in question. Still it behooves every Christian, nay every reasonable Heathen, to consider the subject he is upon, and to take care, not to bring this into contempt, (especially if it be of the last importance,) however inexcusable or contemptible his opponents may be.

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9. This consideration, my lord, dwelt much upon my mind when I read the former parts of the Comparison. I immediately saw there was no encountering a buffoon, by serious reason and argument. This would naturally have furnished both him and his admirers with fresh matter of ridicule. On the other hand, if I should let myself down to a level with him, by a less serious manner of writing than I was accustomed to, I was afraid of debasing the dignity of the subject. Nay, and I knew not but I might catch something of his spirit. I remembered the advice, 'Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him,' Prov. xxvi. 45. And yet I saw there must be an exception in some cases, as the words immediately following show: 'Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.' I conceive, as if he had said, Yet it is needful in some cases, to 'answer a fool according to his folly,' otherwise he will be 'wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that can render a reason.' I therefore constrained myself to approach as near as I dared, to his own manner of writing. And I trust the occasion will plead my excuse with your lordship, and all reasonable men.

10. One good effect of my thus meeting him on his own ground, is visible already. Instead of endeavouring to defend, he entirely gives up the first part of his comparison. Indeed I did not expect this, when I observed, that the third part was addressed to me. I took it for granted, that he had therein aimed at something like a Reply to my Answer. But going on, I found myself quite mistaken. He never once attempted a reply to one page, any otherwise than by screaming out, "Pertness, scurrility, effrontery," and in subjoining that deep remark, "Paper and time would be wasted on such stuff." Third part, Preface, p. 15.

11. I cannot but account it another good effect, that he is something less confident than he was before. He is likewise not more angry or more bitter, (for that cannot be) but a few degrees more serious. So that I plainly perceive, this is the way I am to take, if I should have leisure to answer the Third Part; although it is far from my desire to write in this manner; it is as contrary to my inclination as to my custom.

12. But is it possible that a person of your lordship's character, should countenance such a performance as this? It cannot be your lordship's desire, to put contempt upon all that is truly venerable among men! To stab Christianity to the heart, under the colour of opposing enthusiasm! And to increase and give a sanction to the profaneness which already overspreads our land as a flood!

13. Were the Methodists ever so bad, yet are they not too despicable and inconsiderable for your lordship's notice! 'Against whom is the king of Israel come out! Against a flea? Against a partridge upon the mountains?' Such they undoubtedly are, if that representation of them be just which the Comparer has given. Against whom (if your lordship espouses his cause) are you stirring up the supreme power of the nation? Against whom does your

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lordship arm the ministers of all denominations, particularly our brethren of the Established Church; inciting them to paint us out to their several congregations, as not fit to live upon the earth? The effects of this have already appeared in many parts both of Devonshire and Cornwall. Nor have I known any considerable riot in any part of England, for which such preaching did not pave the way.

14. I beg leave to ask, Would it be a satisfaction to your lordship, if national persecution were to return? Does your lordship desire to revive the old laws, *De hæretico comburendo?* Would your lordship rejoice, to see the Methodists themselves, tied to so many stakes in Smithfield? Or would you applaud the execution, though not so legally or decently performed by the mob of Exeter, Plymouth-Dock, or Launceston? My lord, what profit would there be in our blood? Would it be an addition to your lordship's happiness? Or any advantage to the Protestant cause? Or any honour either to our church or nation?

15. The Comparer doubtless would answer, "Yes; for it would prevent the horrid *consequences* of your preaching." My lord, give me leave to say once more, 'I willingly put the whole cause upon this issue. What are the *general consequences* of our preaching? Are there more *tares* or *wheat?* More *good men destroyed*, (as Mr. Church once supposed) or *wicked men saved?*' The last places in your lordship's diocess, where we began constant preaching, are near Liskeard in Cornwall, and at Tiverton in Devonshire. Now let any man inquire here, 1. What kind of people were those a year ago, who now constantly hear this preaching? 2. What are the *main doctrines* the Methodists have been teaching this twelvemonth? 3. *What effect* have these doctrines had upon their hearers? And if you do not find, 1. That the greater part of these were a year or two ago notoriously wicked men; 2. Yet the main doctrines they have heard since were, 'Love God and your neighbour, and carefully keep his commandments;' and, 3. That they have since exercised themselves herein, and continue so to do: I say, if any reasonable man, who will be at the pains to inquire, does not find this to be an unquestionable fact, I will openly acknowledge myself an enthusiast, or whatever else he shall please to style me.

16. I beg leave to conclude this address to your lordship with a few more words transcribed from the same letter. 'Allow Mr. Wesley,' says Mr. Church, 'but these few points, and he will defend his conduct beyond expectation,' (Second letter to Mr. Church.) That is most true. If I *have* indeed *been advancing* nothing but the true knowledge and love of God; if God has made me an *instrument* in *reforming* many sinners, and bringing them to *inward and pure religion;* and if many of these continue holy to this day, and free from all wilful sin: then may I, even I, use those awful words, 'He that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.' But I never expect the world to allow me one of these points. However, I must go on as God shall enable me. I must lay out whatsoever talents he intrusts

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me with, (whether others will believe I do it or not,) in advancing the true Christian knowledge of God, and the love and fear of God among men; in reforming (if so be it please him to use me still) those who are yet without God in the world; and in propagating inward and pure religion, 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'

Sincerely wishing your lordship all happiness in time and in eternity,

I remain your lordship's most obedient servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

November 27, 1750.

SIR,

1. You have undertaken to prove, (as I observed in my former Letter, a few sentences of which I 'beg leave to repeat,) That the whole conduct of the Methodists is but a counterpart of the most wild fanaticisms of popery," (Preface to the First Part, p. 3.) You endeavour to support this charge, by quotations from our own writings, compared with quotations from Popish authors.

It lies upon me to answer for one. But in order to spare both you and myself, I shall at present consider only your *Second Part*, and that as briefly as possible. Accordingly I shall not meddle with your other quotations, but leaving them to whom they may concern, shall examine, Whether those you have made from my writings prove the charge for which they were made or not.

If they do, I submit. But if they do not, if they are 'the words of truth and soberness,' it is an objection of no real weight, against any sentiment, just in itself, though it should also be found in the writings of Papists; yea, of Mahometans or Pagans.

2. In your first section, in order to prove the "Vain boasting of the Methodists," you quote a part of the following sentence. 'When hath religion, I will not say since the reformation, but since the time of Constantine the Great, made so large a progress in any nation, within so short a space?' (I beg any impartial person to read the whole passage, from the 383d to the 343d page of the *Third Appeal*, Vol. VIII.) I repeat the question, giving the glory to God. And, I trust, without eitheir boasting or enthusiasm.

In your second, you cite (and murder) four or five lines, (p. 1, 9,) from one of my Journals, "as instances of the persuasive eloquence of the Methodist preachers." But it unfortunately happens, that neither of the sentences you quote, were spoken by any preacher at all. You know full well, the one was used only in a private letter; the other by a woman on a bed of sickness.

3. You next undertake to prove "the most insufferable *pride* and *vanity* of the Methodists," (Section III. p. 12, &c.) For this end you quote five passages from my Journals, and one from the Third Appeal.

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The first was written (First Journal, Vol. I. p. 170, &c.) in the anguish of my heart, to which I gave vent (between God and my own soul) by breaking out, not into "confidence of boasting," as you term it, but into those expressions of bitter sorrow. 'I went to America to convert the Indians. But O, who shall convert me?'—Some of the words which follow, you have picked out, and very honestly laid before your reader, without either the beginning or end, or one word of the occasion or manner wherein they were spoken.

Your next quotation is equally fair and generous. 'Are they read in philosophy? So was I, &c.' (First Journal, p. 172, &c.) This whole "string of self-commendation," as you call it, being there brought, *ex professo*, to prove, that notwithstanding all this, which I once piqued myself upon, I was at that hour in a state of damnation!

The third (Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 347,) is a plain narrative of the manner wherein many of Bristol expressed their joy on my coming unexpectedly into the room, after I had been some time at London. And this, I conceive, will prove the charge of high treason, as well as that of "insufferable *pride* and *vanity*."

You say, fourthly, "A dying woman, who had earnestly desired to see me, cried out, as I entered the room, 'Art thou come—thou blessed of the Lord?' (Ibid. p. 354.) She did so. And what does this prove?

The fifth passage is this: 'In applying which, my soul was so enlarged, that methought I could have cried out (in another sense than poor, vain Archimedes) *Give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth!*' My meaning is, I found such freedom of thought and speech, (jargon, stuff, enthusiasm to you) that methought could I have then spoken to all the world, they would all have shared in the blessing.

The passage which you quote from the Third Appeal, I am obliged to relate more at large.

'There is one more excuse for denying this work of God, taken from the instruments employed therein; that is, that they are wicked men; and a thousand stories have been handed about to prove it. Yet I cannot but remind considerate men, in how remarkable a manner the wisdom of God has, for many years, guarded against this pretence, with regard to my brother and me in particular. This pretence, i. e. "of not employing fit instruments." These words are yours, though you insert them as mine. The pretence I mentioned was, 'That they were wicked men.' And how God guarded against this, is shown in what follows. 'From that time, both my brother and I (utterly against our will) came to be more and more observed and known; till we were more spoken of than perhaps two so inconsiderable persons ever were before in the nation. To make us more public still, as *honest* madmen at least, by a strange concurrence of providences, overturning all our preceding resolutions, we were hurried away to America.'

Afterward it follows, 'What persons could in the nature of things

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have been (antecedently) less liable to exception, with regard to their moral character at least, than those the all-wise God hath now employed? Indeed I cannot devise what manner of men could have been more unexceptionable on all accounts. Had God endued us with greater natural or acquired abilities, this very thing might have been turned into an objection. Had we been remarkably defective, it would have been matter of objection on the other hand. Had we been *Dissenters* of any kind, or even *Low-Church-Men* (so called) it would have been a great stumbling-block in the way of those who are *zealous for the church*. And yet, had we continued in the impetuosity of our *high-church zeal*, neither should we have been willing to converse with dissenters, nor they to receive any good at our hands.' Sir, Why did you break off your quotation in the middle of this paragraph, just at 'more unexceptionable on all accounts?' Was it not on purpose to give a wrong turn to the whole? To conceal the real and obvious meaning of my words, and put one upon them that never entered into my thoughts?

5. You have reserved your strong reason for the last, namely, my own confession. "Mr. Wesley says himself, by the most infallible of proofs, *inward feeling*, I am convinced of pride, *&c.*" Sir, be pleased to decipher that *&c.* Or I will spare you the pains and do it myself, by reciting the whole sentence.

'By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced, —1. Of unbelief, having no such faith in Christ, as will prevent my heart from being troubled, which it could not be, if I believed in God, and rightly believed also in him.—2. Of pride throughout my life past, inasmuch as I thought I had, what I find I have not.'—(First Journal, Vol. I. p. 169.) Now, Sir, you have my whole confession. I entreat you to make the best of it.

"But I myself acknowledge, three Methodists to have fallen into pride." Sir, I can tell you of three more. And yet it will not follow, that the doctrines I teach, "lead men into horrid pride and blasphemy."

6. In the close of your fourth section, you charge me with, "shuffling and prevaricating, with regard to extraordinary gifts, and miraculous powers." Of these I shall have occasion to speak by and by. At present I need only return the compliment, by charging you with gross, wilful prevarication, from the beginning of your book to the end. Some instances of this have appeared already. Many more will appear in due time.

7. Your fifth, (Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 313,) charges me with an *affectation of prophesying*. Your first proof of it is this—'It was about this time the soldier was executed. For some time I had visited him every day. But when the love of God was shed abroad in his heart, I told him, do not expect to see me any more.—I believe Satan will separate us for a season. Accordingly, the next day, I was informed, the commanding officer had given strict orders that neither Mr. Wesley, nor any of his people, should be admitted.'

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did believe so, having seen many such things before: yet without affecting a spirit of prophecy.

But that I do claim it, you will prove, secondly, from my mentioning 'the great work which God *intends*, and is now *beginning* to work over all the earth' By what art you extract such a conclusion out of such premises, I know not. That God *intends* this, none, who believe the Scripture, doubt. And that he has *begun* it, both in Europe and America, any who will make use of their eyes and ears, may know without any "miraculous gift of prophesying."

8. In your sixth section, you assert, "That I lay claim to other *miraculous gifts*," (page 45, &c.) As you borrow this objection from Mr. Church, I need only give the same answer I gave before. (Letter to Mr. Church, Vol. VIII. p. 404.) "I shall give" (says Mr. Church) "but one account more, and that is, what you give of yourself." The sum whereof is, 'At two several times, being ill, and in violent pain, I prayed to God, and found immediate ease.' I did so. I assert the fact still. "But if these" (you say) "are not miraculous cures, all this is rank enthusiasm."

'I will put your argument in form:

He that believes those are miraculous cures, which are not, is a rank enthusiast.

But you believe those to be miraculous cures, which are not:

Therefore you are a rank enthusiast.

Before I answer, I must know what you mean by *miraculous?* If you term every thing so, which is "not strictly to be accounted for by the ordinary course of natural causes," then I deny the latter part of the second proposition. And unless you can make this good, unless you can prove the effects in question are strictly to be accounted for, by the ordinary course of natural causes, your argument is nothing worth.'

Having largely answered your next objection relating to what I still term 'a signal instance of God's particular providence,' (Letter to Mr. Church,) I need only refer you to those answers, not having leisure to say the same thing ten times over. Whether I sometimes claim, and sometimes disclaim miracles, will be considered by and by.

In your seventh section, you say, "I shall now give some account of their grievous *conflicts and combats* with Satan," (page 51, &c.) O, Sir, spare yourself, if not the Methodists! Do not go so far out of your depth. This is a subject you are as utterly unacquainted with, as with justification or the new-birth.

But I attend your motions. "Mr. Wesley," you say, "was advised, to a very high degree of silence.—And he spoke to none at all for two days, and travelling fourscore miles together.—The same whim," (you go on) "has run through several of the religious orders. —Hence St. Bonaventura says, That silence in all the religious is necessary to perfection.—St. Agatho held a stone in his mouth for three years, till he had learned taciturnity.—St. Alcantara carried several pebbles in his mouth for three years likewise, and for the

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same reason.—Theon observed a continual silence for thirty years.—St. Francis observed it himself, and enjoined it upon his brethren.—The rule of silence was religiously observed by St. Dominic." I have repeated more of your words than I otherwise should, in order to show to a demonstration, that a man of a lively imagination may run a parallel to any length, without any foundation in nature.

You begin, "The same whim" (which led Mr. Wesley to observe an absolute silence for two days) "and so run on to St. Bonaventura, St. Agatho, and I know not whom." But did Mr. Wesley "observe an absolute silence for two days?" No; not for one hour. My words, 'I spoke to none at all for fourscore miles together,' (Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 348.) imply neither more nor less, than that I spoke to none 'concerning the things of God,' as it is in the words immediately preceding. And you know this as well as I. But it is all one for that. Wit, not truth, is the point you aim at.

My supposed inconsistency, with regard to the Moravians, which you likewise drag in (as they say) by head and shoulders, I have shown again and again, to be no inconsistency at all: particularly in both the letters to Mr. Church.

10. Well, but as to *conflicts* with Satan. "Nor can Mr. Wesley," you say, "escape the attacks of this infernal spirit, namely, suggesting distrustful thoughts, and buffeting him with inward temptations." Sir, did you never hear of any one so attacked, unless among the Papists or Methodists? How deeply then are you experienced both in the ways of God, and the devices of Satan?

You add, with regard to a case mentioned in the Fourth Journal, (Vol. I. p. 318,) "Though I am not convinced that these *fits of laughing* are to be ascribed to Satan, yet I entirely agree, that they are *involuntary and unavoidable*." I am glad we agree so far. But I must still go farther; I cannot but ascribe them to a preternatural agent: having observed so many circumstances attending them which cannot be accounted for by any natural causes.

Under the head of conflicts with Satan, you observe farther, "Mr. Wesley says, while he was preaching, the Devil knew his kingdom shook, and therefore stirred up his servants to make a noise: that, September 18, the prince of the air made another attempt in defence of his tottering kingdom: and that another time, the Devil's children fought valiantly for their master." I own the whole charge, I did say all this. Nay, and if need were, I should say it again.

You cite one more instance from my Fourth Journal, "The *many-headed beast* began to roar again." So your head is so full of the subject, that you construe even poor Horace's *Bellua multorum capitum* into the Devil! These are all the combats and conflicts with Satan which you can prove I ever had. O, Sir, without more and greater conflicts than these, none shall see the kingdom of God.

11. In the following sections, you are equally out of your element. The first of them, (Sect. 8, p. 75, &c.) relates to *spiritual desertions*; all which you make the subject of dull ridicule, and place to the account of enthusiasm. And the cause of all you give in the follow-

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ing words, "We may look upon enthusiasm as a kind of drunkenness, filling and intoxicating the brain with the heated fumes of spirituous particles. Now no sooner does the inebriation go off, but a coldness and dulness take place."

12. As wildly do you talk (Sect. 9, p. 79, &c.) of the doubts and fears incident to those who are *weak in faith*. I cannot prevail upon myself to prostitute this awful subject, by entering into any debate concerning it, with one who is innocent of the whole affair. Only I must observe, that a great part of what you advance concerning me, is entirely wide of the question. Such is all you quote from the first, and a considerable part of what you quote from my second Journal. This you know in your own conscience; for you know I speak of myself during the whole time, as having no faith at all. Consequently, the "risings and fallings" I experienced then, have nothing to do with those "doubts and fears, which many go through *after they have* by faith received remission of sins."

The next words which you cite, "thrown into great perplexities," I cannot find in the page you refer to; neither those that follow. The sum of them is, that "at that time I did not feel the love of God, but found deadness and wanderings in public prayer, and coldness even at the holy communion." Well, Sir, and have you never found in yourself any such coldness, deadness, and wanderings? I am persuaded you have. And yet surely your brain is always cool and temperate! Never "intoxicated with the heated fumes of spirituous particles!"

13. If you quote not incoherent scraps (by which you may make any thing out of any thing,) but entire connected sentences, it will appear that the rest of your quotations make no more for your purpose than the foregoing. Thus, although I allow that on May 24, (Second Journal, Vol. I. p. 190,) 'I was much buffeted with temptations; but I cried to God, and they fled away; that they returned again and again; I as often lifted up my eyes, and he sent me help from his holy place:' it will only prove the very observation I make myself. 'I was fighting both *under the law* and *under grace*. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered: now I was always conqueror.'

That some time after, I 'was strongly assaulted again, and after recovering peace and joy, was thrown into perplexity afresh by a letter, asserting, that no doubt or fear could consist with true faith: that my weak mind could not then bear to be thus *sawn asunder*;' will not appear strange to any who are not utter novices in experimental religion. No more than that one night the next year, 'I had no life or spirit in me, and was much in doubt whether God would not lay me aside, and send other labourers into his harvest.'

14. You add, "He owns his frequent relapses into sin, for near twice ten years. Such is the case of a person who tells us, that he carefully considered every step he took; one of intimate communication with the Deity." Sir, I did not tell you that: though, according to custom, you mark the words as mine. It is well for you,

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that *forging quotations* is not felony. My words are, 'O what a hypocrite have I been, (if this be so) for near twice ten years? But I know it is not so. I know every one *under the Law*, is even as I was;' namely, from the time I was twelve years old, till considerably above thirty.

"And is it strange," you say, "that such an one should be destitute of means to resolve his scruples? Should be ever at variance with himself, and find no place to fix his foot?" Good Sir, not too fast. You quite out-run the truth again. Blessed be God, this is not my case. I am not destitute of means to resolve my scruples. I have some friends, and a little reason left. I am not ever at variance with myself; and have found a place to fix my foot.

'Now I have found the ground wherein
Firm my soul's anchor may remain;
The wounds of Jesus, for my sin
Before the world's foundation slain.'

And yet one of your assertions I cannot deny: namely, that you "could run the parallel between me and numbers of fanatical Papists." And that not only with regard to my temper, but my stature, complexion, yea (if need were) the very colour of my hair.

15. In your next section (p. 29) you are to give an account of the "spiritual succours and advantages received either during these trials or very soon after." It is no wonder you make as lame work with these, as with the conflicts which preceded them. 'As the heart knoweth its own bitterness, so a stranger doth not intermeddle with his joy.' But it is no business of mine, as you have not done me the honour to cite any of my words in this section.

16. "The unsteadiness of the Methodists, both in sentiments and practice," (p. 95, &c.) is what you next undertake to prove. Your loose declamation with which you open the cause, I pass over, as it rests on your own bare word; and haste to your main reason, drawn from my sentiments and practice, with regard to the Moravians.

"He represents them," you say, "in the blackest colours; yet declares, in the main they are some of the best people in the world. His love and esteem for them, increase more and more. His own disciples among the Methodists go over to them in crowds. But still Methodism is the strongest barrier against the Moravian doctrines and principles."

Sir, I bear you witness, you have learned one principle at least, from those with whom you have lately conversed; namely, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; of which you have given us abundant proof. For you know I have fully answered every article of this charge, which you repeat as if I had not opened my lips about it. You know, that there is not one grain of truth, in several things which you here positively assert. For instance, "His love and esteem of them, increase more and more." Not so, no more than my love and esteem for you. I love you both; but I do not much esteem either. Again, "His own disciples among the Methodists, go over to them in crowds." When? Where? I know not that ten of my

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disciples, as you call them, have gone over to them for twice ten months. O Sir, consider! How do you know, but some of your disciples may tell your name!

17. With the same veracity you go on. "In the *Character of a Methodist*, those of the sect are described as having all the virtues that can adorn the Christian profession. But in their journals you find them waspish, condemning all the world, except themselves, and among themselves perpetual broils and confusions, with various other irregularities and vices." I answer, 1. The tract you refer to (as is expressly declared in the preface) does not describe what the Methodists are already; but what they desire to be, and what they will be then, when they fully practise the doctrines they hear. 2. Be pleased to point the pages in my Journals which mention those "various irregularities and vices." Of their "perpetual broils and confusions" I shall speak under their proper head.

You add, "Sometimes they are so far from fearing death, that they wish it. But the keenness of the edge is soon blunted. They are full of dreadful apprehensions, that the clergy intend to murder them." Do you mean me, Sir? I plead not guilty. I never had any such apprehension. Yet I suppose you designed the compliment for me, by your dragging in two or three broken sentences from my first Journal. But how little to the purpose! Seeing at the time that was written, I had never pretended to be above the fear of death. So that this is no proof of the point in view, of the "unsteadiness of my sentiments or practice."

18. You proceed, "One day, they fancy it their duty to preach; the next, they preach with great reluctance." Very true! But they fancy it their duty still; else they would not preach at all. This, therefore, does not prove any inequality either of sentiment or practice. "Mr. Wesley is sometimes quite averse from speaking, and then perplexed with the doubt, is it a prohibition from the good Spirit? or a temptation from nature and the evil one?"

Just of a piece with the rest. The sentence runs thus, "I went several times with a design to speak to the sailors, but could not. I mean, I was quite averse from speaking. Is not this what men commonly mean by, *I could not speak?* And is this a sufficient cause of silence or not? Is it a prohibition from the good Spirit? Or a temptation from nature or the evil one?" Sir, I was in no doubt at all on the occasion. Nor did I intend to express any in these words; but to appeal to men's consciences, whether what they call a prohibition from the good Spirit, be not a mere temptation from nature or the evil one?

19. In the next section (p. 102) you are to show "the *art, cunning*, and *sophistry* of the Methodists, who, when hard pressed by argument, run themselves into inconsistency and self-contradiction; and occasionally either defend or give up some of their favourite notions and principal points." I dare say, Sir, you will not put them to the trial. Argument lies out of the way of one,

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——*Solutos*
Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis.

But to the proof, "Mr. Wesley," you say, "at one time declares for a disinterested love of God: at another declares, there is no one caution in all the Bible, against the selfish love of God." Nay, Sir, I will tell you what is stranger still. Mr. Wesley holds *at one time*, both sides of this contradiction. I now declare both that 'all true love is disinterested, *seeketh not her own:* and that there is no one caution in all the Bible, against the selfish love of God.' What, have I the *art* to slip out of your hands again? 'Pardon me (as your old friend says) for being jocular.'

20. You add, (*altius insurgens,*) "But it is a considerable offence to charge another wrongfully, and contradict himself about the doctrine of assurance." To prove this upon me, you bring my own words. 'The assurance we preach, is of quite another kind from that Mr. Bedford writes against. We speak of an assurance of our present pardon; not, as he does, of our final perseverance,' (Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 238.) "Mr. Wesley might have considered (you say) that when they talk *of assurance of pardon and salvation*, the world will extend the meaning of the words, to our eternal state." I do consider it, Sir. And therefore I never use that phrase either in preaching or writing. "Assurance of pardon and salvation" is an expression that never comes out of my lips. And if Mr. Whitefield does use it, yet he does not *preach* such an assurance, as the privilege of all Christians.

"But Mr. Wesley himself says, that though a 'full assurance of faith doth not necessarily imply a full assurance of our future perseverance,' yet 'some have both the one and the other.' And now what becomes of his charge against Mr. Bedford? And is it not mere evasion to say afterwards, 'This is not *properly* an assurance of what is *future?*'" Sir, this *argument presses* me very *hard!* May I not be allowed a little *evasion* now? Come, for once I will try to do without it, and to answer flat and plain.

And I answer, 1. That *faith* is one thing; the *full assurance of faith* another: 2. That even the full assurance of faith, does not imply the full assurance of perseverance. This bears another name; being styled by St. Paul, *The full assurance of hope.* 3. Some Christians have only the first of these. They have faith; but mixed with doubts and fears. Some have also the full assurance of faith; a full conviction of *present* pardon: and yet not the full assurance of hope; not a full conviction of their future perseverance. 4. The faith which we preach, as necessary to all Christians, is the first of these, and *no* other. Therefore, 5. It is no evasion at all to say, 'This (the faith which we preach as necessary to all Christians) is not *properly* an assurance of what is future. And consequently, my charge against Mr. Bedford stands good, 'That his sermon on assurance, is an *ignoratio elenchi*, (an ignorance of the point in question,) from beginning to end.' Therefore neither do I "charge another *wrongfully*, nor *contradict myself*, about the doctrine of assurances."

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21. To prove my "*art, cunning*, and *evasion*," you instance next in the case of *impulses* and *impressions*. You begin, "With what pertinacious confidence have impulses, impressions, feelings, &c. been advanced into certain rules of conduct? Their followers have been taught to depend upon them, as sure guides and infallible proofs." To support this weighty charge, you bring one single scrap, about a line and a quarter from one of my Journals. The words are these; 'By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced.' Convinced of what? It immediately follows, 'of unbelief, having no such faith, as will prevent my heart from being troubled.'

I here assert, that inward feeling or consciousness is the most infallible of proofs, of unbelief, of the want of such a faith as will prevent the heart's being troubled. But do I here "advance impressions, impulses, feelings, &c. into certain rules of conduct?" Or any where else? You may just as well say, I advance them into certain proofs of transubstantiation. Neither in writing, nor in private conversation, have I ever "taught any of my followers to depend upon them as sure guides or infallible proofs" of any thing.

Nay, you yourself own, I have taught quite the reverse: and that at my very first setting out. Then, as well as ever since, I have told the societies, 'They were not to judge by their own inward feelings. I warned them, all these were in themselves of a doubtful, disputable nature. They might be from God, or they might not, and were therefore to be tried by a further rule, to be brought to the only certain test, the Law and the Testimony,' Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 267.

This is what I have taught from first to last. And now, Sir, what becomes of your heavy charge? On what side lies the "pertinacious confidence" now? How clearly have you made out, my "inconsistency and self-contradiction!" And that I "occasionally either defend or give up, my favourite notions and principal points?"

22. "Inspiration and the extraordinary calls and guidances of the Holy Ghost, are what you next affirm to be given up," (p. 106, &c.) Not by me. I do not *give up* one tittle on this head, which I ever maintained. But observe. Before you attempt to prove my *giving them up*, you are to prove, that I laid claim to them: that I laid claim to some *extraordinary* inspiration, call, or guidance of the Holy Ghost. You say, "My concessions on this head (to Mr. Church) are ambiguous and evasive." Sir, you mistake the fact, I make no concessions at all, either to him or you. I give up nothing that ever I advanced on this head. But when Mr. Church charged me with what I did not advance, I replied, 'I claim no other *direction of God's*, but what is common to all believers. I pretend to be no otherwise inspired, than you are, if you love God.' Where is the ambiguity or evasion in this? I meant it for a flat denial of the charge.

23. Your next section, *Spirat tragicum satis*, charges the Methodists; "with skepticism and infidelity, with doubts and denials of the

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truth of revelation, and atheism itself," (p. 110, &c.) The passages brought from my Journals to prove this charge, which you have prudently transposed, I beg leave to consider in the same order, as they stand there. (First Journ. Vol. I. p. 131.) The first, you preface thus: "Upon the people's ill usage (or supposed ill usage) of Mr. Wesley in Georgia, and their speaking of all manner of evil, falsely (as he says) against him; and trampling under foot the word, after having been very attentive to it: what an emotion in him is hereby raised!" 'I do hereby bear witness against myself, that I could scarcely refrain from giving the lie to experience, and reason, and Scripture, all together.' The passage, as I wrote it, stands thus: 'Sunday, March 7. I entered upon my ministry at Savannah. In the second lesson, Luke 18, was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which he himself, and consequently his followers, were to meet with from the world.'

'Yet notwithstanding these plain declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated experience, notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I ever talked with, read, or heard of, nay, and the reason of the thing, evincing to a demonstration, that all who love not the light, must hate him who is continually labouring to pour it in upon them: I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces: I could scarcely refrain from giving the lie to experience, and reason, and Scripture, all together. I could hardly believe, that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive, serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spoke it.'

Sir, does this prove me guilty of skepticism, or infidelity? Of doubting or denying the truth of revelation? Did I speak *this*, "upon the people's using me ill, and saying all manner of evil against me?" Or am I here describing any emotion raised in me hereby? Blush, blush, Sir, if you *can* blush. You had here no possible room for mistakes. You grossly and wilfully falsify the whole passage, to support a groundless, shameless accusation.

24. The second passage (written January 24, 1737-8) is this, 'In a storm I think, What if the gospel be not true? Then thou art of all men most foolish. For what hast thou given thy goods, thy ease, thy friends, thy reputation, thy country, thy life? For what art thou wandering over the face of the earth? A dream? A cunningly-devised fable?'

I am here describing the thoughts which passed through my mind, when I was confessedly an unbeliever. But even this implies no skepticism, much less atheism; no "denial of the truth of revelation:" but barely such transient doubts as I presume may assault any thinking man that knows not God.

The third passage (which you tack to the former, as if they were one and the same) runs thus. "I have not such a peace as excludes

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the possibility either of doubt or fear. When holy men have told me, I had no faith, I have often doubted whether I had or not? And those doubts have made me very uneasy, till I was relieved by prayer and the holy Scriptures." Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 240.

Speak frankly, Sir, does this prove me guilty of skepticism, infidelity, or atheism? What else does it prove? Just nothing at all but the "pertinacious confidence" of him that cites it.

25. You recite more at large one passage more. The whole paragraph stands thus.

"St. Paul tells us, 'the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance,' (Ibid.) Now although by the grace of God in Christ, I find a measure of some of these in myself, viz. of peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance; yet others I find not. I cannot find in myself the love of God or Christ. Hence my deadness and wanderings in public prayer. Hence it is, that even in the holy communion, I have rarely any more than a cold attention. Hence when I hear of the highest instances of God's love, my heart is still senseless and unaffected. Yea, at this moment (Oct. 14, 1738) I feel no more love to him, than one I had never heard of."

To any who knew something of inward religion I should have observed, that this is what serious divines mean by *desertion*. But all expressions of this kind are jargon to you. So allowing it to be whatever you please, I ask only, Do you know how long I continued in this state? How many years, months, weeks, or days? If not, how can you infer, what my state of mind is now, from what it was above eleven years ago?

Sir, I do not tell you or any man else, that 'I cannot *now* find the love of God in myself:' or that *now*, in the year 1751, 'I rarely feel more than a cold attention in the holy communion.' So that your whole argument, built on this supposition, falls to the ground at once.

26. Sensible, I presume of the weakness of this reason, you immediately apply to the passions, by that artful remark, "Observe, reader, this is the man, who charges our religion, as no better than the Turkish pilgrimage to Mecca, or the Popish worship of our Lady of Loretto!" "Our religion!" How naturally will the reader suppose, that I fix the charge either on the Protestant religion in general, or on that of the Church of England in particular! But how far is this from the truth!

My words concerning those who are commonly called religious, are, 'Wherein does their religion consist? In righteousness and true holiness? In love stronger than death? Fervent gratitude to God, and tender affection to all his creatures? Is their religion the religion of the heart? A renewal of the soul in the image of God? Do they resemble him they worship? Are they free from pride, from vanity, from malice, from envy? From ambition and avarice, from passion and lust, from every uneasy and unlovely temper? Alas! I fear neither they (the greater part at least) nor you have any more

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notion of this religion, than the peasant that holds the plough, of the religion of a Gymnosophist,' Farther Appeal, Third Part.

'It is well if the genuine religion of Christ, has any more alliance with what you call religion, than with the Turkish pilgrimages to Mecca, or the Popish worship of our Lady of Loretto. Have not you substituted in the place of the religion of the heart, something (I do not say, equally sinful, but) equally vain and foreign to the worshipping of God in spirit and in truth? What else can be said even of prayer, public or private, in the manner wherein *you* generally perform it? As a thing of course, running round and round, in the same dull track, without either the knowledge or the love of God? Without one heavenly temper, either attained or improved?'

Now, Sir, what room is there for your "own exclamations, What sort of heavenly temper is his? How can he possibly, consistently with charity, call this our general performance?" Sir, I do not, I only appeal to the conscience of *you*, (and each particular reader) whether this is, or is not, the manner wherein *you* (in the singular number) *generally* perform public or private prayer. "How possibly, without being omniscient, can he affirm, that *we* (I presume you mean all the members of our church) pray without one heavenly temper? Or know any thing at all of our private devotions? How monstrous is all this!" Recollect yourself, Sir. If your terror is real, you are more afraid than hurt. I do not affirm any such thing. I do not take upon me, to know, any thing at all of your private devotions. But I suppose, I may inquire, without offence, and beg you seriously to examine yourself before God.

So you have brought no one proof, "That skepticism, infidelity, and atheism, are either constituent parts or genuine consequences of Methodism." Therefore your florid declamation in the following pages, is entirely out of its place. And you might have spared yourself the trouble of accounting for what has no being, but in your own imagination.

27. You charge the Methodists next, with "an uncharitable spirit," (p. 115, &c.) All you advance in proof of this, as if it were from my writings, but without naming either page or book, I have nothing to do with. But whatever you tell me where to find, I shall carefully consider.

I observe but one single passage of this sort. And that you have worn thread-bare already. "By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced—of levity and luxuriancy of spirit—by speaking works not tending to edify; but most by my manner of speaking of my enemies." Sir, you may print this, not only in Italics, but in capitals, and yet it would do you no service. For what I was convinced of then was not uncharitableness, but as I expressly mentioned, "levity of spirit."

28. Of the same "uncharitable nature," (p. 119, &c.) you say, is "their application of divine judgments to their opposers." You borrow two instances from Mr. Church. But you omit the answers, which I shall therefore subjoin.

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His words are, "You describe heaven as executing judgments, immediate punishments, on those who oppose you. You say, 'Mr. Molther was taken ill this day. I believe it was the hand of God that was upon him.'" I do. But I do not say, as a judgment for opposing *me*. That *you* say for me. First letter to Mr. Church.

Again, you mention, says Mr. Church, as an "awful providence, the case of a poor wretch, who was last week cursing and blaspheming, and had boasted to many, that he would come on Sunday, and no man should stop his mouth—but on Friday, God laid his hand upon him, and on Sunday he was buried." I do look on this as a manifest judgment of God, on a hardened sinner, for his complicated wickedness.

To repeat these objections, without taking the least notice of the answers, is one of the usual proofs of your charitable spirit.

29. You pass on to "the Methodist's uncharitable custom of summoning their opponents to the bar of judgment," p. 123, &c.

You bring two passages from my writings to prove this. The first is, "Calling at Newgate, (in Bristol,) I was informed, that the poor wretches under sentence of death, were earnestly desirous to speak with me; but that alderman Beecher had sent an express order, that they should not. I cite alderman B. to answer *for these souls*, at the judgment seat of Christ." Why do you leave out those words, *for these souls?* Because they show the sentence means neither more nor less, than "if *these souls* perish, he, not I, must answer for them at the great day."

The second passage is still more wide from the point. The whole of it is as follows.

"I have often inquired, (Third Journal, Vol. I, p. 277,) Who were the authors of such report, (that I was a Papist,) and have generally found, they were either bigotted dissenters, or (I speak it without fear or favour) ministers of our own church. I have also frequently considered, what possible ground or motive they could have thus to speak: seeing few men in the world have had occasion so clearly and openly to declare their principles, as I have done both by preaching, printing, and conversation, for several years last past. And I can no otherwise think, than that either they spoke thus (to put the most favourable construction upon it) from gross ignorance; they knew not what Popery was: they knew not what doctrines these are which the Papists teach: or they wilfully spoke what they knew to be false, probably thinking thereby to do God service. Now take this to yourselves, whoever ye are, high or low, dissenters or churchmen, clergy or laity, who have advanced this shameless charge, and digest it how you can.'

'But how have ye not been afraid, if ye believe there is a God, and that he knoweth the secrets of your hearts, (I speak now to you preachers, more especially, of whatever denomination) to declare so gross, so palpable a lie, in the name of the God of truth? I cite you all *before the Judge of all the earth*, either publicly to prove your charge; or by publicly retracting it, to make the best amends you can, to God, to me, and to the world.'

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Sir, Do I here "summon my opponents *to the bar of judgment?*" So you would make me do, by quoting only that scrap, "I cite you all before the Judge of all the earth!" You then add, with equal charity and sincerity, "Here you have the true spirit of an enthusiast, flushed with a modest assurance of his own salvation, and the charitable prospect of the damnation of others." O Sir, never name modesty more!

Here end your laboured attempts to show the uncharitable spirit of the Methodists; who, for any thing you have shown to the contrary, may be the most charitable people under the sun.

30. You charge the Methodists next "with violation and contempt of order and authority," namely the authority of the governors of the church. I have answered every article of this charge, in the second and third parts of the Farther Appeal, and the letter to Mr. Church. When you have been so good as to reply to what is there advanced, I may possibly say something more.

What you offer of *your own* upon this head, I shall consider without delay.

"Women and boys are actually employed in this ministry *of public* preaching." Please to tell me where? I know them not, nor ever heard of them before.

You add, what is more marvellous still, "I speak *from personal knowledge*, that sometimes, a little before delivering of the elements at the communion, three or four Methodists together will take it into their heads to go away: that sometimes while the sentences of the offertory were reading, they have called out to the minister who carried the basin, reproaching him for asking alms of them: that sometimes when the minister has delivered the bread into their hands instead of eating it, they would slip it into their pockets." Sir, you must show your face, before these stories will find credit on your bare asseveration.

"Yet they are surprised," you say, "that every man in his senses, don't without the least hesitation *join* them." Sir, I am surprised (unless you are not in your senses) at your advancing such a barefaced falsehood.

31. You go on. "Under this head may not improperly be considered, their undutiful behaviour to the *civil powers*." What proof have you of this? Why a single sentence, on which I laid so little stress myself, that it is only inserted by way of parenthesis, in the body of another sentence. 'Ye learned in the law, what becomes of Magna Charta, and of English liberty and property? Are not these mere sounds, while on any pretence, there is such a thing as a *press-gang* suffered in the land?

Upon this you descant: "The legislature has at several times made acts for pressing men. But no matter for this: touch but a Methodist, and all may perish, rather than a soldier be pressed. He who had before bound himself not to speak a tittle of worldly things, is now bawling for liberty and property." (Very lively this!) But I hope, Sir, you do not offer it by way of *argument*. You are not so unlearn-

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ed in the law, as not to know, that the legislature is out of the question. The legislature six years ago did not appoint *press-gangs*, but legal officers, to press men. Consequently this is no proof (and find another if you can) of our *undutiful behaviour* to the *civil powers*.

32. "Another natural consequence," (you say) "of Methodism, is their mutual *jealousies* and *envyings*, their manifold *divisions*, *fierce and rancorous quarrels*, and accusation of one another." I shall carefully attend whatever you produce on this head. And if you will prove this, I will grant you all the rest.

You first cite those words: "Musing on the things that were past, and reflecting how many that came after me, were preferred before me, I opened my testament on those words, 'The Gentiles which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness; but Israel which followed after the law of righteousness, have not attained to the law of righteousness." And how does this prove the manifold *divisions* and *rancorous quarrels* of the Methodists?

Your second argument is, (Sect. 19, p. 341, &c.) 'Mr. Whitefield told me, he and I preached two different gospels: (his meaning was, that he preached particular, and I universal redemption,) and, therefore, he would not join with me, but publicly preach against me." Well, Sir, here was doubtless a *division* for a time; but no *fierce and rancorous quarrel* yet.

You say, thirdly, "They write and publish against each other." True; but without any degree either of *fierceness* or *rancour*.

You assert, fourthly, "Mr. Wesley in his sermon on *Free-Grace*, opposes the other for the horrible blasphemies of his horrible doctrine." Sir, away with your flourishes and write plain English. I opposed the doctrine of predestination which he held. But without any degree either of *rancour* or *fierceness*. Still therefore you miss the mark.

You quote fifthly these words; 'I spent an hour with Mr. Stonehouse. O what πιθανολογια, (persuasiveness of speech) is here! Surely all the deceivableness of unrighteousness. (Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 331.) But there was no *fierceness* or *rancour* on either side. The passage, a fragment of which you produce as a sixth argument, stands thus, 'A few of us had a long conference together. Mr. C. now told me plainly, he could not agree with me, because I did not preach the truth, particularly with regard to election,' (Ibid. p. 333.) He did so; but without any rancour. We had a long conference; but not a *fierce* one.

You, seventhly, observe, "What scurrility of language the Moravians throw out against Mr. Wesley." Perhaps so. But this will not prove, that "The Methodists quarrel with each other."

"And how does he turn their own artillery upon them?" This is your eighth argument. But if I do, this no more proves the "*mutual quarrels* of the Methodists," than my turning your own artillery upon *you*.

33. Having by these eight irrefragable arguments, clearly carried the day, you raise your crest, and cry out, "Is this Methodism?

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'And reign such mortal feuds in heavenly minds?'

Truly, Sir, you have not yet brought one single proof (and yet I dare say, you have brought the very best you have) of any such feuds among the Methodists, as may not be found among the most heavenly minded men on earth.

But you are resolved to pursue your victory, and so go on: "What are we to think of these charges, of Whitefield and Wesley, and the Moravians, one against another?" The Moravians, Sir, are out of the question: for they are no Methodists. And as to the rest, Mr. Whitefield charges Mr. Wesley with holding universal redemption, and I charge him with holding particular redemption. This is the standing charge on either side. And now, Sir, what are we to think? Why, that you have not proved one point of this charge against the Methodists.

However, you stumble on. "Are these things so? Are they true, or are they not true? If not true, they are grievous *calumniators*; if true, they are detestable *sectarists*. Whether true or false, the allegation stands good, of their *fierce* and *rancorous quarrels*, and mutual *heinous accusations*."

Sir, has your passion quite extinguished your reason? Have *fierceness* and *rancour* left you no understanding? Otherwise how is it possible you should run on at this senseless, shameless rate? These things *are true* which Mr. Whitefield and Wesley object to *each other*. He holds the decrees; I do not. Yet this does not prove us, "detestable sectarists." And whether these things are true or false, your "allegation of our *fierce* and *rancorous quarrels*, and mutual *heinous accusations*" cannot stand good, without better proof than you have yet produced.

34. Yet with the utmost confidence, *quasi re bene gesta*, you proceed, "And how stands the matter among their disciples? They are *all* together by the ears, embroiled and broken with unchristian quarrels and confusions."

How do you prove this? Why thus. "Mr. Wesley's Fourth Journal is mostly taken up, in enumerating their wrath, dissensions, and apostacies." No, Sir, not a tenth part of it: although it gives a full and explicit account of the greatest dissensions which ever were among them.

But to come to particulars. You first cite these words, "At Oxford but a few who had not forsaken them." My words are. 'Monday, Oct. 1. 1738, I rode to Oxford, and found a few who had not yet forsaken the assembling themselves together.' This is your *first* proof, "that the Methodists are *all* together by the ears." Your second is its very twin-brother. 'Tues. 2. I went to many who once heard the word with joy; but when the sun arose, they withered away.' (Third Journal, Vol I. p. 284.)

Your third is this. 'Many were induced (by the Moravians) to deny the gift of God, and affirm, they never had any faith at all.' You are at liberty to enjoy this argument also: and let it prove what it can prove.

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You, fourthly, cite these words. 'Many of our sisters are shaken, grievously torn by reasonings. But few come to Fetter-lane, and then after their names are called over, they presently depart. Our brethren here (those who were proselytes to the Moravians) have neither wisdom enough to guide, nor prudence enough to let it alone. They (the Moravians) have much confounded some of our sisters, and many of our brothers are much grieved.'

This proves thus much, that *one* society was *at that time* divided; but not "that the Methodists, in general, were" even *then*, "*all* together by the ears."

The passage you quote in the fifth place, is, 'I believe—are determined to go on according to Mr. Molther's direction, and I suppose, (says the writer of the letter,) above half our brethren are on their side. But they are so very confused, they do not know how to go on, and yet are unwilling to be taught, except by the Moravians.'—(Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 305.)

Add to this, (I recite the whole passages in order: not as you had mangled, and then jumbled them together:) 'Wednesday, Dec. 19. I came to London, though with a heavy heart. Here I found every day the dreadful effects of our brethren's reasoning and disputing with each other. Scarce one in ten retained his first love: and most of the rest were in the utmost confusion,' (they were so more or less for several months,) 'biting and devouring one another.'

This also proves so much, neither more nor less, that *some* of the Methodists were then in confusion. And just so much is proved by your sixth quotation. 'Many were wholly unsettled (by the Moravians, taking advantage of my absence) and lost in vain reasonings and doubtful disputations:—Not likely to come to any true foundation.' (Ibid.)

Your seventh quotation, (I recite the whole sentence,) runs thus. 'April 19. I received a letter—informing me, that our poor brethren at Fetter-lane were again in great confusion.' This quotation proves just as much as the preceding: or as the following. 'The plague (of false stillness) was now spread to them also—namely, to the little society at Islington.'

Your ninth is this: 'I went to the society, but I found their hearts were quite estranged. Frid. 4. I met a little handful of them, who still stand in the old paths.'

Thus far you have been speaking of the Methodists in London. And what have you proved concerning them? Only that the Moravians mixing with them twelve years ago, while they were young and unexperienced, set them a disputing with each other, and thereby occasioned much confusion for several months. But you have not proved, That "the Methodists in general were," even then "*all* together by the ears:" and much less, that they have been so *ever since*, and that they are so *now*.

35. I now attend you to Kingswood. Not to "Bristol and Kingswood," which you artfully join together. The society at Bristol was

no more concerned with the disputes in Kingswood, than with those in London.

Here the first quotation, though containing but two lines, is extracted from three different paragraphs; in one of which I say, (Ibid. p. 333.) 'I had many unpleasing accounts (in December, 1740) concerning our little society in Kingswood:' in the second, 'I went to Kingswood, if haply I might repair the breaches which had been made,' (by the Predestinarian preachers:) in the third, 'I laboured to heal the jealousies and misunderstandings which had arisen.'

The second passage, part of which you quote, is this: 'I returned early in the morning to Kingswood. But my congregation was gone to hear Mr. C. So that I had not above two or three men, and as many women,' (ibid. p. 334.)

The third is, 'January 1. I explained, *If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.*' (Ibid. p. 334.) 'But many of our brethren had no ears to hear, having disputed away both their faith and love.'

The fourth: 'February 21. I inquired concerning the divisions and offences which began afresh to break out in Kingswood. In the afternoon I met a few of the bands; but it was a cold, uncomfortable meeting,' Fourth Journal, p. 338.

You have picked out here and there a word from several pages, in order to furnish a fifth quotation. The most material part of it is this: 'Sat. 28. I read the following paper at Kingswood: For their scoffing at the word and ministers of God, for their backbiting and evil-speaking, I—declare the persons above mentioned, to be no longer members of this society,' ibid. p. 339.

'And we had great reason to bless God, that after fifty-two were withdrawn, we had still upwards of ninety left,' p. 341.

Who those other "forty were that," you say, "left them," I know not. Perhaps you may inform me.

Upon the whole, all these quotations prove only this: that about eleven years ago, Mr. C. falling into predestination, set the society in Kingswood a disputing with each other, and occasioned much confusion for some months. But still you have not gone one step toward proving (which is the one point in question) "That the Methodists in general were" even then, "*all* together by the ears;" and much less, "that they have been so ever since, and that they *are* so *now*."

However you fail not to triumph, (like Louis le Grand, after his victory at Blenheim,) "What shall we say now? Are these the fruits of Methodism?" No, Sir. They are the fruits of opposing it. They are the tares sown among the wheat. You may hear of instances of the same kind, both in earlier and later ages.

You add, "This is bad enough; but it is not the worst. For consider what becomes of those that leave them?" Why, Sir, what if 'their last end be worse than their first?' Will you charge this upon *me?* By the same rule, you must have charged upon the apostles themselves, whatever befell any of those who having 'known

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the way of righteousness,' afterwards 'turned back from the holy commandment once delivered to them.'

36. You conclude this section, "Mr. Wesley will probably say, 'Must I be answerable for the Moravians, against whom I have preached and written?' True, since he and the Moravians quarrelled. But who gives them a box on the ear with the one hand, and embraces them with the other? Who first brought over this wicked generation? Who made a Moravian his spiritual guide? Who fanaticised his own followers, and deprived them of their senses? Whose societies (by his own confession) run over in shoals to Moravianism, forty or fifty at a time? Would they have split upon this rock, if they had not been at first Methodists? Lastly, Where is the spawn of Moravianism so strongly working, as in the children of Methodism?"

Sir, you run very fast. And yet I hope to overtake you by and by. "Mr. Wesley," you say, "has preached against the Moravians since he quarrelled with them." Sir, I never quarrelled with their persons yet. I did with some of their tenets long ago. He "gives them a box on the ear with the one hand, and embraces them with the other." That is, I embrace what is good among them, and at the same time reprove what is evil. "Who *first* brought over this wicked generation?" Not I, whether they be wicked or not. I once thought I did; but have since then seen and acknowledged my mistake. "Who made a Moravian his spiritual guide?" Not I: though I have occasionally consulted several. "Who *fanaticised* his own followers, and deprived them of their senses?" Not I. Prove it upon me if you can. "Whose societies (by his own confession) run over in shoals to Moravianism, forty or fifty at a time?" Truly not mine. Two and fifty of Kingswood society ran over to Calvinism, and a year before, part of Fetter-lane society gradually went over to the Moravians. But I know none of ours that went over "in shoals." They never, that I remember, gained five at a time: nor fifty in all, (to the best of my knowledge) for these last ten years. "Would they (of Fetter-lane) have split on this rock, if they had not first been Methodists." Undoubtedly they would; for several of them had not first been Methodists, Mr. Viney, for instance (as well as several others) was with the Germans before ever he saw me. "Lastly, Where is the spawn of Moravianism working so strongly as in the children of Methodism?" If you mean the errors of Moravianism, they are not working at all in the generality of the children of Methodism: the Methodists in general being thoroughly apprised of, and fully guarded against them.

So much for your modest assertion, "That the *Methodists in general*, are *all* together by the ears:" the very reverse of which is true. They are, *in general*, in perfect peace. They enjoy in themselves the peace of God, which passeth all understanding. They are at peace with each other. And as much as lieth in them, they live peaceably with all men.

37. Your next charge is, "That Methodism has a tendency to

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undermine morality and good works," (p. 146, &c.) To prove this you assert, "1. That the Methodists are trained up to wait in quietness for sudden conversion; whence they are naturally led, to neglect *the means of salvation*." This is a mistake all over. For neither are they taught to wait in quietness (if you mean any more than patience by that term) for either sudden or gradual conversion: neither do they, in fact, neglect *the means*. So far from it, that they are eminently exact in the use of them.

You assert, 2. "The doctrine of assurance of pardon and salvation, present and future, causes a false security, to the neglect of future endeavours." Blunder upon blunder again. That all Christians have an assurance of *future salvation*, is no Methodist doctrine: and an assurance of present pardon, is so far from causing negligence, that it is of all others the strongest motive to vigorous endeavours after universal holiness.

You assert, 3. "Impulses and impressions, being made the rule of duty, will lead into dangerous errors." Very true. But the Methodists do not make impulses and impressions the rule of duty. They totally disclaim any other rule of duty, than the written word.

You assert, 4. "A claim of unsinning perfection," (I mean by perfection, the loving God with all our heart) "drives some into phrensies, others into despair." Sir, I doubt the fact.

You assert, 5. "The Moravian Methodists trample down morality, and multitudes of the Wesleyans have been infected." The *Moravian Methodists!* You may as well say the *Presbyterian Papists*. The Moravians have no connexion with the Methodists. Therefore whatever they do (though you slander them too) they and not we are to answer for. The Methodists, at present, blessed be God, are as little infected with this plague (of condemning or neglecting good works) as any body of people in England or Ireland.

38. From these loose assertions you proceed to quotations from my writings, every one of which I shall consider, to show that not in one or two, but in every one you are a wilful prevaricator and false accuser of your neighbour.

You say, first, "The Moravians."—Hold, good Sir! You are out of the way already. You well know, the Moravians are to answer for themselves. Our present question concerns the Methodists only.

You say, secondly, "A general temptation prevails among the societies of Methodists, of leaving off good works," (Fourth Journal, Vol. I. p. 318.) Sir, you are wrong again. The societies of Methodists are not there spoken of: but the single society of Fetter-lane. Among these only that temptation *then* prevailed.

You quote, thirdly, as my words, "The poor, confused, shattered society, *had erred* from the faith." My own words are, 'I told the poor, confused, shattered society, *wherein they had erred* from the faith:" (ibid.) Namely, with regard to the ordinances: not in general, as your way of expressing it naturally imports. Nor had *all* the society erred even in this point. Many of them were still unshaken.

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You quote, fourthly, "A woman of Deptford spoke great words and true. She ordered Mr Humphreys to leave off doing good."

What then must every honest man think of you, when he observes, that one half of the sentence (which you thus artfully put together) stands in another page, and at a considerable distance from the other? And that I immediately subjoined to the latter clause, "we talked largely with her, and she was humbled to the dust, under a deep sense of the advantage Satan had gained over her."

You quote fifthly, a part of the following sentence, to prove that I "undermine morality and good works."

"His judgment concerning holiness is new. He no longer judges it to be an outward thing, to consist either in doing no harm, in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God." (And yet how strongly do I insist upon all these: Sir, do not you know this?) "He sees, it is the life of God in the soul, the image of God fresh stamped on the heart." It is so. Sir, can you deny it? What then will you prove by this?

You quote, sixthly, part of these words: "They speak of holiness, as if it consisted chiefly if not wholly, in these two points, first, the doing no harm, secondly, the doing good (as it is called) i. e. the using the means of grace, and helping our neighbour," (Fourth Journal, Vol. I.) And this you term "disparaging good works!" Sir, these things, considered barely as to the *opus operatum*, are not good works. There must be something good in the heart before any of our works are good. Insomuch that, 'though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and have not' this, 'it profiteth me nothing.'

You observe, by the way, "the *Mystic Divinity* was once the Methodists' doctrine." Sir, you have stepped out of the way, only to get another fall. The Mystic divinity was never the Methodists' doctrine. They never could swallow either John Tauler or Jacob Behme: although they often advised with one that did.

39. You say, seventhly, "I do not find, that Mr. Wesley has ever cited those express passages of St. James." Sir, what if I had not? (I mean in print) I do not cite every text from Genesis to the Revelation. But it happens I have. Look again, Sir; and by and by you will find where.

You say, eighthly, "Mr. Wesley affirms, that the condition of our justification, is faith alone and not good works." Most certainly I do. And I learned it from the 11th and 12th articles, and from the homilies of our Church. If you can confute them, do. But I subscribe to them, both with my hand and heart.

You say, ninthly, "Give me leave to make a remark. The Methodists wandered many years, in the new path of salvation by faith and works, which was the time too of their highest glory and popularity. During this time, they were seducing their disciples into the most destructive errors." Excuse me, Sir. While they preached salvation by faith and works, they had no disciples at all; (unless you term a few pupils such) nor had they any popularity at

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all. They then enjoyed (what they always desired) a quiet, retired life. But whatever disciples we had, they were not "seduced by us into" the error of justification by works. For they were in it, before ever they saw our face, or knew there were such men in the world.

You say, tenthly, "Mr. Wesley only contends, that it is *possible* to *use* them without *trusting* in them." Not in that page; because the proposition I am confuting is, 'It is *not possible to use* them, without *trusting* in them,' Fourth Journal, p. 304.

You added, "And now, are not such disparaging expressions (a *mere possibility of using* them, without *trusting* in them) a great discouragement to practice?" O Sir, when will you deviate into truth? Dare you affirm, without any regard to God or man, "Mr. Wesley only contends for a *mere possibility* of using the means, without trusting in them?"

To go no farther than the very first page you refer to, (ibid.) my express words are these:

'I believe the way to attain faith is, to wait for Christ, in using all the means of grace.'

'Because I believe these do ordinarily convey God's grace (even) to unbelievers.' Is this "contending only for a *mere possibility* of *using* them without *trusting* in them?"

Not only in this, and many other parts of the *Journals*, but in a sermon written professedly on the subject, I contend, that *all the* ordinances of God are the stated channels of his grace to man; and that it is our bounden duty to use them all, at all possible opportunities. So that to charge the Methodists in general, or me in particular, with undervaluing or disparaging them, shows just as much regard for justice and truth, as if you were to charge us with Mahometanism.

40. Tedious as it is to wade through so many dirty pages, I will follow you, step by step, a little farther. Your eleventh proof that we "undermine morality and good works," is drawn from the following passage: 'I know every one *under the law* is even as I was for near twice ten years. Every one, when he begins to see his fallen state, and to feel the wrath of God abiding on him, relapses into the sin that most easily besets him, *soon after* repenting of it. Sometimes he avoids, and at many other times he cannot persuade himself to avoid the occasions of it. Hence his relapses are frequent, and of consequence his heart is hardened more and more. Nor can he, with all his sincerity, avoid any one of these four marks of hypocrisy, till *being justified by faith*, he *hath peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ*.' Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 280.

You, Sir, are no competent judge in the cause. But to any one who has experienced what St. Paul speaks in his seventh chapter to the Romans, I willingly submit this whole question. *You* know by experience, that if anger was the sin that did so easily beset you, you relapsed into it (for days, or months, or years) *soon after* repenting of it. Sometimes you avoided the occasions of it; at other times

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you did not. Hence your relapses were frequent, and your heart was hardened more and more. And yet all this time you were sincerely striving against sin, you could say, without hypocrisy, *The thing which I do, I allow not; the evil which I would not, that I do. To will is even now present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.*

But the Jesuits, you think, "could scarcely have granted salvation upon easier terms. Have no fear, ye Methodists." Sir, I do not grant salvation (as you call it) upon so easy terms. I believe a man in this state, is in a state of damnation. "Have no fear!" say you? Yea, but those who are thus *under the law*, are in fear all the day long. "Was there ever so pleasing a scheme?" Pleasing with a vengeance! As pleasing as to be in the belly of hell. So totally do you mistake the whole matter, 'not knowing what *you* speak, nor whereof *you* affirm.'

You are indeed somewhat pitiable in speaking wrong on this head, because you do it in ignorance. But this plea cannot be allowed, when you gravely advance that trite, thread-bare objection concerning the Lord's Supper, without taking any notice, that I have answered it again and again, both to Mr. Church and to the late Lord Bishop of London.

41. Your thirteenth proof is this: "Mr. Wesley has taught us, that infirmities are no sins." Sir, you have taught me to wonder at nothing you assert: else I should wonder at this. The words, I suppose you refer to, stand, in *The Sermon on Salvation by Faith;* (though you do not choose, for a plain reason, to show your reader where they may be found,) 'He that is by faith born of God sinneth not; 1. By any habitual sin: nor, 2. By any wilful sin; nor, 3. By any sinful desire; for he continually desireth the holy and perfect will of God; nor, 4. Doth he sin by infirmities, whether in act, word, or thought. For his infirmities have no concurrence of his will, and without this, they are not properly sins.' And this you seriously declare, "is a loop-hole to creep out of every moral and religious obligation!"

In the same paragraph you say, I have strongly affirmed, that "all our works and tempers are evil continually: that our whole heart is altogether corrupt and abominable, and consequently our whole life, (First Journal, Vol. I. p. 172;) all our works, the most specious of them, our righteousness, our prayers, needing an atonement themselves," (Second Journal, p. 190.) I do strongly affirm this. But of whom? In all these places, but the last, of myself only. In every one, but this, I speak in the singular number, and of myself, when confessedly an unbeliever. And of whom do I speak in that last place? Of unbelievers, and them only. The words are, 'All our tempers and works, in our natural state, are only evil continually.'

Now, Sir, where is *your* "loop-hole to creep out?" If you have none, I fear every impartial man will pass sentence upon you, that you have no regard either to "moral or religious obligations."

I have now weighed every argument you have brought, to prove "that the Methodists undermine morality and good works." A grievous charge indeed! But the more inexcusable is he, who advances it, but is not able to make it good, in any one single instance. Pardon my pertness, Sir, in not barely affirming (that is *your* manner) but proving this: nay, and in telling you, that you cannot make amends to God, to me, or to the world, without a retraction as public as your calumny.

42. You add, "How the case stands in fact, as to the number of converts among the Methodists, and real reformation of life to the certain and known duties of the gospel, is matter of difficult determination." Not at all. What is easier to be determined, than 1. That A. B. of Exeter or Tiverton, was for many years a notorious drunkard, common swearer, or sabbath-breaker? 2. That he is not so now; that he is "really reformed" from drunkenness, swearing, sabbath-breaking, to sobriety, and the other "certain and known duties of the gospel?"

"But from what inquiry you can make, there is no reason to think them, for the generality, better than their neighbours." Better than their neighbours! Why are they no worse than their neighbours? Then what have you been doing all this time? But whether they are better or worse than their neighbours, they are undeniably better than themselves: I mean, better than they were before they heard this preaching, in the "certain and known duties of the gospel." But you desire us to "consider their black art of calumny; their uncharitableness; their excessive pride and vanity; their skepticism, doubts, and disbelief of God and Christ; their disorderly practices and contempt of authority; their bitter envying and inveterate broils among themselves; their coolness for good works." Sir, we will consider all these, when you have proved them. Till then, this is mere *brutum fulmen*.

43. You proceed. "If we take Mr. Wesley's own account, it falls very short of any considerable reformation." You mean; if we take *that part* of his account, which you are pleased to transcribe. *Atticam elegantiam!* But let any impartial man read my whole account, and then judge. However hence you infer, that "the new reformers have made but a slow and slight progress in the reformation of manners." As a full answer to this, I need only transcribe a page or two from the last Appeal.

'God begins a glorious work in our land. You set yourself against it with your might; to prevent its beginning where it does not yet appear, and to destroy it wherever it does. In part you prevail. You keep many from hearing the word that is able to save their souls. Others who have heard it, you induce to turn back from God, and to list under the Devil's banner again. Then you make the success of your own wickedness an excuse for not acknowledging the work of God! You urge, "That not *many* sinners were reformed! And that some of those are now as bad as ever."

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'Whose fault is this? Is it ours? Or your own? Why have not thousands more been reformed? Yea, for every one who is now turned to God, why are there not ten thousand? Because you and your associates laboured so heartily in the cause of hell: because you and they spared no pains, either to prevent or to destroy the work of God. By using all the power and wisdom you had, you hindered thousands from hearing the gospel, which they might have found to be the power of God unto salvation. Their blood is upon your heads. By inventing, or countenancing, or retailing lies, some refined, some gross and palpable, you hindered others from profiting by what they did hear. *You* are answerable to God for these souls also. Many who began to taste the good word and run the way of God's commandments, by various methods you prevailed on to hear it no more. So they soon drew back to perdition. But know, that for every one of these also, God will require an account of *you* in the day of judgment!

'And yet in spite of all the malice, and wisdom, and strength, not only of men, but 'of principalities and powers,' of the 'rulers of the darkness of this world,' of the 'wicked spirits in high places;' there are thousands found, who are 'turned from dumb idols to serve the living and true God.' What a harvest then might we have seen before now, if all who say they are 'on the Lord's side,' had come, as in all reason they ought, 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty?' Yea, had they only not opposed the work of God, had they only refrained from his messengers, might not the trumpet of God have been heard long since, in every corner of our land? And thousands of sinners in every county, been brought to fear God and honour the king?'

44. Without any regard to this, your next assertion is, That the Methodists are "carrying on the work of popery," (Sect. 21, p. 164, &c.) This also being a charge of a very high nature, I shall particularly consider whatever you advance in defence of it.

Your first argument is, "They have a strain of Jesuitical sophistry, artifice, and craft, evasion, reserve, equivocation, and prevarication." So you *say*. But you do not so much as aim at any proof.

Your second argument is, "Mr. Wesley says, where a Methodist was receiving the sacrament, God was pleased to let him see a crucified Saviour." Sir, Mr. W. does not say this. It is one that occasionally wrote to him. But if he had, what would you infer? That he is a papist? Where is the consequence? Why, you say, "was not this as good an argument for transubstantiation, as several produced by the papists?" Yes, exactly as good as either their arguments or yours. That is, just good for nothing.

Your third argument runs thus, "We may see in Mr. W.'s writings that he was once a strict churchman, but gradually put on a more catholic spirit, tending at length to Roman catholic. He rejects any design to convert others, from any communion; and consequently not from popery."

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This is half true, (which is something uncommon with you,) and only half false. It is true, that for thirty years last past, I have "gradually put on a more catholic spirit," finding more and more tenderness for those who differed from me, either in opinions or modes of worship. But it is not true, that I "reject any design of converting others from any communion." I have by the blessing of God converted several from popery, who are now alive and ready to testify it.

Your fourth argument is, That in a collection of prayers, *I* cite the words of an ancient liturgy, 'for the faithful departed.' *Sir*, whenever I use those words in the burial service, I pray to the same effect. 'That we, with all those who are departed in thy faith and fear, may have our perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul.' Yea, and whenever I say, 'Thy kingdom come;' for I mean both the kingdom of grace and glory. In this kind of general prayer, therefore, for the faithful departed, I conceive myself to be clearly justified, both by the earliest antiquity, by the Church of England, and by the Lord's prayer; although the Papists have corrupted this scriptural practice, into praying for those who *die in their* sins.

'45. Your fifth argument is, that "they use *private confession*, in which every one is to speak the state of his heart, *with his* several temptations and deliverances, and answer as many searching questions as may be. And what a scene, say you, is hereby disclosed! What a filthy jakes opened, when the most searching questions are answered without reserve?" Hold, Sir, unless you are answering for yourself. This undoubtedly you have a right to do. You can tell best what is in your heart. And I cannot deny what you say: it may be a very filthy jakes, for aught I know. But pray do not measure others by yourself. The hearts of believers 'are purified through faith.' When these open their hearts one to another, there is no such scene disclosed. Yet temptations to pride in various kinds, to self-will, to unbelief in many instances, they often feel in themselves, (whether they give any place to them or not) and occasionally disclose to their brethren.

But this has no resemblance to Popish confession; of which you are very sensible. For you cite my own words: 'The Popish confession is the confession made by a single person to a priest. Whereas this is, the confession of several persons conjointly, not to a priest, but to each other.' You add, "Will Mr. W. abide by this, and freely answer a question?" I will. For I desire only 'by manifestation of the truth, to commend myself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.'

Your question is "After private confessions taken in their bands, are not *reports* made to Mr. W.?" I answer, no: No *reports* are made to me, of the particulars mentioned in private bands. "Are no delinquents, male and female, *brought before him separately*, and *confessed* by him?" No: none at all. You ask, "How then do I

know the outward and inward states of those under my care?" I answer, by examining them once a quarter, more or less, not separately, but ten or fifteen together. Therefore every unprejudiced person must see that there is no analogy between the Popish confession to a priest, and our 'confessing our faults one to another, and praying one for another,' as St. James directs. Consequently neither does this argument, though urged with all your art and force, amount to any shadow of proof, that "the Methodists are carrying on the work of popery."

46. Your sixth argument, such as it is, stands thus. "Another tendency to Popery appears, by the notion of 'a single drop of Christ's blood being a sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole world.' For however pious this may appear, it is absolutely false and papistical." Sir, this argument is perfectly new, and entirely your own. It were great pity to disturb you in the enjoyment of it.

A seventh argument you ground on those words in the *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, 'It is a point we chiefly insist upon, that orthodoxy or right opinions, is a very slender part of religion, if any part of it at all.' "The plain consequence whereof is (so you affirm) that teaching and believing the fundamental errors of popery, with the whole train of their abominations and idolatries, are of very little moment, if any." Strain again, Sir: pull hard; or you will never be able to drag this conclusion out of these premises.

I assert, '1. That in a truly religious man, right opinions are a very slender part of religion. 2. That in an irreligious, a profane man, they are not any part of religion at all: such a man not being one jot more religious, because he is orthodox.' Sir, it does not follow from either of these propositions, that wrong opinions are not an hinderance to religion: and much less, that "teaching and believing the fundamental errors of popery, with the whole train of their abominations and idolatries, (practised, I presume you mean, as well as taught and believed,) are of very little moment, if any." I am so far from saying or thinking this, that in my printed Letter to a Priest of that communion, (did you never read it, or hear of it before?) are these express words, 'I pity you much, having the same assurance, that Jesus is the Christ, and that no Romanist can expect to be saved, according to the terms of his covenant.' (Third Journal, Vol. I. p. 278.) Do you term this "An extenuation of their abominations? A reducing them to almost a mere nothing."

47. You argue, eighthly, thus: "The Methodist doctrine of impressions and assurances, holds equally for popish enthusiasts." This needs no answer; I have already shown that the Methodist doctrine in these respects is both scriptural and rational.

Your ninth argument is, "Their sudden conversions stand upon the same footing with the popish." You should say, "Are a proof that they are promoting popery." I leave you to enjoy this argument also.

But the dreadful one you reserve for the last, namely, our "re-

commending popish books. One is the life of Mr. de Renty, of which Mr. Wesley has published *an extract*." To prove your inimitable fairness here, you scrape up again all the trash, wherein the weak writer of that life abounds, and which I had pared off and thrown away. Sir, could you find nothing to your purpose in the *Extract* itself? I fancy you might; for I have purposely left in two or three particulars, to show of what communion he was, which I did not think it right to conceal.

You go on. "Francis of Sales is another papist, much commended by Mr. W.; and who, he doubts not, is in Abraham's bosom. He is the Methodist's bosom friend." I believe he is in Abraham's bosom. But he is no bosom-friend of the Methodists. I question whether one in five hundred of them have so much as heard his name. And as for me, neither do I "commend him much, nor recommend" him at all. His life I never saw, nor any of his works, but his 'Introduction to a Holy Life.' This the late Dr. Nichols translated into English, published and strongly *recommended*. Therefore, if this be a proof of promoting popery, that censure falls not on me, but him.

I have now considered all the arguments you have *brought* to prove, "That the Methodists are carrying on the work of popery." And I am persuaded, every candid man, who rightly weighs what has been said, with any degree of attention, will clearly see not only that no one of those arguments is of any real force at all, but that you do not believe yourself; you do not believe the conclusion, which you *make as if* you would prove. Only you keep close to your laudable resolution of throwing as much dirt as possible.

48. It remains only to gather up some of your fragments, as still further proofs of your integrity. You graciously say, "I do not lay much stress upon the charge of some of the angry Moravians against Mr. W. and his brother, for preaching popery." Sir, if you had, you would only have hurt yourself. For, 1. The Moravians never, that I know of, brought this charge at all. 2. When Mr. C. and two other predestinarians (these were the persons) affirmed, "they had heard both my brother and me preach *popery*," they meant neither more nor less thereby, than the doctrine of universal redemption. "Some connexion between the doctrines of the Methodists and Papists, hath been shown through this whole comparison." Shown! But how? By the same art of wiredrawing and deciphering, which would prove an equal connexion between the Methodists and Mahometans.

"Jesuits have often mingled, and been the ringleaders among our enthusiastic sectaries." Sir, I am greatly obliged to you for your compliment, as well as for your parallel of Mr. Faithful Cousin. And pray, Sir, at what time do you think it was, that I first "mingled with those enthusiastic sectaries?" When I came back from Germany? Or when I returned from Georgia? Or while I was at Lincoln College?—Although the plot itself might be laid before, when I was at Christ Church, or at the Charter-house school.

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shocking violation of the Christian rule, 'Thou shalt love thy *neighbour* as thyself:' the most open affront to all justice, and even common humanity, the most glaring insult upon the common sense and reason of mankind, which has lately appeared in the world.

If you say, "But I have proved the charge upon Mr. Whitefield:" admit you have, (which I do not allow,) Mr. Whitefield is not *the Methodists;* no, nor the societies under his care; they are not a third, perhaps not a tenth part of the Methodists. What then can excuse your ascribing *their* faults (were they proved) to the *whole body?* You indict ten men. Suppose you prove the indictment upon one, will you *therefore* condemn the other nine? Nay, let every man bear his own burden, since every man must give an account of himself to God.

I had occasion once before to say to an opponent, you know not to show mercy. Yet that gentleman did regard truth and justice. But you regard neither mercy, justice, nor truth. To vilify, to blacken, is your one point. I pray God, it may not be laid to your charge! May he show you mercy, though you show none!

I am, Sir, your friend and well-wisher,

JOHN WESLEY.

A SECOND LETTER

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER,

IN ANSWER TO HIS LORDSHIP'S LATE LETTER.

MY LORD,

IN my late Letter to your lordship, I used no ceremony. I suppose it was not expected from one who was so deeply injured; and, I trust, I used no rudeness; if I did, I am ready to ask your lordship's pardon.

That letter "related to a matter of fact published on your lordship's authority, which I endeavoured to falsify," (The bishop of Exeter's letter, page 2, 3,) and your lordship, now again endeavours to support.

The facts alleged are, 1st, That I told Mrs. Morgan, at Mitchel, 'You are in hell; you are damned already.' 2dly, 'That *I* asked her to live upon free cost.' 3dly, 'That she determined to admit no more Methodists into her house.'

At first I thought so silly and improbable a story neither deserved nor required a confutation: but when my friends thought otherwise

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I called on Mrs. Morgan, who denied she ever said any such thing. I wrote down her words: part of which I transcribed in my letter to your lordship, as follows:

'On Saturday, Aug. 25, 1750, Mr. Trembath, of St. Ginneys, Mr. Haime, of Shaftsbury, and I, called at Mr. Morgan's, at Mitchel. The servant telling me her master was not at home, I desired to speak with her mistress, the "honest, sensible woman." I immediately asked, 'Did I ever tell you or your husband, that you would be damned, if you took any money of me?' (So the story ran in the first part of the Comparison: it has now undergone a very considerable alteration.) 'Or did you or he ever affirm, (another circumstance related at Truro) that I was rude with your maid?' She replied, vehemently, 'Sir, I never said you were, or that you said any such thing. And I do not suppose my husband did. But we have been belied as well as our neighbours.' She added, 'When the bishop came down last, he sent us word he would dine at our house. But he did not, being invited to a neighbouring gentleman's. He sent for me thither and said, "Good woman, do you know these people that go up and down? Do you know Mr. Wesley? Did not he tell you, you would be damned, if you took any money of him? And did not he offer rudeness to your maid?" I told him, 'No, my lord. He never said any such thing to me, nor to my husband that I know of. He never offered any rudeness to any maid of mine. I never saw or knew any harm by him. But a man told me once (who I was told was a Methodist preacher) that I should be damned, if I did not know my sins were forgiven.'

Your lordship replies, "I neither sent word that I would dine at their house, nor did I send for Mrs. Morgan; every word that passed between us, was at her own house at Mitchel." (p. 7.) I believe it; and consequently, that the want of exactness in this point rests on Mrs. Morgan, not on your lordship.

Your lordship adds, "The following attestations will sufficiently clear me from any imputation, or even suspicion, of having published a falsehood:" I apprehend otherwise: to waive what is past, if the facts now published by your lordship, or any part of them, be not true; then certainly your lordship will lie under more than a "suspicion of having published a falsehood."

The attestations your lordship produces are, 1st, Those of your lordship's chancellor and archdeacon. 2dly, Those of Mr. Bennet.

The former attests, that in June, or July, 1748, Mrs. Morgan did say those things to your lordship. (p. 8.) I believe she did, and therefore acquit your lordship of being the inventor of those falsehoods.

Mr. Bennet avers, that in January last, Mrs. Morgan repeated to him what she had before said to your lordship. (p. 11.) Probably she might; having said those things once, I do not wonder if she said them again.

Nevertheless, before Mr. Trembath and Mr. Haime she denied every word of it

To get over this difficulty, your lordship publishes a second letter

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from Mr. Bennet, wherein he says, 'On March 4th last, Mrs. Morgan said, I was told by my servant that I was wanted above stairs; here, when I came, the chamber door being open, I found them (Mr. Wesley and others) round the table on their knees.' He adds, 'That Mrs. Morgan owned one circumstance in it was true, but as to the other parts of Mr. Wesley's letter to the bishop, she declares it is all false.'

I believe Mrs. Morgan did say this to Mr. Bennet, and that therefore neither is he *the maker of a lie*. But he is the relater of a whole train of falsehoods, and those told merely for telling's sake. I was never yet in any *chamber* at Mrs. Morgan's. I was never *above stairs* there in my life. On August 25, 1750, I was *below stairs* all the time I was in the house. When Mrs. Morgan came in, I was *standing* in the large parlour; nor did any of us *kneel* while we were under the roof. This both Mr. Trembath and Mr. Haime can attest upon oath, whatsoever Mrs. Morgan may *declare* to the contrary.

But she declared farther, (so Mr. Bennet writes,) 'That Mr. John Wesley, some time ago, said to a maid of her's, such things as were not fit to be spoken,' (p. 11.) and Mr. Morgan declared, that he 'did or said such indecent things to the above-named maid (the same fact, I presume, only a little embellished) in his chamber, in the night, that she immediately ran down stairs, and protested she would not go near him or any of the Methodists more.' p. 12.

To save trouble to your lordship, as well as to myself, I will put this cause upon a very short issue. If your lordship will only prove, that ever I lay one night in Mrs. Morgan's house, nay, that ever I was in the town of Mitchel after sunset, I will confess the whole charge.

What your lordship mentions by "the way" I will now consider. "Some of your western correspondents imposed upon the *leaders of Methodism*, by transmitting to London a notoriously false account of my charge to the clergy. Afterwards the Methodists confessed themselves to have been deceived; yet some time after, the Methodists at Cork, in Ireland, your own brother at the head of them, reprinted the same lying pamphlet, as my performance." p. 4, 5.

My lord, I know not who are your lordship's *Irish correspondents*: but here are almost as many mistakes as lines. For, 1. They were none of *my* correspondents who sent that account to London. 2. It was sent not to the leaders of Methodism, but to one who was no Methodist at all. 3. That it was a *false* account I do not know. But your lordship may easily put it out of dispute. And many have wondered that your lordship did not do so long ago, by printing the charge in question. 4. I did never confess, it was a *false* account; nor any person by my consent, or with my knowledge. 5. That account was never reprinted at Cork at all. 6. When it was reprinted at Dublin, your lordship had not disowned it. 7. My brother was not in Dublin when it was done; nor did either he or I know of it till long after.

Therefore, when my brother was asked, 'How he could reprint such an account, after your lordship had publicly disowned it,' I do not at all wonder, that 'he did not offer a single word in answer.'

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Whether this, as well as my former letter, be "mere rant and declamation," or plain and sober reason, I must refer to the world and your lordship's own conscience.

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 8, 1752.

A LETTER

TO THE REV. MR. POTTER.

Norwich, Nov. 4, 1758.

REV. SIR,

1. TILL to-day I had not a sight of your sermon, *On the pretended inspiration of the Methodists*. Otherwise I should have taken the liberty, some days sooner, of sending you a few lines. That sermon, indeed, only repeats what has been often said before, and as often answered. But as it is said *again*, I believe it is my duty to answer it *again*. Not that I have any acquaintance with Mr. Caley or Osborn: I never exchanged a word with either. However, as you lump me and them together, I am constrained to speak for myself, and once more, 'to give a reason of my hope,' that I am clear from the charge you bring against me.

2. There are several assertions in your sermon which need not be allowed: but they are not worth disputing. At present, therefore, I shall only speak of two things. 1. Your account of the *new birth;* and, 2. *The pretended inspiration* (as you are pleased to term it) *of the Methodists.*

3. Of the new birth, you say, "The terms of being regenerated, of being born again, of being born of God, are often used to express the works of gospel righteousness." (page 10, 11.) I cannot allow this. I know not that they are ever used in Scripture, to express any *outward work* at all. They always express an *inward work* of the Spirit, whereof baptism is the outward sign. You add, "Their primary, peculiar, and precise meaning signifies," (a little impropriety of expression,) "our redemption from death and restoration to eternal life, through the grace of God." (p. 13.) It does not, unless by death you mean *sin;* and by eternal life, *holiness.* The precise meaning of the term is, 'A new birth unto righteousness,' an inward change from unholy to holy tempers. You go on: "this grace our Lord here calls, entering into the kingdom of God." If so, his assertion is, 'Except a man be born again—he cannot be born again.'

N. B. Mr. Potter's words are inserted between inverted commas.

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Not so. What he says is, 'except a man experience *this change*, he cannot enter into my kingdom.'

4. You proceed: "Our holy church doth teach us, that, by the laver of regeneration in baptism, we are received into the number of the children of God—this is the first part of the new birth." (p. 13.) What is the *first part* of the new birth? *Baptism?* It is the *outward sign* of that inward and spiritual grace; but no *part* of it at all. It is impossible it should be. The outward sign is no more a part of the inward grace than the body is a part of the soul. Or do you mean, that *regeneration* is a *part* of the new birth? Nay, this is the *whole* of it. Or is it the *laver of regeneration* which is the first *part* of it? That cannot be: for you suppose this to be the same with baptism.

5. "The second part, the inward and spiritual grace, is a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness." What! Is the new birth the *second part* of the new birth? I apprehend it is the first and second part too. And surely nothing could have prevented your seeing this, but the ardour of your spirit, and the impetuosity with which you rush along and trample down all before you. Your manner of writing reminds me of an honest Quaker in Cornwall, whose words I would recommend to your consideration. Being consulted by one of the Friends, whether he should publish a tract which he had read to many in private; he replied, 'What, art thou not content with laying John Wesley on his back, but thou must tread his guts out too?'

6. So much for your account of the *new birth*. I am, in the second place, to consider the account you give of "the pretended inspiration" (so you are pleased to term it) "of the Methodists." "The Holy Ghost sat on the Apostles with cloven tongues as of fire—and signs and wonders were done by their hands." (Wonders indeed! For they healed the sick by a word, a touch, a shadow!

'They spake the dead alive, and living dead.')

"But though these extraordinary operations of the Spirit have been long since withdrawn, yet the pretension to them still subsists in the confident claim of the Methodists." (pages 16, 17, 18.) This you boldly affirm, and I flatly deny. I deny, that either I, or any in connexion with me, (for others, whether called Methodists, or any thing else, I am no more concerned to answer than you are,) do now, or ever did lay any claim to "these extraordinary operations of the Spirit."

7. But you will prove it. They "confidently and presumptuously claim a particular and immediate inspiration." (Ibid.) I answer, first, so do *you*, and in this very sermon, though you call it by another name. By *inspiration*, we mean, that inward assistance of the Holy Ghost, which "helps our infirmities, enlightens our understanding, rectifies our will, comforts, purifies, and sanctifies us." (p. 14.) Now all this you claim as well as I; for these are your own words, "Nay, but you claim a *particular* inspiration." So do you: do not you expect him to sanctify *you* in *particular?* "Yes, but I look for no *immediate*

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inspiration." You do: you expect he will *immediately* and *directly* help your infirmities. Sometimes, it is true, he does this, by the *mediation* or intervention of other men: but at other times, particularly in private prayer, he gives that help *directly* from himself. "But is this all you mean by *particular*, *immediate* inspiration?" It is, and so I have declared a thousand times in private, in public, by every method I could devise. It is pity, therefore, that any should still undertake to give an account of my sentiments, without either hearing or reading what I say. Is this doing as we would be done to?

8. I answer, secondly, There is no analogy between claiming "this inspiration of the Spirit," who you allow, "assists and will assist all true believers to the end of the world:" p. 18.) and claiming those *extraordinary* operations of the Spirit, which were vouchsafed to the apostles. The former, both you and I pretend to: yea, and enjoy; or we are no believers. The latter *you* do not pretend to: nor do I; nor any that are in connexion with me.

9. "But you *do* pretend to them. For you pray that signs and wonders may still be wrought in the name of Jesus." True: but what signs and wonders? The conversion of sinners; the 'healing the broken in heart: the turning men from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God.' These and these only are the signs and wonders which were mentioned in that prayer. And did I not see these signs and wonders still wrought, I would sooner hew wood, or draw water, than preach the gospel. For those are to me very awful words, which our Lord speaks of *prophets* or teachers; 'Ye shall know them,' (whether they are true or *false prophets*) 'by their fruits: Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit—Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire.' What *fruit* you have *brought forth* at Reymerston, I know not; God knoweth.

10. "Your followers, however, do pretend to the grace of a miraculous conversion." Is there any conversion that is not *miraculous?* Is conversion a natural or *supernatural* work? I suppose all who allow there is any such thing, believe it to be supernatural. And what is the difference between a *supernatural* and a *miraculous* work, I am yet to learn.

"But they say, 'that at such a time, and in such a manner, the divine illumination shone upon them; Jesus knocked at the door of their hearts, and the Holy Ghost descended upon their souls.'" That is, in plain terms, raillery apart, at a particular *time*, which they cannot easily forget, God did, in so eminent a manner as they never experienced before, "enlighten their understanding," (they are your own words,) "comfort and purify their hearts, and give his heavenly Spirit to dwell in them." But what has all this to do with "those extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit?"

11. "Under these pretended impressions, their next advance is, to a call to preach the word themselves; and forth they issue, as under the immediate inspiration of God's Spirit, with the language of Apostles, and zeal of martyrs, to publish the gospel, as if they were among our remotest ancestors, strangers to the name of Christ." (p. 20, 21.)

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The plain truth is this. One in five hundred of those whom God so "enlightens and comforts," sooner or later, believes it to be his duty to call other sinners to repentance. Such an one commonly stifles this conviction, till he is so uneasy he can stifle it no longer. He then consults one or more of those whom he believes to be competent judges: and under the direction of these, goes on, step by step, from a narrower to a larger sphere of action. Meantime he endeavours to use only the "language of the Apostles," to speak the things of the Spirit, in the words of the Spirit. And he longs and prays for "the zeal of martyrs," continually finding the need thereof; seeing our present countrymen are as great strangers to *the mind* that was in Christ, as our ancestors were to his name.

12. "But the Holy Spirit no longer comes from heaven like a rushing mighty wind. It no longer appears in cloven tongues, as of fire." I wonder who imagines it does? "We now discern not between his suggestions and the motions of our rational nature." Many times we do not: but at other times, God may give such peace or joy, and such love to himself and all mankind, as we are sure are not "the motions of our own nature. To say, then, that the Holy Spirit began his work at such a time, and continued it so long in such a manner, is as vain as to account for the blowing of the wind." Hold! "Accounting for," is not the thing. To make a *parallel*, it must be, is as vain as to say, that the "wind began to blow at *such a time*," and "continued so long in such a manner." And where is the vanity of this? Why may I not say, either that the "wind began to blow at such a time," and "blew so long in such a manner:" or that God "began at such a time" to comfort my soul? That he "continued" that consolation "so long?" And in "such a manner," by giving me either peace and joy in believing, or a lively hope of the glory of God?

13. "Not that we are without a memorable instance of this instantaneous impulse, in the sudden conversion of St. Paul." (page 23.) A poor instance this; for it does not appear, that his was a *sudden* conversion. It is true, 'A great light suddenly shone round about him;' but this light did not convert him. After he had seen this, 'he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.' And probably during the whole time, God was "gradually working" in his heart, till he 'arose, and being baptized, washed away his sins, and was filled with the Holy Ghost.'

14. But to return. "Their teachers claim a particular and immediate inspiration in their nauseous effusions," (page 22.) Certainly they *claim* either a particular and immediate inspiration (as above explained) or none at all. But this is no other *inspiration* (call it *influence*, if you please, though it is a far stronger term) than every one must have, before he can either understand, or preach, or *live* the gospel. "But there is not in Scripture the least promise or encouragement to expect any particular inspiration." Yes, surely, such an inspiration as this; you have allowed it over and over. And what *external evidence* of this, would you have? I will believe you are

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thus inspired, if you convert sinners to God, and if you yourself are 'holy in all manner of conversation.'

15. Is there "no need of this inspiration now, because the prejudices of mankind are in favour of the gospel, and the profession of it is under the protection and encouragement of the civil power?" "The prejudices of mankind are in favour of the gospel!" What, the prejudices of the bulk of mankind? To go no farther than England. Are the bulk of our nation prejudiced in favour of the genuine gospel? Of the holiness which it enjoins; of chastity and temperance; of denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily; of dying to the world, and devoting all our heart, and all our life to God? Are they prejudiced in favour of presenting our souls and bodies a constant, holy sacrifice to God? What less than this is gospel holiness? And are the prejudices of mankind in favour of this?

16. Likewise how far this real Christianity is "under the protection and encouragement of the civil power," I know not. But I know, 'all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution,' domestic persecution, if no other; for 'the foes of' such 'a man shall be they of his own household. 'There shall be,' and there are now, 'five in one house, three against two, and two against three:' and that not for being Methodists, for having a nick-name (although that may be the *pretence*, for want of a better: for who scruples to throw a man into the ditch, and then beat him, because his clothes are dirty?) but for *living godly;* for loving and serving God, according to the best light they have? And certainly these need the assistance of God's Spirit, to strengthen and comfort them, that they may suffer all things, rather than turn aside, in any point from the gospel-way.

17. "But the Scriptures are a complete and a sufficient rule. Therefore to what purpose could any further inspiration serve? All farther inspiration is unnecessary: the supposed need of it is highly injurious to the written word. And the pretension thereto, (which must be either to explain, or to supply it) is a wicked presumption, with which Satan hath filled their hearts, to lie of the Holy Ghost." (p. 27, 28.)

High sounding words! But, blessed be God, they are only *brutum fulmen;* they make much noise, but do not wound. "To what purpose could any further inspiration serve?" Answer yourself: "To enlighten the understanding, and to rectify the will." Else, be "the Scriptures" ever so "complete," they will not save your soul. How then can you imagine it is "unnecessary?" And that "the supposed need of it is injurious to the written word?" And when you say yourself, "the Spirit is to teach us all things, and to guide us into all truth:" judge you, whether this is to "explain," or to "supply the written word." "O he does this by the written word." True; but also 'by his holy inspiration.' So the compilers of our liturgy speak: who, therefore, according to you, are guilty of "wicked presumption, with which Satan filled their hearts, to lie of the Holy Ghost."

18. These also are the men upon whom you fall in the following warm words. "The power of enthusiasm over an heated imagination may be very great. But it must be under the ferment of that old,

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sour leaven, hypocrisy, to rise to that daring height." I think *not:* I think they were neither hypocrites nor enthusiasts, though they teach me to pray for, consequently to expect, (unless I am an hypocrite indeed,) 'God's holy inspiration,' both in order to 'think the things that be good,' and also, 'perfectly to love him, and worthily to magnify his holy name.'

19. You go on, "They boast that their heart is clean, and their spirit right within them." Sir, did you ever read morning prayer on the tenth day of the month? You then said, 'Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.' Did you *mean* what you said? If you did not, you were guilty of the grossest hypocrisy. If you did, *when* did you expect God would answer that prayer? When your body was in the grave! Too late! Unless we have clean hearts before we die, it had been good we had never been born!

20. "But they boast they are pure from sin, harmless, and undefiled" So, in a sound sense, is every true believer. "Nay, they boast, that their bodies are a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God." Sir, is not your's? Are not your soul and body such a sacrifice holy, acceptable to God? As the Lord God liveth, before whom we stand, if they are not, you are not a Christian. If you are not an holy, living sacrifice, you are still 'dead *in trespasses* and sins.' You are an 'alien from the commonwealth of Israel, *without Christian* hope, without God in the world!'

21. You add, "Thus have I exposed their boasted claim to a particular and immediate inspiration." (p. 30.) No, Sir, you have only exposed yourself. For all that we claim *you* allow. "I have shown what a miserable farce is carrying on, beneath the mask of a more refined holiness." No tittle of this have you shown yet. And before you attempt again to show any thing concerning us, let me entreat you, Sir, to acquaint yourself better with our real sentiments. Perhaps you may then find, that there is not so wide a difference as you imagined, between you, and,

Rev. Sir, your servant for Christ's sake,

JOHN WESLEY.

Laken-heath, Nov. 17, 1758.

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A LETTER

TO THE REVEREND DR. FREE.

Tullamore, May 2, 1758.

REV. SIR,

1. A LITTLE tract, appearing under your name, was yesterday put into my hands. You therein call upon me, to speak, "If I have any exceptions to make to what is advanced," and promise to "reply as fairly and candidly as I can expect, provided those exceptions be drawn up, as you have set the example, in a short compass, and in the manner wherein all wise and good people would choose to manage a religious dispute," p. 22.

2. "In a short compass," Sir, they will certainly be drawn up, for my own sake, as well as yours. For I know the value of time, and would gladly employ it all in what more immediately relates to eternity. But I do not promise to draw them up in that manner, whereof you have *set the example*. I cannot: I dare not: for I fear God, and do really believe there is a judgment to come. Therefore I dare not 'return evil for evil;' neither 'railing for railing.' Nor can I allow, that your manner of treating this subject, is that "wherein all *wise* and *good* people would choose to manage a religious dispute." Far, very far from it. I shall rejoice, if a little more fairness and candour should appear in your future writings. But I cannot expect it; for the *nigræ succus loliginis*, wormwood and gall, seem to have infected your very vitals.

3. The quotation from Bishop Gibson, which takes up five out of nineteen pages, I have particularly answered already, in "A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London:" and in a manner wherewith I have good reason to believe his lordship was entirely satisfied. With his lordship, therefore, I have no present concern: my business is now with you only. And seeing you are "now ready (as you express it) to *run a tilt*," I must make what defence I can. Only you must excuse me from meeting you on the same ground, or fighting you with the same weapons. My weapons are only truth and love. May the God of truth and love strengthen my weakness!

4. I waive what relates to Mr. V—'s personal character, which is too well known to need my defence of it: as likewise the concurrence (real or imaginary I cannot tell) which gave birth to your performance. All that I concern myself with is your five vehement assertions, with regard to the people called Methodists. These I shall consider in their order, and prove to be totally false and groundless.

5. The first is this, "Their whole ministry is an open and avowed opposition to one of the fundamental articles of our religion," (p. 4.)

How so? Why, "The 20th article declares, We may not so expound one scripture, that it be repugnant to another. And yet it is notorious, that the Methodists do ever explain the word Faith as it stands in some of St. Paul's writings, so as to make his doctrine a direct and flat contradiction to that of St. James," p. 5.

This stale objection has been answered a hundred times, so that I really thought we should have heard no more of it. But since it is required, I repeat the answer once more. By faith we mean, *the evidence of things not seen:* by justifying faith, a divine evidence or conviction, that Christ *loved* me *and gave himself for me.* St. Paul affirms that a man is justified by *this faith;* which James never denies; but only asserts, that a man cannot be justified by a *dead faith.* And this St. Paul never affirms.

"But St. James declares, 'faith without works is dead.' Therefore it is clearly St. James's meaning, that a faith which is without virtue and morality, cannot produce salvation. Yet the Methodists so explain St. Paul, as to affirm that faith without virtue or morality will produce salvation." Where? In which of their writings? This needs some proof: I absolutely deny the fact. So that *all which* follows is mere flourish, and falls to the ground at once: and *all* that you aver of their "open and scandalous opposition to the 20th article," (p. 6,) is no better than open and scandalous *slander.*

6. Your second assertion is this. "The Methodist, for *the* perdition of the souls of his followers, openly gives our Saviour the *lie,* loads the Scripture with falsehood and contradiction: (and pray what could a Mahometan, or infidel, or the Devil himself, do more,) yea, openly blasphemes the name of Christ, by saying, that the works of men are of no consideration at all: that God makes no distinction between virtue and vice, that he does not hate vice or love virtue. What blasphemy then and impiety are those wretches guilty of, who in their diabolical frensy, dare to contradict our Saviour's authority, and that in such an essential article of religion!" (p. 7, 8, 9.) Here also the Methodists plead not guilty, and require you to produce your evidence: to show in which of their writings they affirm, that God "will not reward every man according to his works; that he makes no distinction between virtue and vice; that he does not hate vice or love virtue." These are positions which they never remember to have advanced. If you can, refresh their memory.

7. You assert, thirdly, the Methodists, by these positions, "destroy the essential attributes of God, and ruin his character as Judge of the world." Very true—if they held these positions. But here lies the mistake. They hold no such positions. They never did. They detest and abhor them. In arguing therefore on this supposition, you are again beating the air.

8. You assert, fourthly, The Methodists "teach and propagate downright atheism, (a capital crime; and atheists in some countries have been put to death,) hereby they make room for all manner of vice and villany, by which means the bands of society are dissolved. And therefore this attempt must be considered as a sort of treason by magistrates," p. 10, 11.

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Again we deny the whole charge and call for proof: and, blessed be God, so do the magistrates in Great Britain. Behold, vehement asseverations will not pass upon them for legal evidence. Nor indeed on any reasonable men. They can distinguish between *arguing* and *calling names*. The former becomes a gentleman and a Christian: but what is he, who can be guilty of the latter?

9. You assert, lastly, That any who choose a Methodist clergyman for their lecturer, "put into that office which should be held by a minister of the Church of England, an enemy, who undermines not only the legal establishment of that church, but also the foundation of all religion," p. 13.

Once more we must call upon you for the proof: the proof of these two particulars, first, That I, John Wesley, am "an enemy to the Church, and that I undermine not only the legal establishment of the Church of England, but also the very foundation of all religion." Secondly, that "Mr. V. is an enemy to the church, and is undermining all religion, as well as the establishment," p. 13.

10. Another word and I am done. Are there "certain qualifications required of all lecturers, before they are by law permitted to speak to the people?" And is a *subscription* to the Thirty-nine Articles of religion one of these qualifications? And is a person who does not "conform to such subscription" disqualified to be a *lecturer?* Or, who 'has ever *held* or *published* any thing contrary to what the Church of England maintains?" (p. 14.) Then certainly you, Dr. John Free, are not "permitted by law to speak to the people:" neither are you "qualified to be a *lecturer*" in any church in London or England, as by law *established*. For you flatly deny and openly oppose more than one or two of those Articles. You do not in any wise conform to the subscription you made, before you were ordained either priest or deacon. You both *hold* and *publish* (if you are the author and publisher of the tract before me) what is grossly, palpably "contrary to what the Church of England maintains," in her Homilies as well as Articles: those Homilies to which you have also subscribed, in subscribing the 36th Article. You have subscribed them, Sir: but did you ever read them? Did you ever read so much as the three first Homilies? I beg of you, Sir, to read these at least, before you write again about the doctrine of the Church of England. And would it not be prudent to read a few of the writings of the Methodists, before you undertake a farther confutation of them? At present you know not the men or their communication. You are as wholly unacquainted both with them and their doctrines, as if you had lived all your days in the islands of Japan or the deserts of Arabia. You have given a furious assault to you know not whom: and you have done it, you know not why. You have not hurt *me* thereby; but you have hurt yourself: perhaps in your character; certainly in your conscience. For this is not doing to others as you would they should do unto you. When you grow cool, I trust you will see this clearly: and will no more accuse, in a manner so remote from fairness and candour.

Rev. Sir, your servant for Christ's sake,

JOHN WESLEY.

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LETTER TO THE REV. MR. DOWNES,

RECTOR OF ST. MICHAEL, WOOD-STREET:

Occasioned by his late Tract, entitled,

METHODISM EXAMINED AND EXPOSED.

REV. SIR,

1. IN the tract which you have just published concerning the people called Methodists, you very properly say, "Our first care should be candidly and fairly to examine their doctrines. For, as to censure them unexamined would be unjust, so to do the same without a fair and impartial examination would be ungenerous." And again, "We should, in the first place, carefully and *candidly* examine their doctrines," (page 68.) This is undoubtedly true. *But have you* done it? Have you ever examined their doctrines yet? Have you examined them *fairly?* Fairly and *candidly?* Candidly and *carefully?* Have you read over so much as the *Sermons* they have published? Or the *Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion?* I hope you have not: for I would fain make some little excuse for your uttering so many senseless, shameless falsehoods. I hope you know nothing about the Methodists, no more than I do about the Cham of Tartary: that you are ignorant of the whole affair, and are so *bold*, only because you are *blind.* Bold enough! Throughout your whole tract, you speak *satis pro imperio:* as authoritatively as if you were not an archbishop only, but apostolic vicar also: as if you had the full papal power in your hands, and fire and fagot at your beck! And blind enough: so that you blunder on, through thick and thin, bespattering all that come in your way: according to the old, laudable maxim, 'Throw dirt enough, and some will stick.'

2. I hope, I say, that this is the case, and that you do not knowingly assert so many palpable falsehoods. You say, "If I am mistaken, I shall always be ready and desirous to retract my error," (p. 56.) A little candour and care might have prevented those mistakes: this is the first thing one would have desired. The next is, that they may be removed; that you may see wherein you have been mistaken, and be more wary for the time to come.

3. You undertake to give an account, first, Of the rise and principles, then of the practices of the Methodists.

On the former head you say, "Our church has long been infested with these grievous wolves, who though no more than two when they

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entered in, and they so young, they might rather be called wolflings," (that is lively and pretty!) "have yet spread their ravenous kind through every part of this kingdom. Where what havoc they have made, how many of the sheep they have torn—I need not say. About twenty-five years ago, these two bold, though beardless divines," (pity, Sir, that you had not taught me twenty-five years ago *sapientem pascere barbam*, and thereby to avoid some part of your displeasure) "being lifted with spiritual pride, were presumptuous enough to become founders of the sect called Methodists," (p. 4, 5, 6.) "A couple of young, raw, aspiring twigs of the ministry, dreamed of a special and supernatural call to this, (p. 25.) No, Sir, it was *you* dreamed of this, not *we*. We dreamed of nothing twenty-five years ago, but instructing our pupils in religion and learning, and a few prisoners, in the common principles of Christianity. You go on. "They were ambitious of being accounted missionaries, immediately delegated by heaven to correct the errors of bishops and archbishops, and reform their abuses, to instruct the clergy in the true nature of Christianity, and to caution the laity, not to venture their souls in any such unhallowed hands, as refused to be initiated in all the mysteries of Methodism," (p. 20, 21.) Well *asserted* indeed! But where is the *proof* of any one of these propositions? I must insist upon this; clear, cogent proof. Else they must be set down for so many glaring falsehoods.

4. "The church of Rome (to which on so many accounts they were much obliged, and as gratefully returned the obligation) taught them to set up for *infallible* interpreters of Scripture," (p. 54.) Pray on what accounts are we "obliged to the Church of Rome?" And how have we "returned the obligation?" I beg you would please, 1. To explain this: and, 2. To prove, that we ever yet (whoever taught us) "set up for *infallible* interpreters of Scripture." So far from it, that we have over and over declared, in print as well as in public preaching, "We are no more to expect *any living man* to be *infallible* than to be omniscient."

5. "As to other extraordinary gifts, influences, and operations of the Holy Ghost, no man who has but once dipped into their Journals and other ostentatious trash of the same kind, can doubt their looking upon themselves, as not coming one whit behind the greatest of the apostles," page 21.

I acquit you, Sir, of ever having "once dipped into that ostentatious trash." I do not accuse you of having read so much as the titles of my Journals. I say *my* journals; for (as little as you seem to know it) my brother has published none. I therefore look upon this as simple ignorance. You talk thus, because you know no better. You do not know, that in these very Journals I utterly disclaim "the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit," and all other "influences and operations of the Holy Ghost," than those that are common to all real Christians.

And yet I will not say, this ignorance is blameless. For ought you not to have known better? Ought you not to have taken the

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pains of procuring better information, when it might so easily have been had? Ought you to have publicly advanced such heavy charges as these, without knowing whether they were true or not?

6. You proceed to give as punctual an account of us, *tanquam intus et in cute nosses*. "They outstripped, if possible, even Montanus for external sanctity and severity of discipline. They condemned all regard for temporal concerns. They encouraged their devotees to take no thought for any one thing upon earth: the consequence of which was, a total neglect of their affairs, and impoverishment of their families," (p. 22, 23.) Blunder all over! We had no room for any discipline, severe or not, five and twenty years ago: unless college discipline, my brother then residing at Christ-Church, and I at Lincoln-College. And as to our *sanctity* (were it more or less) how do you know it was only *external?* Were you intimately acquainted with us? I do not remember where I had the honour of conversing with you. Or could you (as the legend says of St. Pachomius) 'smell an heretic ten miles' off?' And how came you to dream again, that we "condemned all regard for temporal concerns, and encouraged men to take no thought for any one thing upon earth?" Vain dream! We, on the contrary, severely condemn all who neglect their *temporal* concerns, and who do not take care of every thing on earth wherewith God hath intrusted *them*. The consequence of this is, that the Methodists, so called, do *not* "neglect their affairs and impoverish their families;" but by diligence in business 'provide things honest in the sight of all men.' Insomuch that multitudes of them, who in time past, had scarce food to eat, or raiment to put on, have now 'all things needful for life and godliness,' and that for their families as well as themselves.

7. Hitherto you have been giving an account of two *wolflings* only; but now they are grown into perfect *wolves*. Let us see what a picture you draw of them in this state, both as to their principles and practice.

You begin with a home stroke. "In the Montanist you may behold the bold lineaments and bloated countenance of the Methodist," (p. 17.) I wish you do not squint at the *honest countenance* of Mr. Venn, who is, indeed, as far from fear, as he is from guile. But if it is somewhat *bloated*, that is not his fault: sickness may have the same effect on yours or mine.

But to come closer to the point. "They have darkened religion with many ridiculous fancies, tending to confound the head, and to corrupt the heart," (p. 13.) "A thorough knowledge of them would work in every rightly-disposed mind an abhorrence of those doctrines, which directly tend to distract the head, and to debauch the heart, by turning faith into frenzy, and the grace of God into wantonness," (page 101, 102.) "These doctrines are unreasonable and ridiculous, clashing with our natural ideas of the divine perfections, with the end of religion, with the honour of God, and man's both present and future happiness. Therefore we pronounce them filthy dream-

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a fair and tempting model of religion, so flattering the follies of degenerate man, that it could not fail to gain the hearts of multitudes, especially of the loose and vicious, the lazy and indolent," (p. 52.) "They want to get to heaven the shortest way, and with the least trouble: now a reliance on Christ and disclaiming of good works, are terms as easy as the merest libertine can ask. They persuade their people that they may be saved by the righteousness of Christ, without any holiness of their own: nay, that good works are not only unnecessary, but also dangerous, (p. 31:) that we may be saved by faith without any other requisite," such as "gospel obedience, and holy life," (p. 38.) Lastly, "The Valentinians pretended, that if good works were necessary to salvation, it was not only to animal men, that is, to all who were not of their clan; and that although sin might damn others, it could not hurt them. In consequence of which they lived in all lust and impurity, and wallowed in the most unheard-of bestialities. The Methodists distinguish much after the same manner," p. 14.

Sir, you are not awake yet. You are dreaming still, and fighting with shadows of your own raising. The "model of religion with which the Methodists *set out*," is perfectly well known, *if not to you*, yet to many thousands in England who are no *Methodists*. I laid it before the university of Oxford, at St. Mary's, *on January* 1, 1733. You may read it when you are at leisure, for it is in *print*, entitled *The Circumcision of the Heart*. And whoever reads only that one discourse, with any tolerable share of attention, will easily judge, whether "*that model of religion* flatters the follies of degenerate man," or is likely to "gain the hearts of multitudes, especially of the loose and vicious, the lazy and indolent!" Will a man choose this, as "the *shortest way* to heaven, and with the *least trouble*?" Are these "as *easy terms*, as any libertine or infidel can desire?" The truth is, we have been these thirty years continually reproached for just the contrary to what you dream of: with making the way to heaven *too strait*: with being ourselves *righteous over much*, and teaching others, they could not be saved without *so many works* as it was impossible for them to perform. And to this day, instead of teaching men, that they may be saved by a faith which is without good works, without "gospel-obedience and holiness of life," we teach exactly the reverse, continually insisting on all *outward* as well as all *inward holiness*. For the notorious truth of this we appeal to the whole tenor of our sermons, printed and unprinted: in particular to those upon our Lord's sermon on the Mount, wherein every branch of gospel-obedience is both asserted and proved to be indispensably necessary to eternal salvation.

Therefore, as to the rest of the "Antinomian trash" which you have so carefully gathered up, as, "That the regenerate are as pure as Christ himself; that it would be criminal for them to pray for pardon; that the greatest crimes are no crimes in the saints," &c. &c. (p. 17,) I have no concern therewith at all, no more than with any that teach it. Indeed I have confuted it over and over, in tracts published many years ago.

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9. A second charge which you advance, is, That "we suppose every man's final doom to depend on God's sovereign will and pleasure:" (I presume you mean, on his absolute, unconditional decree:) that we "consider man as a mere machine:" that we suppose believers "cannot fall from grace," (p. 31.) Nay, I suppose none of these things. Let those who do, answer for themselves. I suppose just the contrary, in *Predestination calmly considered*, a tract published ten years ago.

10. A third charge is, "They represent faith as a supernatural principle, altogether precluding the judgment and understanding, and discerned by some internal signs; not as a firm persuasion, founded on the evidence of reason, and discernible only by a conformity of life and manners to such a persuasion," p. 11.

We do not represent faith "as altogether precluding, or at all precluding the judgment and understanding:" rather as enlightening and strengthening the understanding, as clearing and improving the judgment. But we do represent it as the *gift of God*, yea, and a "supernatural gift," yet it does not preclude "the evidence of reason:" though neither is this its whole foundation. "A conformity of life and manners" to that persuasion, Christ *loved* me, and *gave himself* for me, is doubtless *one* mark by which it is discerned; but not the *only* one. It is likewise discerned by *internal signs*, both by the witness of the Spirit and the fruit of the Spirit, namely, 'love peace, joy, meekness, gentleness:' by all 'the mind which was in Christ Jesus.'

11. You assert, fourthly; "They speak of grace, that it is as perceptible to the heart as sensible objects are to the senses: whereas the Scriptures speak of grace, that it is conveyed imperceptibly: and that the only way to be satisfied whether we have it or not, is to appeal, not to our inward feelings, but our outward actions," p. 32.

We do speak of grace, (meaning thereby, that power of God which worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure,) that it is "as perceptible to the heart" (while it comforts, refreshes, purifies, and sheds the love of God abroad therein) "as sensible objects are to the senses." And yet we do not doubt, but it may frequently be "conveyed to us imperceptibly." But we know no scripture which speaks of it as *always* conveyed, and *always working* in an imperceptible manner. We likewise allow, that outward actions are *one way* of satisfying us, that we have grace in our hearts. But we cannot possibly allow, that "the only way to be satisfied of this, is to appeal to our *outward actions*, and not to our *inward feelings*." On the contrary, we believe that love, joy, peace, are *inwardly felt*, or they have no being: and that men are satisfied they have grace, first, by feeling these, and afterward by their outward actions.

12. You assert, fifthly, "They talk of regeneration in every Christian, as if it were as sudden and miraculous a conversion, as that of St. Paul and the first converts to Christianity, and as if the signs of it were frightful tremors of body, and convulsive agonies of mind: not as a work graciously begun and gradually carried on by

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the blessed Spirit, in conjunction with our rational powers and faculties; the signs of which are, sincere and universal obedience," p. 33.

This is partly true, partly false. We do believe regeneration, or in plain English, the new birth, to be as miraculous or supernatural a work now as it was seventeen hundred years ago. We likewise believe, that the spiritual life, which commences when we are born again, must in the nature of the thing, have a *first moment* as well as the natural. But we say again and again, we are concerned for the *substance* of the work, not the *circumstance*. Let it be wrought at all, and we will not contend, whether it be wrought gradually or instantaneously. "But what are the signs that it is wrought?" We never said or thought, that they were either "frightful tremors of body," or "convulsive agonies of mind:" I presume you mean, agonies of mind attended with bodily convulsions. Although we know many persons who *before* this change was wrought, felt much fear and sorrow of mind: which in some of these had such an effect on the body as to make all their bones to shake. Neither did we ever deny, that it is a "work graciously begun by the Holy Spirit, enlightening our understanding," (which I suppose you call "our rational powers and faculties,") "as well as influencing our affections." And it is certain, he "gradually carries on this work," by continuing to influence all the powers of the soul: and that the *outward sign* of this inward work, is "sincere and universal obedience."

13. A sixth charge is, "They treat Christianity as a wild enthusiastic scheme, which will bear no examination," (p. 30.) Where or when? In what sermon? In what tract, practical or polemical? I wholly deny the charge. I have myself closely and carefully *examined* every part of it, every verse of the New Testament, in the original, as well as in our own and other translations.

14. Nearly allied to this is the thread-bare charge of *enthusiasm*, with which you frequently and largely compliment us. But as this also is *asserted* only, and not *proved*, it falls to the ground of itself. Meantime your asserting it, is a plain proof, that you know nothing of the men you talk of. Because you know them not, you so boldly say, "One advantage we have over them, and that is reason." Nay, that is the very question. I appeal to all mankind, whether you have it or not? However, you are sure, we have it not, and are never likely to have. For "reason, you say, cannot do much with an enthusiast, whose first principle is, to have nothing to do with reason, but resolve all his religious opinions and notions into immediate inspiration." Then, by your own account, I am no enthusiast; for I resolve none of my notions into immediate inspiration. I have something to do with reason; perhaps as much as many of those who 'make no account of my labours.' And I am ready to give up every opinion, which I cannot by calm, clear reason, defend. Whenever, therefore, you "will try what you can do by argument," which you have not done yet, I wait your leisure, and will follow you step by step, which way soever you lead.

15. "But is not this plain proof of the enthusiasm of the Method-

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ists, that they despise human learning, and make a loud and terrible outcry against it?" Pray, Sir, when and where was this done? Be so good as to point out the time and place; for I am quite a stranger to it. I believe indeed, and so do you, that many men make an ill use of their learning. But so they do of their Bibles: therefore, this is no reason, for despising or crying out against it. I would use it just as far as it will go; how far I apprehend it may be of use, how far I judge it to be expedient at least, if not necessary for a clergyman, you might have seen, in the *Earnest Address to the Clergy*. But in the mean time I bless God, that there is a more excellent gift than either the knowledge of languages or philosophy. For tongues, and knowledge, and learning, will *vanish away;* but *love never faileth.*

16. I think this is all you have said which is any way material concerning the *doctrines* of the Methodists. The charges you bring concerning their *spirit* or *practice*, may be despatched in fewer words.

And first, you charge them with pride and uncharitableness. "They talk as proudly as the Donatists, of their being the only true preachers of the gospel, and esteem themselves, in contra-distinction to others, as the regenerate, the children of God, and as having arrived at sinless perfection," p. 15.

All of a piece. We neither talk nor think so. We doubt not but there are many true preachers of the gospel, both in England and elsewhere, who have no connexion with, no knowledge of us. Neither can we doubt, but that there are many thousands of the children of God, who never heard our voices, or saw our faces. And this may suffice for an answer to all the assertions of the same kind, which are scattered up and down your work. Of sinless perfection, here brought in by head and shoulders, I have nothing to say at present.

17. You charge them, secondly, "with boldness and blasphemy, who triumphing in their train of credulous and crazy followers, the *spurious* (should it not be rather *genuine*) offspring of their *insidious craft*, ascribe the glorious event to divine grace, and in almost every page of their paltry harangues, invoke the blessed Spirit to go along with them, in their soul-awakening work, that is, to continue to assist them in seducing the simple and unwary," p. 41.

What we ascribe to divine grace is this, the convincing sinners of the errors of their ways, and the 'turning them from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God.' Do not you yourself "ascribe this to grace?" And do not you too "invoke the blessed Spirit, to go along with you in every part of your work?" If you do not, you lose all your labour.—Whether we "seduce men into sin," or by his grace save them from it, is another question.

18. You charge us, thirdly, with "requiring a blind and implicit trust from our disciples," (p. 10,) who accordingly "trust as implicitly in their Preachers, as the Papists in their Pope, councils, or church," (p. 51.). Far from it: neither do we require it; nor do they that hear us place any such trust in any creature. They *search*

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the Scriptures, and hereby try every doctrine whether it be of God. And what is agreeable to Scripture they embrace; what is contrary to it they reject.

19. You charge us, fourthly, with injuring the clergy in various ways. 1st. "They are very industrious to dissolve or break off that spiritual intercourse, which the relation wherein we stand, requires should be preserved betwixt us and our people." But can that spiritual intercourse be either preserved or broke off, which never existed? What spiritual intercourse exists between *you*, the *rector* of St. Michael, and the people of your parish? I suppose you preach to them once a week, and now and then read prayers. Perhaps you visit one in ten of the sick. And is this all the *spiritual intercourse* which you have with those, 'over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you an overseer?' In how poor a sense then do you *watch over the souls*, for whom you are to *give an account* to God! Sir, I wish to God there were a truly spiritual intercourse between you and all your people! I wish you 'knew all your flock by name, not excepting the men-servants and women-servants!' Then you might 'cherish' each 'as a nurse her own children, and train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Then might you 'warn every one and exhort every one,' till you should 'present every one perfect in Christ Jesus.'

"But they say, our sermons contradict the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of our own Church; yea, that we contradict ourselves, saying one thing in the desk, and another in the pulpit." And is there not cause to say so? I myself have heard several sermons preached in churches, which flatly contradicted both the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy, particularly on the head of justification. I have likewise heard more than one or two persons, who "said one thing in the desk, and another in the pulpit." In the desk they prayed God to 'cleanse the thoughts of their hearts by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit.' In the pulpit, they said, "There was no such thing as inspiration, since the time of the apostles."

"But this is not all. You poison the people by the most peevish and spiteful invectives against the clergy, the most rude and rancorous revilings, and the most invidious calumnies," (p. 51.) No more than I poison them with *arsenic*. I make no peevish or spiteful invectives against any man. Rude and rancorous revilings, (such as your present tract abounds with,) are also far from me. I dare not 'return railing for railing,' because (whether you know it or not) I fear God. Invidious calumnies likewise I never dealt in: all such weapons I leave to *you*.

20. One charge remains, which you repeat over and over, and lay a peculiar stress upon: (as to what you talk about *perverting Scripture*, I pass it by, as mere, unmeaning, common-place declamation.) It is the poor, old, worn-out tale of "Getting money by preaching." This you only intimate at first. "Some of their followers had an *inward call*, to sell all that they had, and lay it *at their feet*," (p. 22.) Pray, Sir, favour us with the name of one, and we will excuse you

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as to all the rest. In the next page you grow bolder, and roundly affirm, "With all their heavenly-mindedness, they could not help casting a sheep's-eye at the unrighteous mammon. Nor did they pay their court to it with less cunning and success than Montanus. Under the specious appearance of gifts and offerings, they raised contributions from every quarter. Besides the weekly pensions squeezed out of the poorer and lower part of their community, they were favoured with very large oblations from persons of better figure and fortune: and especially from many *believing* wives, who had learned to practise pious frauds on their *unbelieving* husbands."

I am almost ashamed, (having done it twenty times before,) to answer this stale calumny again. But the bold, frontless manner wherein you advance it, obliges me so to do. Know then, Sir, that you have no authority either from scripture or reason, to judge of other men by *yourself*. If *your own* conscience convicts you of loving money, of "casting a sheep's-eye at the unrighteous mammon," humble yourself before God, if haply the thoughts and desires of your heart may be forgiven you. But, blessed be God, my conscience is clear. My heart does not condemn me in this matter. I know, and God knoweth, that I have no desire to *load* myself *with thick clay:* that I love money no more than I love the mire in the streets: that I seek it not. And I have it not: any more than suffices for food and raiment, for the plain conveniences of life. I pay no court to it at all, or to those that have it, either with cunning or without. For myself, for my own use, I raise no contributions either great or small. The weekly contributions of our community, (which are freely given, not *squeezed* out of any,) as well as the gifts and offerings of the Lord's table, never come into my hands. I have no concern with them, not so much as 'the beholding them with my eyes.' They are received every week by the stewards of the society, men of well known character in the world, and by them constantly distributed within the week, to those whom they know to be in real necessity. As to the "very large oblations wherewith I am favoured by persons of better figure and fortune," I know nothing of them: be so kind as to refresh my memory by mentioning a few of their names. I have the happiness of knowing some of great figure and fortune: some right honourable persons. But if I were to say, that all of them together had given me seven pounds in seven years, I should say more than I could make good. And yet I doubt not, but they would freely give me any thing I wanted; but, by the blessing of God, I want nothing that they can give. I want only more of the Spirit of love and power, and of an healthful mind. As to those "many *believing* wives who practise pious frauds on their *unbelieving* husbands," I know them not, no, not one of that kind: therefore I doubt the fact. If you know any such, be pleased to give us their names and places of abode. Otherwise you must bear the blame of being the *lover*, if not *the maker of a lie.*

Perhaps you will say, "Why, a great man said the same thing but a few years ago." What if he did? Let the frog swell as long as

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he can, he will not equal the ox. *He* might say many things, all circumstances considered, which will not come well from *you;* as you have neither his wit, nor sense, nor learning, nor age, nor dignity.

Tibi parvula res est:
Metiri se quemq; suo modulo ac pede verum est.

If *you* fall upon people that meddle not with you, without either fear or wit, you may possibly find they have a little more to say for themselves than you were aware of.—'I follow peace with all men:' but if a man set upon me, without either rhyme or reason, I think it my duty to defend myself, so far as truth and justice permit. Yet still I am, (if a poor enthusiast may not be so bold as to style himself your brother,)

Reverend Sir,

Your Servant for Christ's sake,

JOHN WESLEY

London, Nov. 17, 1759.

A LETTER

TO THE

REVERENDDR. HORNE,

OCCASIONED BY HIS LATE SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, ABOUT 1762.

REV. SIR,

WHEN you spoke of "*heresies* making their periodical revolutions," of "*Antinomianism* rampant among us," and immediately after, of "the *new lights* at the *Tabernacle* and *Foundry*," must not your hearers naturally think, that Mr. *Whitefield* and I were reviving those heresies? But do you know the persons of whom you speak? Have you ever conversed with them? Have you read their writings? If not, is it kind, is it just, to pass so severe a censure upon them? Had you only taken the trouble of reading one tract, the *Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, you would have seen, that a great part of what you affirm, is what I never denied. To put this beyond dispute, I beg leave to transcribe some passages from that treatise; which will show not only what I teach now, but what I have taught for many years. I will afterward simply and plainly declare, wherein I as yet differ from you. And the rather, that if I err therein, you may, by God's assistance, convince me of it.

I. 1. 'Justification sometimes means, our acquittal at the last day.* 2. That faith alone is the proximate condition of justification.'

* Farther Appeal, Part I.

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II. 1. 'I have here shown at large, what is the doctrine I teach with regard to justification, and have taught, ever since I was convinced of it myself, by carefully reading the New Testament and the Homilies. In many points, I apprehend it agrees with yours; in some it does not: these I come now to consider. May God enable me to do it, in love and meekness of wisdom!'

You say, p. 7, "Happy times, when *faith* and *a good life* were synonymous terms." I conceive they never were. Is not faith the root, a good life the tree springing therefrom?

"That good works are a necessary condition of our justification may be proved, 1. From express testimonies of Scripture. So Isaiah i. 16, 'cease from evil, learn to do well.' Then 'your sins that were as scarlet, shall be white as snow.' Here 'ceasing from evil, and learning to do well,' are the conditions of pardon." (p. 9.) I answer, without them there is no pardon; yet the immediate condition of it is faith. He that believeth, and he alone, is justified before God. "So Ezekiel xxxiii. 14. 'If the sinner turn from his evil ways,' and 'walk in the statutes of life,' then 'all his sins shall not be once mentioned to him.'" Most sure; that is, if he believe; else, whatever his outward walking be, he cannot be justified.

The next scripture you cite, Mat. xi. 28, (Sermon, p. 10,) proves no more than this, that none find 'rest to their souls,' unless they first *come to* Christ (namely by faith) and then obey him.

But "he says, 'ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.'" He does so: but how does it appear, that this relates to justification at all?

"St. Peter also declares, in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him, Acts x. 34." He is: but none can either fear God or work righteousness, till he believes according to the dispensation he is under. "And St. John, 'He that doth righteousness is righteous.'" I do not see, that this proves any thing. "And again, 'If we walk in the light as God is in the light, then have we communion with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin,' 1 John i. 7." This would prove something, if it could be proved, that 'cleansing us from all sin,' meant only justification.

"The Scriptures insist upon the necessity of repentance in particular for that purpose. But repentance comprehends compunction, humiliation, hatred of sin, confession of it, prayer for mercy, ceasing from evil, a firm purpose to do well, restitution of ill-got goods, forgiveness of all who have done us wrong, and works of beneficence," (p. 11, 12.) I believe it does comprehend all these, either as parts or as fruits of it: and it comprehends "the fear," but not "the love of God:" that flows from a higher principle. And he who loves God is not barely in the right way to justification: he is actually justified. The rest of the paragraph asserts just the same thing which was asserted in those words, 'previous to justifying

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faith must be repentance, and, if opportunity permit, 'fruits meet for repentance.'' But still I must observe, that 'neither the one nor the other is necessary, either in the *same sense*, or in the *same degree* with faith.' No Scripture testimony can be produced, which any way contradicts this.

2. "That works are a necessary condition of our justification, may be proved, secondly, from Scripture examples: particularly those recited in the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. These all, 'through faith, wrought righteousness; without 'working righteousness,' they had never 'obtained the promises,'" (p. 13.) I say the same thing: none are finally saved, but those whose faith 'worketh by love.'

"Even in the thief upon the cross, faith was attended by repentance, piety, and charity." It was; repentance went before his faith; piety and charity accompanied it. 'Therefore he was not justified by faith alone.' Our church, adopting the words of St. Chrysostom, expressly affirms, in the passage above cited, he was justified by faith alone. And her authority ought to weigh more than even that of Bishop Bull, or of any single man whatever. Authority, be pleased to observe, I plead against authority; reason against reason. It is no objection, that the faith whereby he was justified, *immediately produced* good works. 3. How we are justified by *faith alone* and yet by such a *faith* as is *not alone:* it may be proper to explain. And this also I choose to do, not in my own words, but in those of our church.

'Faith does not shut out repentance, hope, love, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying. So that although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether.'* Neither doth faith shut out good works, necessarily to be done *afterwards*, of duty towards God. That we are justified *only* by this faith in Christ, speak all the ancient authors: especially Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, Hilary, Basil, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine.'

4. You go on. "Thirdly, if we consider the nature of faith, it will appear impossible that a man should be justified by that alone. Faith is either an *assent* to the gospel truths, or a reliance on the gospel promises. I know of no other notion of faith," (p. 15.) I do: an ελεγχος *of things not seen:* which is far more than a bare *assent*, and yet *toto genere* different from a *reliance*. Therefore, if you prove, that neither an *assent* nor a *reliance* justifies, nor both of them together, still you do not prove, that we are not justified by faith, even by faith alone. But how do you prove, that we cannot be justified by faith as a reliance on the promises? Thus, "Such a reliance must be founded on a consciousness of having performed the conditions. And a reliance so founded is the result of works wrought *through faith.*"

* Homily on the Salvation of Man.

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No: of works wrought *without faith:* else the argument implies a contradiction. For it runs thus, (on the supposition that *faith* and *reliance* were synonymous terms,) such a reliance is the result of works wrought through such a reliance.

5. Your fourth argument against justification by faith alone, is drawn from the *nature* of justification. This, you observe, "implies a prisoner at the bar, and a law by which he is to be tried; and this is not the law of Moses, but that of Christ, requiring repentance, and faith, with their proper fruits," (p. 16,) which now, through the blood of Christ, are accepted and 'counted for righteousness.' St. Paul affirms this, concerning faith, in the fourth chapter of his epistle to the Romans. But where does he say, that either repentance or its fruits are counted for righteousness? Nevertheless, I allow, that the law of Christ requires such repentance and faith before justification, as, if there be opportunity, will bring forth the 'fruits of righteousness.' But if there be not, he that repents and believes is justified notwithstanding. Consequently, these alone are necessary, *indispensably necessary* conditions of our justification.

6. Your last argument against justification by faith alone, "is drawn from the method of God's proceeding at the last day. He will then judge every man 'according to his works.' If, therefore, works wrought through faith are the ground of the sentence passed upon us in that day, then are they a necessary condition of our justification:" (p. 19.) in other words, "if they are a condition of our *final*, they are a condition of our *present* justification." I cannot allow the consequence. All holiness must precede our entering into glory. But no holiness can exist, till 'being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

7. You next attempt to reconcile the writings of St. Paul with justification by works. In order to this you say, "in the three first chapters of his epistle to the Romans, he proves that both Jews and Gentiles must have recourse to the gospel of Christ. To this end he convicts the whole world of sin. And having 'stopped every mouth,' he makes his inference, 'Therefore by the deeds of the law, there shall no flesh be justified. We conclude,' then, says he, 'a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.' But here arise two questions, first, What are the works excluded from justifying? Secondly, What is the faith which justifies?" p. 20, 21, 22.

"The works excluded are Heathen and Jewish works, set up as meritorious. This is evident from hence, that Heathens and carnal Jews are the persons against whom he is arguing." Not so: he is arguing against all mankind: he is 'convicting *the whole* world of sin.' His concern is, to *stop every mouth*, by proving, that *no flesh*, none born of a woman, no child of man can *be justified by his own works*. Consequently he speaks of *all* the works of *all* mankind, antecedent to justification, whether Jewish or any other, whether supposed *meritorious* or not, of which the text says not one word. Therefore *all works* antecedent to justification are excluded, and faith

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is set in *flat opposition* to them. 'Unto him that worketh not, but believeth, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.'

"But what is the faith to which he attributes justification? That which worketh by love; which is the same with the new creature, and implies in it the keeping the commandments of God."

It is undoubtedly true, that nothing avails for our final salvation without καινη κτισις, *a new creation*, and consequent thereon, a sincere, uniform keeping of the commandments of God. This St. Paul constantly declares. But where does he say, This is the condition of our justification? In the epistles to the Romans and Galatians particularly, he vehemently asserts the contrary; earnestly maintaining, that nothing is *absolutely necessary* to this, but *believing in him that justifieth the ungodly:* not the godly: not him that is already a *new creature*, that previously *keeps* all the commandments of God. He does this *afterward:* when he is justified by faith, then his faith *worketh by love.* 'Therefore there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus,' justified by faith in him, provided they 'walk in him whom they have received, not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' But should they turn back, and walk again after the flesh, they would again be under condemnation. But this no way proves, that *walking after the Spirit* was the condition of their justification. (p. 23.) Neither will any thing like this follow, from the apostle's saying to the Corinthians, 'Though I had all faith, so as to remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.' This only proves, that *miracle-working* faith may be, where *saving* faith is not.

8. To the argument. St. Paul says, 'Abraham was justified by faith,' you answer, "St. James says, 'Abraham was justified by works,'" (p. 24.) True: but he neither speaks of the same *justification*, nor the same faith, nor the same works. Not of the same justification; for St. Paul speaks of that justification which was five and twenty years before Isaac was born: (Gen. xii.) St. James of that wherewith he was justified when he *offered up Isaac* on the altar. It is *living* faith, whereby St. Paul affirms we are justified: it is *dead* faith, whereby St. James affirms, we are not justified. St. Paul speaks of *works* antecedent to justification: St. James of *works* consequent upon it. This is the plain, easy, natural way of reconciling the two apostles.

The fact was manifestly this: 1. When Abraham dwelt in Haran, being then seventy-five years old, God called him thence: he 'believed God, and he counted it to him for righteousness.' That is, he was *justified by faith*, as St. Paul strenuously asserts. 2. Many years after Isaac was born, (some of the ancients thought, three and thirty,) Abraham 'showing his faith by his works,' offered him up upon the altar. 3. Here the faith by which, in St. Paul's sense, he was justified long before, 'wrought together with his works," and he was justified in St. James's sense, that is, (as the apostle explains his own meaning,) 'by works his faith was made perfect.' God confirmed, increased, and perfected the principle from which those works sprang.

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9. Drawing to a conclusion you say, "What pity so many volumes should have been written upon the question, whether a man be justified by faith or works, seeing they are two essential parts of the same thing!" (p. 25.) If by works you understand inward and outward holiness, both faith and works are essential parts of Christianity: and yet they are essentially different, and by God himself contra-distinguished from each other. And that in the very question before us, *him that* worketh not, but believeth. Therefore, whether a man be justified by faith or works, is a point of the last importance: otherwise our reformers could not have answered to God, their spending so much time upon it. Indeed they were both too wise and too good men, to have "written so many volumes" on a trifling or needless question.

10. If in speaking on this important point, (such at least it appears to *me*,) I have said any thing offensive, any that implies the least degree of anger or disrespect, it was entirely foreign to my intention: nor indeed have I any provocation. I have no room to be angry at your maintaining what you believe to be the truth of the gospel: even though I might wish you had omitted a few expressions,

Quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

In the general, from all I have heard concerning you, I cannot but very highly esteem you in love. And that God may give you both "a right judgment in all things, and evermore to rejoice in his holy comfort," is the prayer of,

Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

SOME REMARKS

ON A DEFENCE OF THE PREFACE TO THE EDINBURGH EDITION OF ASPASIO VINDICATED.

Edinburgh, May, 1766.

I HAVE neither time, nor inclination, to write a formal answer to the Reverend Dr. Erskine's tract. My hope of convincing him is lost: he has drunk in all the spirit of the book he has published.

But I owe it to God and his children, to say something for myself, when I am attacked in so violent a manner, if haply some may take knowledge, that I also endeavour to 'live honestly, and to serve God.'

1. Dr. Erskine says, "An edition of these letters has been published in London, from the author's own manuscripts, which puts the authenticity of them beyond doubt." I answer, This is a mistake: impartial men doubt of their authenticity as much as ever. (I mean,

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not with regard to the letters in general, but to many particular passages.) And that for two reasons. First, because those passages breathe an acrimony and bitterness, which Mr. Hervey in his life-time never showed to any one, and least of all to one he was deeply obliged to. Surely *this* is not what Dr. E. terms his "Scriptural and *animated manner*." I hope it was not for *this cause*, that he pronounces this "equal, if not superior to any one of his controversial pieces published in his life-time." Indeed, I know of no controversial piece at all which he published in his life-time. His *Dialogues* he no more intended for such, than his *Meditations among the Tombs*. A second reason for doubting of their authenticity is, that he told his brother, with his dying voice, (I have it under his brother's own hand,) "I desire my letters may not be published: because great part of them is written in a short-hand, which none but myself can read."

11. But the present question lies, not between me and Mr. Hervey, but between Dr. E. and me. He vehemently attacks me, for saying, 'Orthodoxy, or right opinion, is at best, but a very slender part of religion, if any part of it at all.' He labours to deduce the most frightful consequences from it, and cries, "If once men believe, that right opinion is a slender part of religion, if any part of religion, or no part at all, there is scarce any thing so foolish, or so wicked, which Satan may not prompt to." (p. 6.) And what if, after all, Dr. E. himself believes the very same thing? I am much mistaken if he does not. Let us now fairly make the trial.

I assert, 1. That, in some cases '*right opinion* is no part of *religion*:' in other words, there may be right opinion, where there is no religion. I instance, in the Devil. Has he not right opinions? Dr. E. must, perforce, say, Yes. Has he religion? Dr. E. must say, No. Therefore, here right opinion is *no part* of religion. Thus far then Dr. E. himself believes as I do.

I assert, 2. In some cases, 'It is a slender part of religion." Observe, I speak of *right opinion*, as contra-distinguished both from *right tempers* and from *right words and actions*. Of this, I say, 'it is a slender part of religion.' And can Dr. E. say otherwise? Surely, no: nor any man living, unless he be brimful of the spirit of contradiction.

"Nay, but I affirm, *right tempers* cannot subsist without *right opinion*: the love of God, for instance, cannot subsist without a right opinion of him." I have never said any thing to the contrary: but this is another question. Though *right tempers* cannot subsist without *right opinion*, yet *right opinion* may subsist without *right tempers*. There may be a right opinion of God, without either love, or one right temper toward him. Satan is a proof of it. All therefore that I assert in this matter, Dr. E. must affirm too.

But does it hence follow, "that ignorance and error are as friendly to virtue as just sentiments?" Or, that any man may "disbelieve the bible with perfect innocence or safety?" Does Dr. E. himself think I believe this? I take upon me to say he does not think so. But why does he talk as if he did? "Because it is a clear consequence from your own assertion." I answer, 1. If it be, that conse-

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quence is as chargeable on Dr. E. as on me: since he must, *nolens volens*, assert the same thing, unless he will dispute through a stone wall. 2. This is no consequence at all. For admitting "*right tempers* cannot subsist without *right opinions*," you cannot infer, therefore *right opinions* cannot subsist without *right tempers*." Prove this by other mediums, if you can: but it will never be proved by this. However, until this is done, I hope to hear no more of this threadbare objection.

III. Dr. E. attacks me, Secondly, with equal vehemence, on the head of *Justification*. In various parts of his tract, he flatly charges me with holding *justification* by works. In support of this charge, he cites several sentences out of various treatises, abridgments of which I have occasionally published within these thirty years. As I have not those abridgments by me now, I suppose the citations are fairly made: and that they are exactly made, without any mistake, either designed or undesigned. I will suppose likewise, that some of these expressions, gleaned up from several tracts, are indefensible. And what is it which any unprejudiced person can infer from this? Will any candid man judge of my sentiments, either on this, or any other head, from a few sentences of other men, (though reprinted by me, after premising, that I did not approve of *all their expressions*,) or from my own avowed, explicit declarations repeated over and over? Yet this is the way by which Dr. E. proves, that I hold justification by works! He continually cites the words of those authors as *mine*, telling his reader, "Mr. Wesley says thus and thus." I do not say so; and no man can prove it, unless by citing *my own words*. I believe justification by faith alone, as much as I believe there is a God. I declared this in a sermon preached before the university of Oxford, eight and twenty years ago. I declared it to all the world eighteen years ago, in a sermon written expressly on the subject. I have never varied from it, no, not an hair's breadth, from 1738 to this day. Is it not strange, then, that at this time of day any one should face me down, (yea, and one who has that very volume in his hands, wherein that sermon on justification by faith is contained,) that I hold justification by works? And that, truly, because there are some expressions in some tracts written by other men, but reprinted by me during a course of years, which seem (at least) to countenance that doctrine! Let it suffice, (and it will suffice for every impartial man,) that I absolutely, once for all, renounce every expression which contradicts that fundamental truth, *We are justified by faith alone*.

"But you have published John Goodwin's Treatise on Justification." I have so: but I have not undertaken to defend every expression which occurs therein. Therefore none has a right to palm them upon the world as *mine*. And yet I desire no one will condemn that treatise before he has carefully read it over; and that seriously and carefully; for it can hardly be understood by a slight and cursory reading. And let whoever has read it declare, whether he has not proved every article he asserts, not only by plain express Scripture, but by the authority of the most eminent reformers. If Dr. E. thinks

otherwise, let him confute him; but let no man condemn what he cannot answer.

IV. Dr. E. attacks me, thirdly, on the head of *Christian Perfection*. It is not my design to enter into the merits of the cause. I would only just observe, 1. That the great argument which Dr. E. brings against it, is of no force; and 2. That he misunderstands and misrepresents my sentiments on the subject.

First, His great argument against it is of no force. It runs thus; "Paul's contention with Barnabas, is a strong argument against the attainableness of perfection in this life." (p. 41.) True, if we judge by the *bare sound* of the English version. But Dr. E. reads the original: και εγενετο παροξυσμος. It does not say, that *sharpness* was on *both sides*. It does not say, that all or any part of it was on St. Paul's side. Neither does the context prove, that he was in any fault at all. Indeed, 'he thought it not good to take him with them,' who had deserted them before. Now certainly there was no blame in this: neither was there any in his subsequent behaviour. For when Barnabas also departed from it, he went on still in the work. 'He went through Syria and Cilicia,' as he had proposed, 'confirming the churches.'

Secondly, He misunderstands and misrepresents my sentiments on the subject. He says, "Mr. Wesley seems to maintain, that sinless perfection is actually attained by every one born of God." p. 39.

I do not maintain this. I do not believe it. I believe Christian perfection or *perfect love*, (*sinless perfection*, is an expression which I do not use or contend for,) is not attained by any of the children of God, till they are what the Apostle John terms *fathers*. And this I expressly declare in that very sermon which Dr. E. so largely quotes.

IV. Why Dr. E. should quarrel with me concerning *natural free-will*, I cannot conceive, unless for quarrelling's sake. For it is certain on this head, if no other, we are precisely of one mind. I believe that Adam before his fall had such *freedom of will*, that he might choose either good or evil; but that since the fall, no child of man has a natural power to choose any thing that is truly good. Yet I know (and who does not?) that man has still freedom of will in things of an indifferent nature. Does not Dr. E. agree with me in this? O why should we *seek* occasion of contention?

V. That Michæl Servetus was "one of the wildest Antitrinitarians that ever appeared," is by no means clear. I doubt of it, on the authority of Calvin himself, who certainly was not prejudiced in his favour. For if Calvin does not misquote his words, he was no Antitrinitarian at all. Calvin himself gives a quotation from one of his letters, in which he expressly declares, "I do believe the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. But I dare *not* use the word *Trinity* or *Person*." I dare, and I think them very good words. But I should think it very hard to be burnt alive for not using them: especially with a slow fire, made of moist, green wood!

I believe Calvin was a great instrument of God; and that he was a wise and pious man. But I cannot but advise those who love his memory to let Servetus alone. Yet if any one resolves to understand

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the whole affair, he may see a circumstantial account of it, published some years since by Dr. Chandler, an eminent Presbyterian divine in London.

VI. Of myself I shall speak a little by and by. But I would now speak of the Methodists, so called, in general. Concerning these, Dr. E. cites the following words, from a little tract, published some years since.*

"We look upon ourselves, not as the authors or ringleaders of a particular sect or party, but as messengers of God to those who are Christians in name, but Heathens in heart and life, to call them back to that from which they are fallen, to real, genuine Christianity."—"We look upon the Methodists, not as any particular party, but as living witnesses, in and to every party, of that Christianity which we preach." p. 3.

On this Dr. E. remarks, "If the Methodist teachers confined themselves to preaching, there might be some room for this plea: but hardly, when they form bands and classes:" that is, when they advise those who are "recalled to real Christianity" to watch over each other, lest they fall again into the nominal religion, or no religion, that surrounds them. But how does this alter the case? What, if being jealous, *lest any of* their brethren should again *be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin*, they should *exhort one another*, not only weekly, but daily, to cleave to God *with full purpose of heart?* Why might we not plead still, that these are not to "be looked upon as any particular party, but as living witnesses, in and to every party, of that Christianity which we preach?"

What Dr. E. says of the mischievousness of this, and with great plausibility, (p. 27,) depends upon an entire mistake, namely, that the leader of a class acts just like a Romish priest; and that the inquiries made in a class are of the same kind with those made in *auricular* confession. It all therefore falls to the ground at once, when it is observed, that there is no resemblance at all, either between the *leader* and the *priest*, or between the inquiries made by one and by the other.

It is true, that the leader "sees each person once a week, to inquire how their souls prosper." And that when they meet, "the leader or teacher asks each a few questions relating to the present situation of their minds." So then, that *questions* are actually asked, yea; and *inquiries* made, cannot be denied. But what kind of questions or inquiries? None that expose the answerer to any danger: none that they would scruple to answer before Dr. E. or any other person that fears God.

VII. "But you form a church within a church, whose members in South Britain profess to belong to the Church of England, and those in North Britain to the Church of Scotland, while yet they are inspected and governed by teachers who are sent, continued, or removed by Mr. W." p. 3.

All this is, in a certain sense, very true. But let us see what all

* Advice to the People called Methodists.

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this amounts to. You "form a church within a church:" that is, you raise up and join together witnesses of real Christianity, not among Mahometans and Pagans, but *within a church* by law established. Certainly so. And that church, if she knew her own interest, would see she is much obliged to us for so doing. "But the Methodists in South Britain profess to belong to the Church of England." They profess the truth: for they do belong to it; that is, all who did *so* before the change was wrought, not in their external mode of worship, but in their tempers and lives. "Nay, but those in Scotland profess to belong to the Church of Scotland." And they likewise profess the truth. For they do belong to it as they did before. And is there any harm in this?

"But they are still inspected by Mr. W. and his preachers." And they think this both their duty and their privilege: namely, to be still instructed, and built up in faith and love, by those who were the instruments, in God's hand, of bringing them from dead, formal religion, to 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' But still those teachers are so careful, not to withdraw them from the church to which they belong, not to make any division, that they neither baptize, nor administer the Lord's Supper. If I were desirous to form a separate party, I should do both without delay.

VIII. I come now to add a few words, *without any* preface or ceremony, concerning myself.

Dr. E. affirms, first, That I am a very knave; and, secondly, *That* I am in a state of damnation. As to the first, he says, "Truth and honesty choose to enter openly and undisguised. 'He that entereth not by the door' of a plain, simple declaration of his sentiments, but insinuates himself by concealing his opinions, 'the same is a thief and a robber.'" (p. 5.) We have more to the same purpose. "Upon mature reflection, I saw no cause to flatter myself, that I could procure from him satisfaction as to what offended me.—He had discovered himself no novice in the *arts* of subtlety and disguise." (p. 24.) Again, "I find little else than that shifting at which Mr. W. is so singularly expert." This is as genteel as to say, "Sir, you lie:" and it is just as strong an argument. It is indeed mere common-place, with which a man fond of such flowers may embellish his page on any occasion.

But what room is there for it on this occasion? By God's help, I will sift this matter thoroughly. And I trust no gentleman or scholar, who weighs what I say, will throw this dirt in my face any more.

For several years I was moderator in the disputations which were held six times a week at Lincoln College in Oxford. I could not avoid acquiring hereby some degree of *expertness* in arguing: and especially in discerning and pointing out well-covered and plausible fallacies. I have since found abundant reason to praise God for giving me this *honest art*. By this, when men have hedged me in by what they call *demonstrations*, I have been many times able to dash them in pieces: in spite of all its covers, to touch the very point where the fallacy lay: and it flew open in a moment. This is the art which I have used with Bishop Warburton, as well as in the preceding

pages. When Dr. E. twisted truth and falsehood together, in many of his propositions, it was by this *art* I untwisted the one from the other, and showed just how far each was true. At doing this, I bless God, I am *expert:* as those will find, who attack me without rhyme or reason. But *shifting*, *subtlety*, and *disguise*, I despise and abhor, fully as much as Dr. E. And if *he cannot* see, that I have answered Bishop Warburton plainly and directly, and so untwisted his arguments, that no man living will be able to piece them together, I believe all unprejudiced men can and are thoroughly convinced of it.

Let any candid man review the last article, and he will see another instance of this. Dr. E. had given us a long paragraph, about "forming a church within a church." It is to the same effect with the objection which the warm churchmen have often urged against the dissenters in England. It sounds extremely plausible, and the parts of it are carefully knit together. But it is not a *gordian* knot: a man moderately *expert* in arguing may untie it. And when the threads are separate, it plainly appears to have been fine, but not strong.

As to the Second point, I cannot at all complain of Dr. E.'s want of openness. He speaks plain and downright: "Seeming strictness of behaviour will not justify those who forget"—"there is a way which seemeth right unto a man; but the end thereof is *the way of death*," (p. 46.)

Again. "What claim can we have to genuine Christianity, whose professed experience *gives God the lie?*" "Say I these things as a man, or saith not the law the same also?" "It is a deadly charity that flatters men with the persuasion that they are in the way of life, whom the Scripture pronounces *in a way of destruction.*"

Dr. E.'s charity is of another kind! It is Mr. Sandiman's charity! It reminds me of the charity of an Antinomian in London, one, I mean, who was newly recovered from that delusion: "Sir, said she, last week, I would not have been content to *kill* you, if I could not have *damned* you too." I pray God to deliver me from such charity! Charity, cruel as the grave!

But what right have I to complain of Dr. E.? He has no obligation to me. My speaking of him every where as I have done, was a point of justice, not of friendship. I had only the desire, but not the power of doing him any kindness. I could not say to him, 'Nevertheless thou owest me thine own soul also.' I have it not under Dr. E.'s hand, as I have under Mr. Hervey's, 'shall I call you my *father*, or my *friend?* You have been both to me.' If those related to me by so near, so tender ties, thus furiously rise up against me, how much more may a stranger, one of another nation? 'O Absalom, my son, my son!'

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POSTSCRIPT.

IN his twenty-first page, Dr. E. says, "How far Mr. Wesley's letter was an answer to any thing material in the Preface, *the* reader will best judge by perusing it." I have annexed it here, that the reader may judge, whether it is not an answer to one very *material* thing, namely, the charge of "*concealing* my sentiments," for which Dr. E. condemns me in the keenest manner, and on which very account he makes no scruple to pronounce me *a thief and a robber*. I need only premise, that I wrote it not out of fear, (as perhaps Dr. E. thought,) neither in guile; but merely out of love to him, and concern for the cause of God. I desire no *favour* from him or any opponent: do me *justice*, and I ask no more.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1765.

REV. SIR,

BETWEEN thirty and forty years I have had the world upon me, speaking all manner of evil. And I expected no less, as God had called me to testify that its deeds were evil. But the children of God were not upon me; nor did I expect they would. I rather hoped they would take knowledge, that all my designs, *and thought*, and care, and labour, were directed to this one point, to *advance* the kingdom of Christ upon earth. And so many of them did, however differing from me both in opinions and modes of worship. I have the pleasure to mention Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Watts, and Mr. Wardrobe, in particular. How then was I surprised, as well as concerned, that a child of the same Father, a servant of the same Lord, a member of the same family, and (as to the essence of it) a preacher of the same gospel, should, without any provocation that I know of, declare open war against me! I was the more surprised, because you had told me some months since, that you would favour me with a letter. And had this been done, I make no doubt but you would have received full satisfaction. Instead of this, you ushered into this part of the world, one of the most bitter libels that was ever written against me: written by a dying man, (so far as it was written by poor, well-meaning Mr. Hervey,) with a trembling hand, just as he was tottering on the margin of the grave. A great warrior resigned his crown, because 'there should be some interval, he said, between fighting and death.' But Mr. Hervey, who had been a man of peace all his life, began a war not six months before he died. He drew his sword, when he was just putting off his body. He then fell on one to whom he had the deepest obligations, (as his own letters, which I have now in my hands, testify) on one who had ever *intentionally* wronged him, who had never spoken an unkind word of him, or to him, and who loved him as his own child. O tell it not in Gath! The good Mr. Hervey (if these letters were his) died cursing his spiritual Father.

And these letters another good man, Mr. ——, has introduced

into Scotland, and warmly recommended. Why have you done this? "Because you have *concealed* your principles, which is palpably *dishonesty*."

When I was first invited into Scotland, (about fourteen years ago) Mr. Whitefield told me, 'You have no business there: for your principles are so well known, that if you spoke like an angel, none would hear you. And if they did, you would have nothing to do but to *dispute* with one and another from morning to night.'

I answered, 'If God sends me, people will hear. And I will give them no provocation to dispute: for I will studiously avoid controverted points, and keep to the fundamental truths of Christianity. And if any still begin to dispute, they may: but I will not dispute with them.'

I came. Hundreds and thousands flocked to hear. But I was enabled to keep my word. I avoided whatever might engender strife, and insisted upon the grand points, the religion of the heart, and salvation by faith, at all times, and in all places. And by this means, I have cut off all occasion of dispute, from the first day to this very hour. And this you amazingly improve into a fault: construe into a proof of *dishonesty*. You likewise charge me with holding *unsound principles*, and with saying, 'right opinions are (sometimes) no part of religion.'

The last charge I have answered over and over, and very lately to Bishop Warburton. Certainly had you read that single tract, you would never have repeated that stale objection.

As to my principles, every one knows, or may know, that I believe the thirty-first article of the Church of England. But can none be saved who believe this? I know you will not say so. Meantime, in the main point, justification by faith, I have not wavered a moment for these seven and twenty years. And I allow all which Mr. Hervey himself contends for, in his entrance upon the subject, "Come to Jesus as a *needy beggar*: hang upon him as a *devoted pensioner*." And whoever does this, I will be bold to say, shall not perish everlastingly.

As to your main objection, convince me that it is my duty to preach on controverted subjects, predestination in particular, and I will do it. At present, I think it would be a sin. I think it would create still more divisions. And are there not enough already? I have seen a book, written by one who styles himself *Ecclesiæ direptæ et gementis Presbyter*. Shall *I* tear *ecclesiam direptam et gementem?* God forbid! No; I will, so far as I can, heal her breaches. And if you really love her, (as I doubt not you do) why should you hinder me from so doing? Has she so many friends and helpers left, that you should strive to lessen their number? Would you wish to turn any of her friends, even though weak and mistaken, into enemies? If you must contend, have you not Arians, Socinians, Seceders, Infidels, to contend with? To say nothing of whoremongers, adulterers, sabbath-breakers, drunkards, common swearers! *O ecclesia gemens!* And will you pass by all these, and single out *me* to fight with?

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Nay, but *I* will not. I do and will fight with all these, but not *with you*. I cannot: I dare not. You are the son of my Father; my fellow-labourer in the gospel of his dear Son. I love your person: I love your character: I love the work wherein you are engaged. And if you will still shoot at me, (because Mr. Hervey has painted me as a monster) even with arrows drawn from Bishop Warburton's quiver, (how unfit for Mr. ——'s hand!) I can only say, as *I* always did before, the Lord Jesus bless you in your soul, in your body, in your relations, in your work, in whatever tends to his own glory!

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY.

A LETTER

TO THE

REVEREND DR. RUTHERFORTH.

March 28, 1768.

REV. SIR,

I. 1. YOUR charges, published five years ago, I did not see till yesterday. In the fourth I am unconcerned. The three former I purpose now to consider: and I do it the more cheerfully, because they are written with such seriousness as becomes the importance of the subject, and with less tartness than I am accustomed to expect from opponents of every kind.

2. But before I enter on the subject, suffer me to remove a stumbling-block or two out of the way. You frequently charge me with *evasion*: and others have brought the same charge. The plain case is this: I have written on various heads, and always as clearly as I could. Yet many have misunderstood my words, and raised abundance of objections. I answered them, by explaining myself, showing what I did not mean, and what I did. One and another of the objectors stretched his throat, and cried out, "Evasion! Evasion!" And what does all this outcry amount to? Why exactly thus much. They imagined they had tied me so fast, that it was impossible for me to escape. But presently the cobwebs were swept away, and I was quite at liberty. And I bless God I can unravel truth and falsehood, although artfully twisted together. Of *such evasion*, I am not ashamed. Let them be ashamed who constrain me to use it.

3. You charge me likewise, and that more than once or twice, with *maintaining contradictions*. I answer, 1. If all my sentiments were compared together, from the year 1725 to 1768, there would

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be truth in the charge: for during the latter part of this period, I have relinquished several of my former sentiments. 2. During these last thirty years, I may have varied in some of my sentiments or expressions without observing it. 3. I will not undertake to defend all the expressions which I have occasionally used during this time: but must desire men of candour to make allowance for those,

Quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

4. It is not strange if among these inaccurate expressions, there are some *seeming* contradictions: especially considering I was answering so many different objectors, frequently attacking me at once: and one pushing this way, another that, with all the violence they were able. Nevertheless, 5. I believe there will be found few, if any, *real* contradictions, in what I have published for near thirty years.

5. I come now to your particular objections. I begin with the subject of your third charge, *Assurances:* because what I have to say upon this head, will be comprised in few words. Some are fond of the expression, I am not: I hardly ever use it. But I will simply declare (having neither leisure nor inclination to draw the sword of controversy concerning it) what are my present sentiments with regard to the *thing*, which is usually meant thereby.

I believe a few, but very few Christians have an assurance from God of everlasting salvation: and that is the thing which the apostle terms *the plerophory*, or *full assurance of hope.*

I believe more have such an assurance of being *now* in the favour of God, as excludes all doubt and fear. And this, if I do not mistake, the apostle means by *the plerophory*, or *full assurance of faith.*

I believe a consciousness of being in the favour of God, (which I do not term *plerophory*, or *full assurance*, since it is frequently weakened, nay, perhaps interrupted, by returns of doubt or fear,) is the common privilege of Christians, fearing God and working righteousness.

Yet I do not affirm, there are no exceptions to this general rule. Possibly some may be in the favour of God, and yet go mourning all the day long. (But I believe this is usually owing either to disorder of body, or ignorance of the gospel promises.)

Therefore I have not for many years thought a consciousness of acceptance to be essential to justifying faith.

And after I have thus explained myself, once for all, I think without any evasion or ambiguity, I am sure without any self-contradiction, I hope all reasonable men will be satisfied. And whoever will still dispute with me on this head, must do it for disputing's sake.

II. 1. In your first charge you undertake to prove, that "Christianity does not reject the aid of human learning." p. 1.

Mr. B—— thinks it does. But I am not accountable for him, from whom in this I totally differ. Yet you certainly include *me* when you say, "These *new reformers* maintain, that every believer who has the gift of utterance, is qualified to preach the gospel," (p.

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came upon them by a way they thought not of. Out of the stones he raised up those who should beget children to Abraham. We had no more foresight of this than you. Nay, we had the deepest prejudices against it: until we could not but own, that God gave wisdom from above to these unlearned and ignorant men; so that the work of the Lord prospered in their hand, and sinners were daily converted to God.

'Indeed, in the one thing which they profess to know, they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination, in substantial, practical, experimental divinity, as few of our candidates for holy orders, even in the university, (I speak it with sorrow and shame, and in tender love,) are able to do. But, oh! what manner of examination do most of those candidates go through? And what proof are the testimonials commonly brought, (as solemn as the form is wherein they run,) either of the piety or knowledge of those to whom are intrusted those sheep which God hath purchased with his own blood?'

5. Yet you cite this very paragraph to prove that I "intimate the help which these illiterate men receive from God, is such as will enable them to preach Christ's gospel, without reading the Scriptures." (p. 9.) Adding, "St. Paul's command to Timothy is a sufficient confutation of this groundless, or rather impious pretence." I cannot conceive, how you could imagine those words to intimate any such thing. Be this pretence whose it will, it is none of mine; it never entered into my thoughts.

6. But "there are in the Scriptures 'things hard to be understood.' And is every unlettered mechanic able to explain them?" (p. 11.) No surely. But may we not likewise ask, Is *every clergyman* able to explain them? You will not affirm it. However, "they are the safest guides, who from their childhood have known the holy Scriptures, and have diligently and faithfully made use of all the helps to understand them, which a liberal education has put into their hands; who have given attendance to reading, have meditated on those things, and have given themselves wholly to them," p. 11.

Certainly these are the safest guides. But how many, Sir, do you know of *these?* Suppose there are thirty thousand clergyman in England, can you vouch this for ten thousand of them? I remember his late Grace of Canterbury (I mean Archbishop Potter) was occasionally saying, that on searching the records, he could find only three hundred of the clergy who stood out against popery in queen Mary's reign. Do you think the other twenty-nine thousand seven hundred were "the safest guides?" I hope indeed things are mended now. I see no reason to doubt, but there are among the present clergy a far greater number both of learned and pious men. And yet I fear, we cannot count many thousands now, that answer your strong description. May our good Lord increase their number, how many soever they be!

7. Now I beg leave to ask a question in my turn. Which do you think is the safest guide, a cursing, swearing, drinking clergyman,

(that such there are you know,) or a tradesman, who has in fact, "from his childhood known the holy Scriptures," and has for five years (to say no more) faithfully "and diligently made use of all the helps which the English tongue has put into his hands; who has *given attendance to reading*, has *meditated on these things*, and *given himself wholly to them?* Can any reasonable man doubt one moment which is the safest guide?

Certainly, "those who want these qualifications," who do not give attendance to reading, who do not meditate on those things, yea, and give themselves wholly to them, are *ignorant and unstable men*, in the very bad sense of the words. And let them understand philosophy ever so well, and be ever such critics in Greek and Hebrew, "they will pervert the Scriptures, when they pretend to interpret them," (p. 12,) and that not only to *their own* destruction.

8. But "many of these strolling preachers are so ignorant, as not to know, that the Scriptures were not written in their mother tongue," (p. 8.) Indeed they are not: whoever gave you that information, abused your credulity: most of the travelling preachers in connexion with me, are not ignorant men. As I observed before, they know all which they profess to know. The languages they do not profess to know: yet some of them understand them well. Philosophy they do not profess to know: yet some of them tolerably understand this also. They understand both one and the other better than great part of my pupils at the university did. And yet these were not inferior to their fellow collegians of the same standing: (which I could not but know, having daily intercourse with all the under-graduates, either as Greek-lecturer or moderator.) Nor were these inferior to the under graduates of other colleges.

9. You conclude this charge, For "those whose minds are not stored with useful literature, the wisdom of the public has provided such guides as are both able and willing to show them the right way," (p. 13.) Would to God it had! But is it really so? Is there such a guide in every parish in England? Are then all the rectors, vicars, and curates, therein, "both able and willing" to guide all their parishioners to heaven? Do not both you, and I, and all the world, know, that this is not the case? Are there not many, who are utterly unable to guide others; having neither learning nor understanding to guide themselves? Are there not more, who, if they are able, are not willing, taking no care, or thought about it? They eat, and drink, and rise up to play:

"And leave to tatter'd crape the drudgery of prayer."

Once more. Are there not too many of those guides, "whom the wisdom of the public has provided," who are neither able nor willing to guide others in the right way, being equally void of knowledge and piety? Is it then "the duty of the people to continue in the things which they have learned" from these guides? And "to hold fast the faithful word as they have been taught?" Why, what have they been taught? Just nothing. From these guides they have

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learned nothing, nor could learn any thing, either from their precept or example. And are they "then only in danger when they do not follow these guides?" If they do follow them, they must follow them to hell. O, Sir, why will you constrain me to show the nakedness of the land? I would far rather spread a veil over it. And I heartily wish, I may never more be laid under a necessity of touching on this unpleasing subject.

10. Upon the whole, what I believe concerning learning, as I have again and again declared, is this: that it is *highly expedient* for a guide of souls, but not *absolutely necessary:* what I believe to be absolutely necessary is, a faith unfeigned, the love of God and our neighbour, a burning zeal for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, with a heart and life wholly devoted to God. These I judge to be necessary in the highest degree: and next to these, a competent knowledge of Scripture; a sound understanding, a tolerable utterance, and a willingness to be as 'the filth and offscouring of the world.'

III. 1. You entitle your second charge, "An examination of the doctrine of the Methodists, concerning inward feelings." I have explained myself so frequently and so largely upon this head already, that I flattered myself I should scarcely have occasion to do it any more. But as I am still totally misunderstood and misrepresented, I am under a necessity of doing it yet again.

You state the question thus, "Have we any reason to believe, that the mind has an inward feeling, which will enable it to perceive the ordinary influences of God's Spirit, so as to discern from whence they come?" p. 15.

I answer, 1. The fruit of his *ordinary influences* are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness. 2. Whoever has these, *inwardly feels* them. And if he understands his Bible, he discerns from whence they come. Observe, what he inwardly feels, is *these fruits themselves: whence they come* he learns from the Bible. This is my doctrine concerning *inward feelings*, and has been for above these forty years. And this is clear to any man of common sense: I appeal to all the world, if it is not. Only do not puzzle the cause by a cloud of words, and then lay the blame on me.

2. You state the question again, "What I mean to affirm is, that while the soul is united to such a body, the operations of external things," (say, the operations of the Holy Spirit, for of these we are talking, and of these alone,) "upon some one or more of these organs, excite no inward feeling," (p. 17.) Nay, nor outward neither. He must be a bold man that will affirm the contrary. If this be all that you mean to affirm, we agree to a hair's breadth.

3. You afterwards open yourself farther. "The mind in its present situation, has no inward sense, by which the influence of external causes," (the influence of the Holy Spirit,) "or the causes themselves," (this is quite another question,) "may be felt or discerned. It then only perceives them, when they affect the organs of the body, so as to raise a sensation in it by their means," p. 22.

Did ever the most illiterate Methodist talk in such a manner as this? "The mind then only perceives the influences of the Holy Spirit, when they affect the organs of the body!" If you say, "I do not mean the Holy Spirit by *external causes*," then you mean and say what is nothing to the purpose. For your very title confines you to the influences of the Holy Spirit: and you are, or should be, speaking of nothing else.

4. You go on, "It is a fundamental principle in the Methodist school, that all who come into it must renounce their reason." Sir, are you awake? Unless you are talking in your sleep, how can you utter so gross an untruth? It is a fundamental principle with *us*, That to renounce reason is to renounce religion: that religion and reason go hand in hand, and that all irrational religion is false religion. I therefore speak quite "consistently with my own doctrines," when I caution my followers 'against judging of the Spirit by which any one speaks, by their own *inward feelings;*—because these being of a doubtful nature, may come from God, or may not.' You add, "What therefore shall we think of these inward feelings? They cannot be clear perceptions of the cause from which these affections or sentiments are derived." Who says they are? I never did. *You* cite the words wherein I say just the contrary. 'Whom then doth your arguing reprove?' Do you not 'fight as one that beateth the air?'

5. Mr. W. indeed, "endeavours to explain away the doctrine *of* the Methodists concerning *inward feelings.*" (p. 25.) That is, I plainly tell what I mean by those expressions. My words run thus. 'By *feeling* I mean, being inwardly conscious of; by the *operations of the Spirit*, I do not mean *the manner* in which he operates, but *the graces* which he operates in a Christian.' And again. 'We believe that love, joy, peace, are inwardly felt, or they have no being; and that men are satisfied they have grace, first by feeling these, and afterwards by their outward actions.'

One might imagine, the controversy was now at an end. No: I am not a jot the nearer. For you go on. "If he and his brethren," —(away with *his brethren:* the point lies between *you* and *me,*) "mean no more than this, why do they speak of this matter in such language, as makes their disciples pretend to have an inward sense, by which they feel, sometimes the power of God, sometimes the Holy Ghost, sometimes Jesus Christ, and by which they can as clearly discern each of these while he acts upon them, as they can discern outward objects by their bodily senses." (p. 26.) So now the matter is out! But who are the men? What are their names? And where do they live? If you know any who pretend to this, *I do* not: but I know, they are none of *my* disciples. They never learned it of *me.* I have three grains of common sense, whether you believe it or not.

6. But you will pin it upon me, whether I will or not; and that by three passages of my own writings. 1. 'Lucy Godshall felt the love of God *in an unusual manner.*' She did. I mean, *in an unusual*

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degree. And what will you make of this? 2. "When he examined some of his disciples, and they related their '*feeling* the blood of Christ running upon their arms, or going down their throats, or poured like water upon their breast and heart:' did he tell them that *these circumstances* were all the dreams of a heated imagination?" I did: I told them, that *these* three *circumstances*, and *several* others of the same kind, were mere dreams, though *some* of those which they then related, *might be* otherwise. I will tell you more: I was so disgusted at them for those dreams, that I expelled them out of the society.

The third passage is this. 'We do speak of grace, (meaning thereby the power of God, which worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure,) that it is as perceptible to the heart, (while it confirms, refreshes, purifies, and sheds the love of God abroad therein,) as sensible objects are to the senses.' (p. 27.) I do speak thus. And I mean thereby, that the *comfort* which God administers, not his power distinct from it, the *love* and *purity* which he works, not his *act* of working distinguished from it, are as clearly discernible by the soul, as outward objects by the senses. And I never so much as dreamed, that any one could find any other meaning in the words.

7. I cannot close this subject of *inward feelings* without recurring to the 20th page of your tract. Here you attempt to prove, that "these preachers confine the influences of God's Holy Spirit to themselves and their followers, because," say you, "no one else feels its workings:" "None but they and their followers." Observe: it is not I that affirm this, but *you*, that "none but Methodists feel the workings of the Spirit." But how will you reconcile this assertion with the seventeenth article of our church, which teaches, that all 'godly persons feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things?' It is in this sense, and this only, that I did and do assert, all good men 'feel the working of the Holy Spirit.' If any can prove they do not, I stand condemned: if not, none can condemn me concerning *inward feelings*.

8. You subjoin some reflections on another subject, *bodily emotions* of various kinds. Before we reason upon it, let us state the fact. These outward symptoms are not at all times, nor in all places: for two or three years they were, (not constant but) frequent in London, Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in a few other places. They sometimes occur still, but not often. And we do not regard whether they occur or not: knowing that the essence of religion, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, is quite independent of them.

Upon this you ask, "Are these the fruits of the Spirit?" (p. 31,) I answer, No: Whoever thought they were? You ask, 2, "Are these the marks whereby we may be assured, that they who are thus affected discern its workings?" You answer for me, "They themselves do not believe it. Nay Mr. W. declares, it is his opinion, 'Some of these agonies are from the Devil:' and makes no doubt,

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but it was 'Satan tearing them,' as they were coming to Christ." (p. 33.) But if I myself declare thus, what room was there for the preceding questions? Now certainly you must be quite satisfied. No: you are as far from it as ever! You gravely ask, "What experienced physicians of the souls must these be, who are unable to distinguish the influence of the Holy Ghost, from the tearing of Satan?" Why, Sir, you this instant repeated the very words wherein I *do* distinguish them. "But you ascribe the same symptoms sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other." Indeed I do not. I always ascribe *these* symptoms to Satan tearing them.

9. You add in a marginal note, "Mr. W. sometimes denies, that he considers these fits as signs of the new birth." I always deny it, if you mean by *signs* any thing more than something which may accidentally attend it. Yet "in some of his writings, he calls these fallings and roarings, by the name of *convictions*. He says, 'Many were wounded deeply: but none were delivered from that painful conviction.' 'Monday 30, Two more were in strong pain, both their souls and bodies being well nigh torn asunder.'" Very true: but in which of these passages do I call *fallings* and *roarings* by the name of *convictions?* Excuse me: if I cannot distinguish God from the Devil, I can, at least, distinguish the soul from the body. For do I ever confound *bodily disorders* with *sorrow* or *pain of mind?*

10. However "Mr. W. speaks of these at least as outward signs, that the new birth 'is *working* in those that have them.'" (p. 23.) I speak of them as 'outward symptoms which have often accompanied the inward work of God.' A peculiar instance of this I relate in the first Journal, which you are at the pains to transcribe. And, as you observe, "there are many instances in the same Journal, in which I express myself in the same manner." But what does all this prove? Just what I said before, and not one jot more: I speak of them as 'outward symptoms which have often accompanied the inward work of God.' *Often*, I say, not *always;* not *necessarily;* they may, or they may not. This work may be without those symptoms, and those symptoms may be without this work.

11. But you say, "The following account which he writes to one of his correspondents, will make the matter clear. 'I have seen very many persons changed in a moment, from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy, peace; and from sinful desires, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the Will of God. That such a change was then wrought, appears not from their shedding tears only, or falling into fits, or crying out (these are not the fruits or signs whereby I judge,) but from the whole tenor of their lives.'" (p. 33.)

Now I should really imagine this passage proves just the contrary of what you intend. Yea, that it is full and decisive. "But," say you, "though he denies these to be the fruits by which he judges, that this inward change is wrought, yet he looks upon them as signs that it is *working*.'" Yes, in the sense above explained. While God was inwardly *working*, these outward *signs often* appeared:

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nay, almost daily in Bristol, during the first summer which I spent there.

12. Upon the whole, I declare once for all, (and I hope to be troubled no more upon the subject,) I look upon some of those bodily symptoms, to have been preternatural or diabolical; and others to have been effects which in some circumstances naturally followed from strong and sudden emotions of mind. Those emotions of mind, whether of fear, sorrow, or joy, I believe were chiefly supernatural; springing from the gracious influences of the Spirit of God, which accompanied his word.

13. I believe this is all the answer I need give to the severe accusation you have brought against me: for which I trust men of candour will discern there was not the least foundation. With respect to the first point, *despising learning*, I am utterly clear. None can bring any proof, or shadow of proof, that I do not highly esteem it. With regard to the *assurance of faith and hope*, I have spoken as clearly as I can: and I trust serious men, who have some experience in religion, will not find much to condemn therein. And with respect to *inward feelings*, whoever denies them in the sense wherein alone I defend them, must deny all the life and power of religion, and leave nothing but a dead, empty form. For take away the love of God and our neighbour, the peace of God and joy in the Holy Ghost, or (which comes to the same) deny that they are felt, and what remains but a poor, lifeless shadow?

14. This is what I do, and must contend for. "I thought you had contended for quite another thing." If you had only thought so, or only said so in private conversation, it had been of no great consequence. But it was of consequence, when you not only brought a false accusation against your brother before so venerable an assembly, but also published it to all the world. Surely the first step was enough and more than enough. Was there nothing more important wherewith to entertain the 'stewards of the mysteries of God,' than the mistakes, if they really had been such of the Methodists, so called? Had they no enemies more dangerous than these? Were they not in more imminent danger, if of no outward sin, nothing in their behaviour or conversation unworthy of their calling; yet of neglect, of remissness, of not laying out all their time, and care, and pains, in feeding the sheep which Christ had purchased with his own blood? Were none of them, in danger of levity, of pride, of passion, of discontent, of covetousness? Were none of them seeking the praise of men more than the praise of God? O Sir, if this was the case of any of them, I will not say how trifling, how insignificant, but how mischievous to these, how fatal, how destructive must a charge of this kind be! By which they were led, not to examine themselves, to consider either their own hearts or ways, but to criticise on others, on those with whom nine in ten had no manner of concern? Surely so solemn an opportunity might be improved to far other purposes! Even to animate every one present, to offer up himself a living sacrifice to God, that so he may be ready to be offered;

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up, on the sacrifice and service of his faith; to have one thing only in his eye, to desire, to aim at nothing else, not honour, not ease, not money, not preferment; but to save his own soul and them that hear him.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your Brother and Servant for Christ's sake,
JOHN WESLEY.

A LETTER

TO THE

REVEREND MR. BAILY,

OF CORK;

IN ANSWER TO A LETTER TO THE REV. JOHN WESLEY.

Limerick, June 8, 1750.

REV. SIR,

1. WHY do you not subscribe your name to a performance so perfectly agreeing both as to the matter and form, with the sermons you have been occasionally preaching, for more than a year last past? As to your seeming to disclaim it, by saying once and again, "I am but a plain, simple man;" and, "the doctrine you teach is only a revival of the old antinominian heresy, I think they call it;" I presume it is only a pious fraud. But how came so plain and simple a man, to know the meaning of the Greek word *Philalethes?* Sir, this is not of a piece. If you did not care to own your child, had not you better have subscribed the second (as well as the first) letter* George Fisher?

2. I confess you have timed your performance well. When the other pointless thing was published, I came unluckily to Cork on the self-same day. But you might now suppose I was at a convenient distance. However, I will not plead this as an excuse, for taking no notice of your last favour: although, to say the truth, I scarce know how to answer it, as you write in a language I am not accustomed to. Both Dr. Tucker, Dr. Church, and all the other gentlemen, who have written to me in public for some years, have written as gentlemen, having some regard to their own, whatever my character was. But as you fight in the dark, you regard not what weapons you use. We are not, therefore, on even terms. I

* The letter thus subscribed was published at Cork, on May 30 last.

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cannot answer you in kind. I am constrained to leave this to your good allies of Blackpool and Fair-lane.*

I shall, first, state the facts, on which the present controversy turns, and then consider the most material parts of your performance.

First, I am to state the facts. But here I am under a great disadvantage, having few of my papers by me. Excuse me, therefore, if I do not give so full an account now, as I may possibly do hereafter; if I only give you for the present the extracts of some papers, which were lately put into my hands.

Thomas Jones, of Cork, merchant, deposes,

That on May 3, 1749, Nicholas Butler, ballad-singer, came before the house of this deponent, and assembled a large mob; that this deponent went to Daniel Crone, Esq. then Mayor of Cork, and desired that he would put a stop to those riots; asking, at the same time, whether he gave the said Butler leave to go about in this manner? That Mr. Mayor said, he neither gave him leave, neither did he hinder him: that in the evening Butler gathered a larger mob than before, and went to the house where the people called Methodists were assembled to hear the word of God, and as they came out, threw dirt and hurt several of them.

That on May 4, this deponent with some others, went to the mayor and told what had been done, adding, "If your Worship pleases to speak only three words to Butler, it will all be over:" that the mayor gave his word and honour, "There should be no more of it, he would put an entire stop to it: that, notwithstanding, a larger mob than ever came to the house the same evening: that they threw much dirt and many stones at the people, both while they were in the house, and when they came out: that the mob then fell upon them, both on men and women, with clubs, hangers, and swords, so that many of them were much wounded, and lost a considerable quantity of blood.

That on May 5, this deponent informed the mayor of all, and also that Butler had openly declared, 'There should be a greater mob than ever there was that night:' that the mayor promised he would prevent it; that in the evening Butler did bring a greater mob than ever: that this deponent, hearing the mayor designed to go out of the way, set two men to watch him, and when the riot was begun, went to the alehouse, and inquired for him: that the woman of the house denying he was there, this deponent insisted he was, declared he would not go till he had seen him; and began searching the house: that Mr. Mayor then appearing, he demanded his assistance, to suppress a riotous mob; that when the mayor came in sight of them, he beckoned to Butler, who immediately came down from the place where he stood: that the mayor then went with this deponent, and looked on many of the people covered with dirt and blood: that some of them still remained in the house, fearing their lives, till James Chatterton and John Reily, esquires, sheriffs of

* Celebrated parts of Cork.

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Cork, and Hugh Millard, junr. Esq. alderman, turned them *out to* the mob, and nailed up the doors.

2. Elizabeth Holleran, of Cork, deposes,

That on May 3, as she was going down Castle-street, she saw Nicholas Butler on a table, with ballads in one hand and a bible in the other: that she expressed some concern thereat; on which sheriff Reily ordered his bailiff to carry her to Bridewell; that afterward the bailiff came and said, "His master ordered she should be carried to jail: and that she continued in jail from May 3, about eight in the evening, till between ten and twelve on May 5.

3. John Stockdale, of Cork, tallow-chandler, deposes,

That on May 5, while he and others were assembled to hear the word of God, Nicholas Butler came down to the house where they were with a very numerous mob: that when this deponent came out, they threw all manner of dirt and abundance of stones at him; that they then beat, bruised and cut him in several places: that seeing his wife on the ground, and the mob abusing her still, he called out and besought them not to kill his wife: that on this one of them struck him with a large stick, as did also many others, so that he was hurt in several parts, and his face in a gore of blood.

4. Daniel Sullivan, of Cork, baker, deposes,

That every day but one from the 6th to the 16*th of May*, Nicholas Butler assembled a riotous mob, before this deponent's *house; that* they abused all who came into the shop, to the great damage *of this* deponent's business: that on or about the 15th Butler swore he would bring a mob the next day and pull down his house: that accordingly on the 16th he did bring a large mob. and beat or abused all that came to the house: that the mayor walked by while the mob was so employed, but did not hinder them; that afterwards they broke his windows, threw dirt and stones into his shop, and spoiled a great quantity of his goods.

Daniel Sullivan is ready to depose farther, that from the 16th of May to the 28th, the mob gathered every day before his house: that on Sunday the 28th, Butler swore, 'They would come the next day and pull down the house of that heretic dog:' and called aloud to the mob, 'Let the heretic dogs indict you; I will bring you all off without a farthing cost.'

That, accordingly, on May 29, Butler came with a greater mob than before: that he went to the mayor and begged him to come, which he, for some time, refused to do; but, after much importunity, rose up, and walked with him down the street; that when they were in the midst of the mob, the mayor said aloud, 'It is your own fault, for entertaining these preachers; if you will turn them out of your house, I will engage there shall be no more harm done; but if you will not turn them out, you must take what you will get:' that upon this the mob set up an huzza, and threw stones faster than before: that he said, 'This is fine usage under a protestant government; if I had a priest saying mass in every room of it, my house would not be touched; that the mayor replied, 'The priests are

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tolerated; but you are not; you talk too much; go in, and shut up your doors:' that seeing no remedy, he did so, and the mob continued breaking the windows and throwing stones in till near twelve at night.

That on May 31, the said Sullivan and two more, went and informed the mayor of what the mob was then doing: that it was not without great importunity, they brought him as far as the exchange: that he would go no farther, nor send any help, though some that were much bruised and wounded came by: that some hours after, when the mob had finished their work, he sent a party of soldiers to guard the walls.

5. John Stockdale deposes farther, that on May 31, he, with others, was quietly hearing the word of God, when Butler and his mob came down to the house: that as they came out, the mob threw showers of dirt and stones; that many were hurt, many beat, bruised, and cut, among whom was this deponent, who was so bruised and cut, that the effusion of blood from his head could not be stopped for a considerable time.

6. John M'Nerny, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 31st of May last, as this deponent, with others, was hearing a sermon, Butler came down with a large mob: that the stones and dirt coming in fast, obliged the congregation to shut the doors, and lock themselves in: that the mob broke open the door, on which this deponent endeavoured to escape through a window: that not being able to do it, he returned into the house where he saw the mob tear up the pews, benches and floor, part of which they afterwards burned in the open street, and carried away part for their own use.

7. Daniel Sullivan is ready to depose farther,

That Butler with a large mob went about from street to street, and from house to house, abusing, threatening, and beating whomsoever he pleased, from June 1st to the 16th, when they assaulted, bruised, and cut Ann Jenkins; and from the 16th to the 30th, when a woman whom they had beaten, miscarried, and narrowly escaped with life.

Some of the particulars were as follows.

Thomas Burnet, of Cork, nailor, deposes,

That on or about the 12th of June, as this deponent was at work in his master's shop, Nicholas Butler came with a great mob to the door, and seeing this deponent, told him, he was an heretic dog, and his soul was burning in hell: that this deponent asking, 'Why do you use me thus?' Butler took up a stone and struck him so violently on the side, that he was thereby rendered incapable of working for upwards of a week: that he hit this deponent's wife with another stone, without any kind of provocation, which so hurt her, that she was obliged to take to her bed, and has not been right well since.

Ann Cooshea, of Cork, deposes,

That on or about the 12th of June, as she was standing at her father's door, Nicholas Butler, with a riotous mob, began to abuse

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this deponent and her family, calling them heretic bitches, saying, they were damned and all their souls were in hell; that then, without any provocation, he took up a great stone, and threw it at this deponent, which struck her on the head with such force, that it deprived her of her senses for some time.

Ann Wright, of Cork, deposes,

That on or about the 12th of June, as this deponent was in her own house, Butler and his mob came before her door, calling her and her family heretic bitches, and swearing, 'He would make her house hotter than hell-fire;' that he threw dirt and stones at them, hit her in the face, dashed all the goods about, which she had in her window, and she really believes, would have dashed out her brains, had she not quitted her shop, and fled for her life.

8. Margaret Griffin, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 24th of June, as this deponent was about her business, Butler and his mob came up, took hold on her, tore her clothes, struck her several times, and cut her mouth: that after she broke from him, he and his mob pursued her to her house, and would have broken in, had not some neighbours interposed: that he had beat and abused her several times before, and one of those times to such a degree, that she was all in a gore of blood, and continued spitting blood, for several days after.

Jacob Connor, clothier, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 24th of June, as he was employed in his lawful business, Butler and his mob came up, and without any manner of provocation fell upon him; that they beat him till they caused such an effusion of blood, as could not be stopped for a considerable time; and that he verily believes, had not a gentleman interposed, they would have killed him on the spot.

9. Ann Hughes, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 29th of June, she asked Nicholas Butler, why he broke open her house on the 21st? That hereon he called her many abusive names, (being attended with his usual mob) dragged her up and down, tore her clothes in pieces, and with his sword stabbed and cut her in both her arms.

Daniel Filts, blacksmith, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 29th of June, Butler and a riotous mob came before his door, calling him many abusive names, drew his hanger and threatened to stab him: that he and his mob the next day assaulted the house of this deponent with drawn swords: and that he is persuaded, had not one who came by, prevented, they would have taken away his life.

10. Mary Fuller of Cork, deposes, that on the 30th of June, Butler, at the head of his mob, came between nine and ten at night to the deponent's shop, with a naked sword in his hand: that he swore he would cleave the deponent's scull, and immediately made a full stroke at her head; whereupon she was obliged to flee for her life, leaving her shop and goods to the mob, many of which they hacked and hewed with their swords, to her no small loss and damage.

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Henry Dunkle, joiner, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 30th of June, as he was standing at the widow Fuller's shop-window, he saw Butler, accompanied with a large mob, who stopped before her shop: that after he had grossly abused her, he made a full stroke with his hanger at her head; which must have cleft her in two, had not this deponent received the guard of the hanger on his shoulder: that presently after, the said Butler seized upon this deponent: that he seized him by the collar with one hand, and with the other held the hanger over his head, calling him all manner of names, and tearing his shirt and clothes; and that had it not been for the timely assistance of some neighbours, he verily believes he should have been torn in pieces.

Margaret Trimnell, of Cork, deposes,

That on the 30th of June, John Austin and Nicholas Butler, with a numerous mob, came to her shop: that after calling her many names, Austin struck her with his club on the right arm, so that it has been black ever since from the shoulder to the elbow: that Butler came next, and with a great stick struck her a violent blow across the back: that many of them then drew their swords, which they carried under their coats, and cut and hacked her goods, part of which they threw out into the street, while others of them threw dirt and stones into the shop, to the considerable damage of her goods and loss of this deponent.

11. It was not for those who had any regard either to their persons or goods, to oppose Mr. Butler after this. So the poor people patiently suffered whatever he and his mob were pleased to inflict upon them, till the assizes drew on, at which they doubted not to find a sufficient, though late relief.

Accordingly, twenty-eight depositions were taken, (from the foul copies of some of which the preceding account is mostly transcribed,) and laid before the Grand Jury, August 19. But they did not find any one of these bills. Instead of this, they made that memorable presentment, which is worthy to be preserved in the annals of Ireland, to all succeeding generations.

"We find and present Charles Wesley, to be a person of ill fame, a vagabond, a common disturber of his majesty's peace, and we pray he may be transported."

We find and present James Williams, &c.
We find and present Robert Swindle, &c.
We find and present Jonathan Reeves, &c.
We find and present James Wheatley, &c.
We find and present John Larwood, &c.
We find and present Joseph M'Auliff, &c.
We find and present Charles Skelton, &c.
We find and present William Tooker, &c.
We find and present Daniel Sullivan, &c.

12. Mr. Butler and his mob were now in higher spirits than ever. They scoured the streets day and night; frequently hollowing as they

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went along, "Five pounds for a * Swaddler's head:" their chief declaring to them all. "He had full liberty now, to do whatever he would, even to murder, if he pleased, as Mr. Swain, of North Abbey, and others, are ready to testify."

13. The sessions held at Cork, on the 5th of October following, produced another memorable presentment.

"We find and present John Horton, to be a person of ill fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his majesty's peace; and we pray that he may be transported."

But complaint being made of this above, as wholly illegal, it vanished into air.

14. Some time after, Mr. Butler removed to Dublin, and began to sing his ballads there. But having little success, he returned to Cork, and in January began to scour the streets again, pursuing all of *this way*, with a large mob at his heels, armed with swords, staves, and pistols. Complaint was made of this, to William Holmes, Esq., the present mayor of Cork. But there was no removal of the thing complained of: the riots were not suppressed. Nay, they not only continued, but increased.

15. From the beginning of February to the end, his majesty's peace was preserved just as before: of which it may be proper to subjoin two or three instances, for the information of all thinking men.

William Jewell, clothier, of Shandon Church-lane, deposes,

That Nicholas Butler, with a riotous mob, several times assaulted this deponent's house: that particularly on the 23d of February, he came thither with a large mob, armed with clubs and other weapons: that several of the rioters entered the house, and swore, the first who resisted, they would blow their brains out: that the deponent's wife, endeavouring to stop them, was assaulted and beaten by the said Butler: who then ordered his men, to break the deponent's windows, which they did with stones of a considerable weight.

Mary Phillips, of St. Peter's, Church-lane, deposes,

That on the 26th of February, about seven in the evening, Nicholas Butler came to her house with a large mob, and asked where her husband was. That as soon as she appeared, he first abused her in the grossest terms, and then struck her on the head, so that it stunned her; and she verily believes, had not some within thrust and fastened the door, she should have been murdered on the spot.

It may suffice for the present to add one instance more.

Elizabeth Gardelet, wife of Joseph Gardelet, corporal, in Col. Pawlet's regiment, Capt. Charlton's company, deposes,

That on February the 28th, as she was going out of her lodgings, she was met by Butler and his mob: that Butler, without any manner of provocation, immediately fell upon her, striking her with both

* A name first given to Mr. Cennick, from his first preaching on those words, "Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger."

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his fists on the side of the head, which knocked her head against the wall; that she endeavoured to escape from him, but he pursued her, and struck her several times in the face; that she ran into the school-yard for shelter, but he followed, and caught hold of her, saying, "You whore, you stand on consecrated ground," and threw her with such a force across the lane, that she was driven against the opposite wall: that when she had recovered herself a little, she made the best of her way to her lodging; but Butler still pursued, and overtook her as she was going up the stairs: that he struck her with his fist on the stomach, which stroke knocked her down backwards; that falling with the small of her back against the edge of one of the stairs, she was not able to rise again; that her pains immediately came upon her, and about two in the morning she miscarried.

16. These, with several more depositions to the same effect, were, in April, laid before the Grand Jury. Yet they did not find any of these bills! But they found one against Daniel Sullivan, the younger, (no preacher, but a hearer of the people called Methodists) who, when Butler and his mob were discharging a shower of stones upon him, fired a pistol, without any ball, over their heads. If any man has written this story to England in a quite different manner, and fixed it on a young Methodist preacher, let him be ashamed in the presence of God and man—unless shame and he have shook hands and parted.

17. Several of the persons presented as vagabonds in autumn, appeared at the Lent assizes. But none appearing against them, they were discharged, with honour to themselves and shame to their persecutors: who by bringing the matter to a judicial determination, plainly showed, there is law even for Methodists; and gave his majesty's judge a full occasion to declare the utter illegality of all riots, and the inexcusableness of tolerating (much more causing) them on any pretence whatsoever.

18. It was now generally believed there would be no more riots in Cork: although I cannot say that was my opinion. On May the 19th, I accepted the repeated invitation of Mr. Alderman Pembrock, and came to his house. Understanding the place where the preaching usually was, would by no means contain those who desired to hear me, at eight in the morning I went to Hammond's Marsh, the congregation was large and deeply attentive. A few of the rabble gathered at a distance: but by little and little they drew near, and mixed with the congregation. So that I have seldom seen a more quiet and orderly assembly at any church in England or Ireland.

19. In the afternoon a report being spread abroad, that the mayor designed to hinder my preaching on the Marsh; I desired Mr. Skelton and Jones to wait upon him, and inquire concerning it. Mr. Skelton asked, if my preaching there would be offensive to him: adding, "If it would, Mr. W. would not do it." He replied warmly, "Sir, I will have no mobbing." Mr. S. said, "Sir, there was none this morning." He answered, "There was. Are there not churches and meetings enough? I will have no more mobs and riots." Mr.

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S. replied, "Sir, neither Mr. W. nor they that heard him made either mobs or riots." He answered plainly, "I *will have* no more preaching. And if Mr. W. attempts to preach, I am prepared for him."

I did not conceive till now, that there was any real meaning in what a gentleman said some time since; who being told, "Sir, king George tolerates Methodists," replied, "Sir, you shall find, the mayor is king of Cork."

20. I began preaching in our own house soon after five. Mr. Mayor mean time was walking in the 'change, where he gave orders to the drummers of the town, and to his sergeants,—doubtless to go down and keep the peace. They came down with an innumerable mob to the house. They continued drumming, and I continued preaching till I had finished my discourse. When I came out, the mob immediately closed me in. I desired one of the sergeants to protect me from the mob; but he replied, "Sir, I have no orders to do that." When I came into the street, they threw whatever came to hand. I walked on strait through the midst of them, looking every man in the face, and they opened to the right and left till I came near Dant's-bridge. A large party had taken possession of this, one of whom was bawling out, "Now, heigh for the Romans!" When I came up, these likewise shrunk back, and I walked *through them* into Mr. Jenkins's house.

But many of the congregation were more roughly handled; particularly Mr. Jones, who was covered with dirt, and escaped with his life almost by a miracle. The main body of the mob then went to the house, brought out all the seats and benches, tore up the floor, the door, the frames of the windows, and whatever of wood-work remained, part of which they carried off for their own use, and the rest they burnt in the open street.

21. Monday the 21st, I rode on to Bandon. From three in the afternoon till after seven, the mob of Cork marched in grand procession, and then burnt me in effigy near Dant's-bridge.

Tuesday 22. The mob and drummers were moving again between three and four in the morning. The same evening the mob came down to Hammond's Marsh, but stood at a distance from Mr. Stockdale's house, till the drums beat, and the mayor's sergeants beckoned to them, on which they drew up and began to attack. The mayor being sent for, came with a party of soldiers. Mr. Stockdale earnestly desired, that he would disperse the mob, or at least leave the soldiers there to protect them from the rioters. But he took them all away with him; on which the mob went on, and broke all the glass and most of the window-frames in pieces.

22. Wednesday 23. The mob was still patrolling the streets, abusing all that were called Methodists. And threatening to murder them, and pull down their houses if they did not leave *this way*.

Thursday 24. They again assaulted Mr. Stockdale's house, broke down the boards he had nailed up against the windows, destroyed

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what little remained of the window-frames and shutters, and damaged a considerable part of his goods.

Friday 25, and again on Saturday 26, one Roger O'Ferrall fixed up an advertisement at the public exchange, (as he had also done for several days before,) "That he was ready to head any mob, in order to pull down any house that should dare to harbour a Swaddler."

23. Sunday 27, I wrote the following letter to the mayor:

SIR. MAYOR,

AN hour ago I received "a letter to Mr. Butler," jsut reprinted at Cork. The publishers assert, "It was brought down from Dublin to be distributed among the society. But Mr. Wesley called in as many as he could." Both these assertions are absolutely false. I read some lines of that letter when I was in Dublin, but never read it over before this morning. Who the author of it is I know not. But this I know; I never called in one; neither concerned myself about it; much less brought any down to distribute among the society.

Yet I cannot but return my hearty thanks to the gentlemen who have distributed them through the town. I believe it will do more good than they are sensible of. For though I dislike its condemning the magistrates and clergy in general, (several of whom were not concerned in the late proceedings,) yet I think the reasoning is strong and clear. And that the facts referred to therein, are not at all misrepresented, will sufficiently appear in due time.

I fear God and honour the king. I earnestly desire to be at peace with all men. I have not willingly given any offence, either to the magistrates, the clergy, or any of the inhabitants, of the city of Cork, neither do I desire any thing of them, but to be treated (I will not say, as a clergyman, a gentleman, or a Christian) but with such justice and humanity as are due, to a Jew, a Turk, or a Pagan.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. WESLEY.

II. 1. Your performance is dated May 28th, the most material parts of which I am now to consider.

It contains, first, a charge against the Methodist preachers; secondly, a defence of the corporation and clergy of Cork.

With regard to your charge against those preachers, may I take the liberty to inquire, why you drop six out of the eleven that have been at Cork. viz. Mr. Swindells, Wheatly, Larwood, Skelton, Tucker, and Haughton: can you glean up no story concerning these? Or is it out of mere compassion that you spare them?

2. But before I proceed, I must beg leave to ask, who is this *Evidence* against the other five? Why, one that neither dares show his face, nor tell his name, or the place of his abode: one that is ashamed (and truly not without cause) of the dirty work he is employed in: so that we could not even conjecture who he was but that his speech bewrayeth him. How much credit is due to such an *evidence*, let any man of reason judge.

3. This worthy witness falls foul upon Mr. Cownley, (p. 13,) and

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miserably murders a tale he has got by the end. Sir, Mr. M. is nothing obliged to you, for bringing the character of his niece into question. He is perfectly satisfied that Mr. C. acted in that whole affair, with the strictest regard both to honour and conscience.

You next aver, that "Mr. Reeves asked a young woman, whether she had a mind to go to hell with her father!" (p. 16.) It is possible. I will neither deny nor affirm it without some better proof. But suppose he did; unless I know the circumstances of the case, could not say, whether he spoke right or wrong.

4. But what is this to the "Monstrous, shocking, amazing blasphemy, spoken by Mr. Charles Wesley? Who one day," you say, "preaching on Hammond's Marsh, called out, 'Has any of you got the Spirit?' And when none answered, said, 'I am sure some of you have got it: for I feel virtue go out of me,'" (p. 18.) Sir, do you expect any one to believe this story? I doubt it will not pass even at Cork, —unless with your wise friend, who said, "Methodists? Ay, they are the people who place all their religion, in wearing long whiskers."

5. In the same page you attack Mr. Williams, for applying those words, 'I, thy Maker, am thy husband.' Sir, by the same rule that you conclude "these expressions could only flow from a mind full of lascivious ideas," you may conclude the 45th Psalm, to be only a wanton sonnet, and the Canticles a counterpart to Rochester's poems.

But you say, he likewise "made use of unwarrantable expressions, particularly with regard to faith and good works. And the next day denied that he had used them." (p. 10, 11.) Sir, your word is not proof of this. Be pleased to produce proper vouchers of the facts: and I will then give a farther answer.

Likewise, as to his "indecent and irreverent behaviour at church, turning all the preacher said into ridicule, so that numbers asked in your hearing, why the church-wardens did not put the profane, wicked scoundrels in the stocks!" my present answer is, I doubt the facts. Will your "men of undoubted character" be so good as to attest them?

6. Of all these, Mr. Williams, Cownley, Reeves, Haughton, Larwood, Skelton, Swindells, Tucker, and Wheatly, you pronounce in the lump, that they are "a parcel of vagabond, illiterate babblers." Of whom "every body that has the least share of reason must know," that though "they amuse the populace with nonsense, ribaldry, and blasphemy, they are not capable of writing orthography or good sense," (p. 3, 4.) Sir, that is not an adjudged case. Some who have a little share of reason, think they are capable both of speaking and writing good sense. But if they are not, if they cannot write or read, they can save souls from death: they can, by the grace of God, bring sinners 'from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.'

7. But they "made a woman plunder her poor, old husband, and another absent herself from her husband and children," (p. 24, 25.) Pray, what are their names? Where do they live? And how may

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one come to the speech of them? I have heard so many plausible tales of this kind, which on examination vanished away, that I cannot believe one word of this, till I have more proof than your bare assertion.

8. So far I have been pleading for others. But I am now called to answer for myself. For "Theophilus and John Wesley," say you, "seem to me the same individual person," (p. 4.) They may seem so to you: but not to any who knows either my style or manner of writing. Besides, if it had been mine, it would have borne my name. For I do not love fighting in the dark.

But were not "a great number" of those books "brought from Dublin, to be dispersed throughout the city?" Not by me. Not by my order; nor, to my knowledge. However I thank you again for dispersing them.

9. But "while charity stands in the front of Christian graces, the author of such a book can have none of that grace. For you must allow the vulgar to think," (p. 26.) *Mal-a-propo* enough, a lively saying. But for any use it is of, it may stand either in the front or rear of the sentence. The argument itself is something new. A man knocks me down. I cry, 'Help! Help, or I shall be murdered.' He replies, "While charity stands in the front of Christian graces, the author of such a cry can have none of that grace."

So now you have shown to all the world, "the uncharitable and consequently unchristian spirit of Methodism." What! Because the Methodists cry out for help, before you have quite beat out their brains? What grimace is this? His majesty's quiet, loyal, Protestant subjects are abused, insulted, outraged, beaten, covered with dirt, rolled in the mire, bruised, wounded with swords and hangers, murdered, have their houses broke open, their goods destroyed, or carried away before their face: and all this in open day, in the face of the sun, yet without any remedy! And those who treat them thus are *charitable* men! Brimful of a *Christian* spirit! But if they who are so treated, appeal to the common sense and reason of mankind, you gravely cry, "See the uncharitable, the unchristian spirit of Methodism!"

10. You proceed. "But pray, what are those facts, which you say are not misrepresented? Do you mean, that Butler was hired and paid by the corporation and clergy? Or that this remarkable loyal city, is disaffected to the present government? And that a papist was supported, nay, hired by the chief magistrates, to walk the streets, threatening bloodshed and murder? Declare openly, whether these are the facts." Sir, I understand you well. But for the present I beg to be excused. There is a time and a place for all things.

11. I rejoice to hear the city of Cork is so "remarkably loyal!" So entirely "well-affected to the present government." I presume you mean this chiefly of "The Friendly Society," (in whom the power of the city is now lodged,) erected some time since, in opposition to that body of Jacobites, commonly called, "The Hanover Club." I suppose that zealous Anti-methodist, who some days ago,

stabbed the Methodist preacher in the street, and then cried out, 'Damn king George, and all his armies!' did this as a specimen of his *eminent loyalty*.

It cannot be denied, that this loyal subject of King George (Simon Rawlins, by name) was upon oath made of those words, committed to jail, on May the 31st. And it was not till days after, that he walked in procession through the town, with drums beating, and colours flying, and declared at the head of his mob, 'He would never rest, till he had driven all these *false prophets* out of Cork.' How sincere they were in their good wishes to King George and his armies, they gave a clear proof the tenth of this instant, June: when, as ten or twelve soldiers were walking along, in a very quiet and inoffensive manner, the mob fell upon them, swore they would have their lives, knocked them down, and beat them to such a degree, that on June the 12th, one of them died of his wounds, and another was not then expected to live many hours.

12. But you have more proofs of my uncharitableness, that is, supposing I am the author of that pamphlet. For you read there, 'Riches, ease, and honour, are what the clergy set their hearts upon. But the souls for whom Christ died, they leave to the tender mercies of hell.' Sir, Can you deny it? Is it not true? Literally true, concerning some of the clergy? You ask, "But ought we to condemn all, for the faults of a few?" (p. 20.) I answer, No; no more than I will condemn all, in the affair of Cork, for the faults of a few. It is you that do this. And if it were as you say, if they were all *concerned* in the late proceedings, then it would be no uncharitableness to say, 'They were in a miserable state indeed.' Then they would doubtless be 'kicking against the pricks, contending with heaven, fighting against God.'

13. I come now to the general charge against me, independent on the letter to Mr. Butler. And, 1st, You charge me with "a frontless assurance, and a well dissembled hypocrisy," (p. 22.) Sir, I thank you. This is as kind, as if you were to call me (with Mr. Williams) "a profane, wicked scoundrel." I am not careful to answer in this matter: shortly we shall both stand at a higher bar.

14. You charge me, secondly with being an "harebrained enthusiast," (p. 7.) Sir, I am your most obedient servant. But you will prove me an enthusiast. "For," you say, (those are your words,) "you are sent of God to inform mankind, of *some* other revelation of his will, *than* what has been left by Christ and his apostles," (p. 28.) Not so. I never said any such thing. When I do this, then call for miracles. But at present your demand is quite unreasonable. There is no room for it at all. What I advance, I prove by the words of Christ, or his apostles. If not, let it fall to the ground.

15. You charge me, thirdly, with being employed in "promoting the cause of arbitrary popish power," (p. 7.) Sir, I plead not guilty. Produce your witnesses. Prove this, and I will allow all the rest.

You charge me, fourthly, with holding "Midnight Assemblies," (p. 24.) Sir, did you never see the word *Vigil* in your common prayer

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book? Do you know what it means? If not, permit me to tell you, that it was customary with the ancient Christians, to spend whole nights in prayer: and that these nights were termed *Vigiliæ*, or *Vigils*. Therefore for spending a part of some nights in this manner, in public and solemn prayer, we have not only the authority of our own national church, but of the universal church, in the earliest ages.

16. You charge me, fifthly, with "being the cause of all that Butler has done," (p. 17.) True: just as Latimer and Ridley (if I may dare to name myself with those venerable men) were the cause of all that bishop Bonner did. In this sense, the charge is true. It has pleased God, (unto him be all the glory,) even by my preaching or writings, to convince some of the old Christian scriptural doctrine, which till then they knew not. And while they declared this to others, you showed them the same love, as Edmund of London did to their forefathers. Only the expressions of your love, were not quite the same; because (blessed be God) you had not the same power.

17. You affirm, sixthly, that I "rob and plunder the poor, so as to leave them neither bread to eat, nor raiment to put on." (p. 8.) A heavy charge, but without all colour of truth. Yea, just the reverse is true. Abundance of those in Cork, Bandon, Limerick, Dublin, as well as in all parts of England, who a few years ago, either through sloth or profaneness, had not bread to eat, or raiment to put on, have now by means of the preachers called Methodists, a sufficiency of both. Since by hearing these, they have learned to fear God, they have learned also to work with their hands, as well as to cut off every needless expense, to be good stewards of the mammon of unrighteousness.

18. You assert, seventhly, that I am "myself as fond of riches, as the most worldly clergyman," (p. 21.) "Two thousand pence a week! A fine yearly revenue from assurance and salvation-tickets?" (p. 8.) I answer, 1. What do you mean by *assurance and salvation-tickets?* Is not the very expression a mixture of nonsense and blasphemy? 2. How strangely do you under-rate my revenue, when you wrote in the person of George Fisher? You then allowed me only a hundred pounds a year! What is this to two thousand pence a week! 3. "There is not a clergyman," you say, "who would not willingly exchange his livings, for your yearly penny contributions," (p. 21.) And no wonder: For according to a late computation, they amount to no less every year, than eight hundred, eighty-six thousand pounds, beside some odd shillings and pence: in comparison of which the revenues of his grace of Armagh, or of Canterbury, is a very trifle. And yet, Sir, so great is my regard for you and my gratitude for your late services, that if you will only resign your curacy of Christ's Church, I will make over to you my whole revenue in Ireland.

19. But "the honour I gain," you think "is even greater than profit." Alas, Sir, I have not generosity enough to relish it, I was always of Juvenal's mind,

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Gloria quantalibet, quid erit si gloria tantum?

And especially, while there are so many dead drawbacks, so many dead flies in the pot of ointment. Sheer honour might taste tolerably well. But there is gall with the honey, and less of the honey than the gall. Pray, Sir, what think *you?* Have I more honour or dishonour? Do more people praise or blame me? How is it in Cork? Nay, (to go no farther,) among your own little circle of acquaintance? Where you hear one commend, do not ten cry out, 'Away with such a fellow from the earth!'

Above all, I do not love honour with dry blows. I do not find it will cure broken bones. But perhaps you may think, I glory in these. O how should I have gloried then, if your good friends at Dant's-bridge had burnt my person, instead of my effigy! We are here to set religion out of the question. You do not suppose, I have any thing to do with that. Why if so, I should rather leave *you* the honour, and myself sleep in a whole skin. On that supposition I quite agree with the epigrammatist,

Virgilii in tumulo, divini præmia vatis,
Explicat en viridem laurea læta comam.
Quid te defunctum juvat hæc? Felicior olim
Sub patulæ fagi tegmine vivus eras.

20. Your last charge is, That, "I profess myself *to be* a member of the established church, and yet act contrary to the commands of my spiritual governors, and stab the church to the very vitals." (p. 27.) I answer, 1. What *spiritual governor* has commanded me not to preach, in any part of his majesty's dominions? I know not one, to this very day, either in England or Ireland. 2. What is it, to stab the church to the very vitals? Why to deny her fundamental doctrines. And do I, or you, do this? Let any who has read her liturgy, articles, and homilies, judge, which of us two denies, 'That we are justified by faith alone?' That every believer has 'the inspiration of God's Holy Spirit?' That all who are strong in faith, do 'perfectly love him, and worthily magnify his holy name!' He that denies this is "the treacherous son, who stabs this affectionate and tender mother."

If you deny it, you have already disowned the church. But as for me I neither can nor will; though I know you sincerely desire I should.

Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Achivi.

But I choose to stay in the church, were it only to reprove those who *betray* her *with a kiss.*

21. I come now to your defence of the corporation and clergy. But sure such a defence was never seen before. For whereas I had said, I 'dislike the condemning the magistrates or clergy in general, because several of them' (so I charitably supposed) 'were not concerned in the late proceedings:' you answer, "Pray, by all means, point them out, that they may be distinguished by some mark of honour above their brethren" (p. 29, 30.) What do you mean? If you mean any thing at all, it must be that they were "all con-

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cerned in the late proceedings." Sir, if they were, (of which I own, you are a better judge than I,) was it needful to declare this to all the world? Especially, in so plain terms as these? Did not your zeal here a little outrun your wisdom?

22. But "the magistrate," you say, "was only endeavouring to secure the peace of the city," (p. 6.) A very extraordinary way of securing peace! Truly, Sir, I cannot yet believe, not even on your word, that "all the magistrates except one were concerned, in this method of securing peace," (p. 29, 30.) Much less can I believe, that "all the clergy were concerned in thus endeavouring to bring back their flock led astray by these hirelings," (an unlucky word) "into the right fold."

23. Of the clergy you add, "What need have they to rage and foam at your preaching? Suppose you could delude the greater part of their flocks, this could not affect their temporal interest," (p. 7.) We do not desire it should. We only desire, to *delude* all mankind, (if you will term it a delusion,) into a serious concern for their eternal interest, for a treasure which none can take away.

Having both now stated the facts to which you referred, and considered the most material parts of your performance, I have only to subjoin a few obvious reflections, naturally arising from a view of those uncommon occurrences; partly with regard to the motives of those who were active therein; partly to their manner of acting. With regard to the former, every reasonable man, will naturally inquire, on what motives could any, either of the clergy or the corporation, ever think of opposing that preaching, by which so many notoriously vicious men have been brought to an eminently virtuous life and conversation?

You supply us yourself with one unexceptionable answer, "Those of the clergy with whom I have conversed, freely own, they have not learning sufficient to comprehend your scheme of religion," (p. 30.) If they have not, I am sorry for them. My scheme of religion is this. Love is the fulfilling of the law. From the true love of God and man, directly flows every Christian grace, every holy and happy temper: and from these spring uniform holiness of conversation, in conformity to those great rules, whether ye eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God: and, whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them. But this you say, "those of the clergy with whom you converse, have not learning enough to comprehend." Consequently *their* ignorance, or not understanding our doctrine, is the reason why they oppose us!

2. I learn from you, that ignorance of another kind, is a second reason why some of the clergy oppose us. They (like you) think us "enemies to the church." The natural consequence is, that in proportion to their zeal for the church, their zeal against us will be.

3. The zeal which many of them have for orthodoxy, or right opinions, is a third reason for opposing us. For they judge us heterodox in several points, maintainers of strange opinions. And the truth is, the old doctrines of the reformation are now quite new in the

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resolved I should not preach at all: whereas, if I had not preached abroad, he would have given me leave to preach in the house." Would Mr. Mayor have given me leave to preach in my own house? I return him most humble thanks. But should he be so courteous as to make me the offer even now, I should not accept it on any such terms. Greater men than he have endeavoured to hinder me from calling sinners to repentance in that open and public manner. But hitherto it has been all lost labour. They have never yet been able to prevail. Nor ever will, till they can *conquer King George and his armies.* To *curse* them is not enough.

11. Lastly, Some (I hope but a few) do cordially believe, that 'private vices are public benefits.' I myself heard this in Cork, when I was there last. These consequently think us the destroyers of their city, by so lessening the number of their public benefactors, the gluttons, the drunkards, the dram-drinkers, the sabbath-breakers, the common-swearers, the cheats of every kind, and the followers of that ancient and *honourable* trade, adultery and fornication.

12. These are the undeniable motives to this opposition. I come now to the manner of it. When some gentlemen inquired of one of the bishops in England, 'My lord, what must we do to stop these new preachers?' He answered, 'If they preach contrary to Scripture, confute them by Scripture: if contrary to reason, confute them by reason. But beware you use no other weapons than these, either in opposing error, or defending the truth.'

Would to God this rule had been followed at Cork. But how little has it been thought of there! The opposition was begun with lies of all kinds, frequently delivered in the name of God. So that never was any thing so ill judged as for *you* to ask, "Does Christianity encourage its professors to make use of lies, invectives, or low, mean, and abusive scurrility, to carry on its interest?" No, Sir, it does not. I disclaim and abhor every weapon of this kind. But with these have the Methodist preachers been opposed, in Cork above any other place. In England, in all Ireland, have I neither heard nor read any like those gross, palpable *lies*, those *low Billingsgate invectives*, and that inexpressibly *mean abuse* and base *scurrility*, which the opposers of Methodism, so called, have continually made use of, and which has been the strength of their cause from the beginning.

13. If it be not so, let the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cork, (for he too has openly entered the lists against the Methodists) the Rev. Dr. Tisdale, or any other whom his lordship shall appoint, meet me on even ground, writing as a gentleman to a gentleman, a scholar to a scholar, a clergyman to a clergyman. Let him thus show me wherein I have preached or written amiss, and I will stand reproved before all the world.

14. But let not his lordship, or any other, continue to put *persecution* in the place of reason: either *private persecution*, stirring up husbands to threaten or beat their wives, parents their children, masters their servants; gentlemen to ruin their tenants, labourers, or trades-

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men, by turning them out of their farms or cottages, employing, or buying of them no more, because they worship God according to their own conscience: or open, barefaced, noon-day, *Cork-persecution*, breaking open the houses of his majesty's protestant subjects, destroying their goods, spoiling or tearing the very clothes from their backs; striking, bruising, wounding, murdering them in the streets: dragging them through the mire, without any regard to age or sex; not sparing even those of tender years; no nor women, though great with child; but with more than Pagan or Mahometan barbarity, destroying infants that were yet unborn.

15. Ought these things so to be? Are they right before God or man? Are they to the honour of our nation? I appeal unto Cæsar; unto his gracious majesty king George, and to the governors under him both in England and Ireland. I appeal to all true, disinterested lovers of this their native country. Is this the way to make it a flourishing nation? Happy at home, amiable and honourable abroad? Men of Ireland judge! Nay, and is there not some weight in that additional consideration, that this is not a concern of a private nature, rather is it not a common cause?

If the dams are once broken down, if you tamely give up the fundamental laws of your country, if these are openly violated in the case of your fellow-subjects, how soon may the case be your own. For what protection then have any of you left, for either your liberty or property? What security for either your goods or lives, if a riotous mob is to be both judge, jury, and executioner?

16. Protestants, what is become of that liberty of conscience for which your forefathers spent their blood? Is it not an empty shadow, a mere unmeaning name, if these things are suffered among you? Romans, such of you as are calm and candid men, do *you* approve of these proceedings? I cannot think you yourselves would use such methods of convincing us, if we think amiss. Christians of all denominations, can you reconcile this to our royal law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?' O tell it not in Gath! Let it not be named among those who are enemies to the Christian cause! Lest that worthy name whereby we are called, be still more blasphemed among the Heathen!

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books to Circulation Desk
Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

DEC 10 1973
REC. CIR. JAN 10 '77
JUN 9 1982
REC. CIR. APR 21 1982
JAN 8 1984
Feb. 8
Mar. 8
Apr. 8
REC. CIR. MAR 20 '84

FORM NO. DD 6, 40m, 6'76
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
BERKELEY, CA 94720

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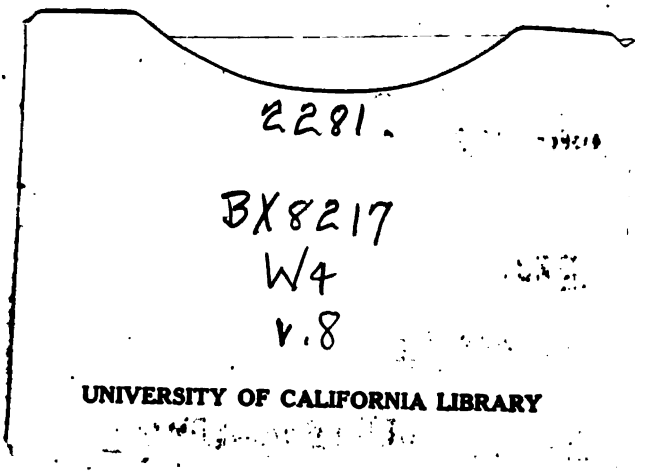

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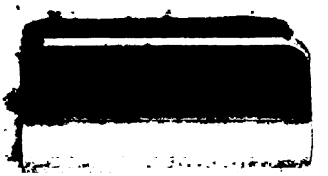

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